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Photo. by James.

GOVERNOR ALBERT B. CUMMINS
OF IOWA

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them,
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.

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ASPECTS OF CONTEMPORARY FICTION.

By ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, Ph.D.

IT WAS not so long ago that the novel was considered the least ductile, least inclusive of literary forms. There was a comfortable feeling, as Mr. James says, that a novel is a novel as a pudding is a pudding, and that our only business with it could be to swallow it. Love was the eternally recurrent theme: the French still have only one word for novel—*roman*. Marriage was the ultimate goal, the final solvent: the formula, "they were married and lived happily ever afterwards." Every now and then some defiant iconoclast—Cervantes for example—revolted by the sentimentalism, the fraudulent chivalry, the threadbare romance of his age, set his lance in rest, his horse to the charge, and ignominiously routed the great enemy of human progress—conventionalism. But as a rule the novel became the easy vehicle of familiarity. Even so recent a novelist as the cyclopean realist, Anthony Trollope, suggests at times during the course of the novel that it would be very possible to make the *story* turn out differently. The pleasant vice of fiction was self-consciousness; the great enemy of fictive veracity was a personage known as Gentle Reader.

I.

The nineteenth century raised the art of fiction from the base level of playful make-

believe, of imaginative lying, to the high level of stimulant veracity and ethical cogency. Men and women, caught in the great movements of social progress, enlightened by a rapt vision of social humanitarianism, began to give vital expressions to this cosmic consciousness. *Les Misérables* was the first great beacon of fiction to light the path of the broken outcasts of society. It ushered into history a social literature—a literature seeking to throw light on the spirit of the masses. This literature may be called the essential representative of democracy, since it is produced for the people and finds its subject-matter in the people. This social, almost socialistic, literature lays down as its first principle an exalted, if occasionally Utopian, idea of justice, of right, and of human brotherhood. After Hugo came Balzac, with his colossal boast that he held the whole of a society within his brain. With the vast frescoes of his *Comédie Humaine* he inaugurated "the romance of the collective life." It was he who first definitively made the individual exhibit his character rather through his environment than through himself. As a youth of twenty at college, Emile Zola wandered through the forests with his inseparable companions Cézanne and Baille, eagerly reciting the passionate poetry of their idol, Victor Hugo—"victor in drama, victor in

romance." But in May, 1867, we find Zola writing to his friend Valébrèque, "Have you read all of Balzac? What a man he was! . . . Victor Hugo and the others dwindle away beside him. I am thinking of a book on Balzac, a great study, a real romance." He never wrote the book on Balzac, but something vastly greater—his *History of the Rougon-Macquart Family*. His studies in science taught him that human beings are affected not merely by their actual environment, but also by physiological conditions transmitted to them by their progenitors. The novelist began to turn reformer: he made it his purpose to inquire into all social sores. That everything should be made manifest in order that everybody might be healed: such was his motto.

From Zola stem all the most modern forms of realistic and naturalistic fictive art, so contemned of Tennyson—and of Oscar Wilde! The vital defect of Zola's system was his failure to draw Lowell's distinction between facts and truth. However bolstered up with documents, his creations are as much beasts of instinct, as much slaves to their cravings and appetites, as Maeterlinck's characters are subservient to superstition, terror, and fatality. Zola's work is lacking in moral uplift, in aspiration toward the higher reaches of mental, moral and spiritual consciousness. It was left for Paul Bourget in France to import into the action the human will, the vital purposes, in which Zola's characters are almost totally lacking. Bourget analyzes at length the doubts, the hesitations, the desires and wrestlings of a human soul. In his novels, will and inclination come nobly to the grapple. He depicts "the anatomy of an action and the history of a human will." In France, as has been said, he marks the transition from the romance of observation—for Zola was at bottom a hideous romanticist—to the romance of philosophic and social study.

With George Eliot in England the psychological novel first looms into view; and, with her, the preponderant influence

of modern science upon modern fiction. George Henry Lewes, with whom George Eliot was long associated, was a brilliant and versatile man—as dramatist, journalist, critic, biologist, and popular historian of philosophy. As early as 1853, he published his *Exposition of Comte's Philosophy of the Sciences*. Chiefly through her association with Lewes and her intimacy with Herbert Spencer, George Eliot became versed in the new scientific theories of biology, psychology, and social ethics. She began to apply these scientific principles to real life and reached, with Taine, the conclusion that "a novelist is a psychologist who naturally and voluntarily sets psychology at work." It is highly significant that she received her chief inspiration from Comte, who said in his *Positive Polity*: "The principal function of art is to construct types on the basis furnished by science." With George Eliot the novel was the application of psychology to real life. Like Novalis, she realized that in developing, in enlarging our activities, we are transformed into fatality. With Omar Khayyam, she might have sung "I myself am Heaven and Hell." It is the lesson of all great modern art: Shakespeare himself, Emerson maintained, first definitively announced that destiny is human character. In that poignant scene at the end of Pinero's great tragedy, Paula Tanqueray despairingly cries, "The future is only the past entered through another gate." It was left for Maurice Maeterlinck to give the finest expression to the thought: "Whether you climb up the mountain or go down the hill to the valley, whether you journey to the end of the world or merely walk round your house, none but yourself shall you meet on the highway of fate. If Judas go forth to-night, it is towards Judas his steps will tend, nor will chance for betrayal be lacking; but let Socrates open his door, he shall find Socrates asleep on the threshold before him, and there will be occasion for wisdom." The individual, sovereign in the determinative force and constructive power of character, upon which he always

returns, reaches up into life and becomes a shaping force in human history.

Many years ago Thomas Hardy said that the novel had taken a turn for analyzing, rather than depicting character and emotion. It was George Eliot who gave this turn to fiction. So true is this that a modern novel with any pretensions to greatness, which is without the psychological element, is almost as much of a solecism, Mr. Brownell maintains, as a picture with a conventional *chiaroscuro*. George Eliot was a positivist with Comte, for she dealt with human phenomena and their laws; she was a psychologist with Spencer, for she regarded character, not as crystallized entity, but as fluent, evolutionary. We see her then as a representative genius of her age—the founder of the modern psychological novel. Since her day the novel has become psychological in aim and in character. Her doctrine has ridden roughshod over the corpse of romance. The modern novel of thought discards the prevalent murders, mysteries, islands of dreadful renown, hairbreadth escapes, miraculous coincidences, and buried doubloons of traditionary romance. The adventures of the modern hero are adventures of the soul: his fate is not marked out by the long arm of coincidence, but awaits him in the innermost recesses of his own heart. He is no longer wholly at the mercy of the adventitious and the casual, no easy prey to his own sensibilities, for his standards are within himself, and his actions are controlled by his own will. Not intellect alone, but intelligent will is, to-day, the dominant protagonist of fiction and drama. The Ibsenic drama has been called a "long litany in praise of the man who wills." "To Life, the force behind the man," writes Bernard Shaw, "intellect is a necessity, for without it he blunders into death." Physical action has ceased to occupy the focus of the world's interest: it has given way, as Hauptmann says, "to the analysis of character, and to the exhaustive consideration of the motives which prompt men to act. Passion does

not move at such headlong speed as in Shakespeare's day, so that we present not the actions themselves, but the psychological states that cause them." The "character in action" of Shakespeare is replaced by the "action in character" of Browning and Maeterlinck. "It is no longer a violent, exceptional moment of life that passes before our eyes—it is life itself. Thousands and thousands of laws there are, mightier and more venerable than those of passion."

The three great motors in the development of modern fiction are *science*, *conscience*, and *conscientiousness*. For the triumph of *conscience*, one has only to turn to Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*, to Emile Zola's *Truth*, to Ibsen's *Ghosts*, to Bernard Shaw's *Mrs. Warren's Profession*. The influence of *science* has made itself felt in stamping the modern novel into the coinage of thought, intellect, will: George Eliot is the triumphant psychologist, her fiction the apotheosis of intellect. If modern social conscience has produced vast epic novels of social sympathy, if modern social science has produced the psychological novel, the novel of heredity and of environment, so also has modern artistic *conscientiousness* produced the finest flowering of our epoch—the realistic novel based upon minute, careful and conscientious observation of real life. As early as 1852, Charles Reade definitely foreshadowed the modern realistic movement in fiction. He culled all sorts of particulars from newspapers, books, and from his own experience—"human documents" as they are now called in the diction of contemporary criticism—in order to contribute towards making his novels scientific transcripts of life. With similar attitude, Anthony Trollope is found regretting that "no mental method of daguerreotype or photography has yet been discovered by which the characters of men may be reduced to writing and put into grammatical language with an unerring precision of truthful description." In France, Gustave Flaubert taught his faithful disciple Guy de Maupassant that

talent is, after all, the art of taking infinite pains in unwearied patience; that every individual thing or person is in truth an individual and not a mere member of a certain class; and that, "whatever be the thing one wishes to say, there is but one noun to express it, one verb to give it life, one adjective to qualify it." It was Dumas *fils* who said of Flaubert that he cut down a whole forest to make a box! With intense zeal, Zola carried forward the work of Flaubert, the Goncourts, and Maupassant. To Zola, a novel was a clipping from life, seen through a temperament. He sneered at the idealism, the romanticism of Dumas *fils*, declaring that he used truth as a spring-board to jump off into space—and a sort of space of four dimensions at that. He pushed the theories of Flaubert a step further, however, and became what Gilbert Chesterton calls a "whole-hogger." To-day he is remembered as the protagonist in the fecund naturalistic movement of our epoch.

II.

One might say of Henry James, as Chesterton says of Browning: The world has had many authors whom it was fashionable to boast of admiring; many authors whom it was fashionable to boast of despising; in Henry James the world now has an author whom it is fashionable to boast of not understanding. Many an unwary reader of Mr. James' novels is often inadvertently caught in the tangled web of such subtle sinuosities as this:

"Mrs. Jordan was ten years the older, but her young friend was struck with the smaller difference this now made: it had counted otherwise at the time when, much more as a friend of her mother's, the bereaved lady, without a penny of provision, and with stop-gaps, like their own, all gone, had, across the sordid landing on which the opposite doors of the pair of scared miseries opened and to which they were bewilderedly bolted, borrowed coals and umbrellas that were repaid in potatoes and postage stamps."

The above is a translucent sentence, positively colloquial in its simplicity and directness: you will observe that Mr. James is discoursing of coals, potatoes,

umbrellas and postage stamps. But note the "complicated connotations," the "utmost attenuations" of Mr. James' analysis of the subtleties of feeling:

"She spoke with discernible excitement, and Tony had already become aware that the face she actually showed him was not a thing to make him estimate directly the effect wrought in her by the incongruous result of the influence he had put forth under the pressure of her ardor."

People who do not understand Mr. James and deplore the finest *nuances*, the most delicate intentions of his thought, justify their mental lethargy with the citation, not only of such passages as the flagrant ones quoted, but also by recalling passages of typical ultra-modern conversation like the following:

"What does this feeling wonderfully appear unless strangely irrelevant?"

He jumped up at this, as if he could n't bear it, presenting as he walked across the room a large, foolish, fugitive back, on which her eyes rested as a proof of her penetration.

"My poor child, you 're of a profundity."

He spoke almost uneasily, but she was not too much alarmed to continue lucid.

"You 're of a limpidity, dear man."

"Do n't you think that 's rather a back seat for one's best?"

"A back seat?" she wondered, with a purity.

"Your aunt did n't leave me with you to teach you the slang of the day."

"The slang?" she spotlessly speculated.

A friend of mine recently told me that she had looked through one entire college library, but without finding anything *tangible* about James! Has anyone ever discovered anything tangible about Mr. James? He has grown even more complicated, more involved, and more elaborate as the years have passed. During his first period—the period of *Watch and Ward* and *A Passionate Pilgrim*—America supplied him with themes, and his style was marked by a laudable simplicity. During his next period came the type-novel *Daisy Miller*, the exquisitely simple and dispassionate study of the American maiden then looming into prominence. But the increasingly fine accent upon shades of meaning, upon delicate intentions, implications, and insinuations began to be patently prevalent. In his later work

he has devoted himself mainly to a study of English life, with the intrigues and entangling alliances incident to a super-enlightened, semi-decadent society. In this way, he has sought to round out his experience of life with a study of emotion and passion. So synthesized, however, is his thought, so intellectualized his emotion, so bloodless his erotics, that his moral notions, as Mr. Colby says, somehow do n't seem to matter, and his characters seem scarcely more than half human.

Mr. James' novels are the highest compliment ever paid the average man. He assumes that his readers have brains and want to think. Far be it from me to pose as an apologist for Mr. James' most abstruse divagations—his detachment, his indirection, his ellipses. But I am sure it will be granted that you can understand Mr. James if you only have the patience. At times, it is true, as Mr. Brownell says, that the reader's pleasure becomes a task, and his task the torture of Tantalus. Let us acknowledge, once and for all, that the reading of Mr. James' novels is less an amusement than an occupation. Someone once said that the difference between William James and Henry James was that the former was a psychologist who wrote like a novelist, while the latter was a novelist who wrote like a psychologist: "For a Boston nymph to reject an English duke," says Mr. James himself, "is an adventure only less stirring, I should say, than for an English duke to be rejected by a Bostonian nymph. I see dramas within dramas in that, and innumerable points-of-view. A psychological reason is, to my imagination, an object adorably pictorial; to catch the tints of its complexion—I feel as if that idea might inspire one to Titianesque efforts. There are few things more exciting to me, in short, than a psychological reason." And elsewhere—in one of his novels—he says: "It was one of the quiet instants that sometimes settle more matters than the outbreaks dear to the historic muse."

Mr. James is a master-impressionist: he seeks to reveal what corresponds to tones of voice in actual conversation. His faint, elusive ambiguities, his half-hints and vague qualifications, are as different from the brutal frankness of a Zola as are the impressionist half-tones of Monet and Whistler from the heavy black-and-white posters of Penfield and Valotton. Like Meredith's, James' characters do not utter words so much as shed meanings. James has not, like Meredith, aimed at a fantastic delivery of the verities, but rather to catch the strange, irregular rhythm of existence, to set up an immense correspondence with life. While many of his stupid people are impossibly clever, while many of his clever people are hopelessly incomprehensible, while many of his novels, as pictures of life, are neither very lifelike nor very much alive, nevertheless in his attitude he is plainly, uncompromisingly realistic. It is the real with which his fancy, his imaginativeness is exclusively preoccupied. His curiosity would carry him to the end of the world. As Mr. Conrad says, one is never set at rest by Mr. Henry James' novels: they end as an episode in life ends. You remain with the sense of life still going on.

To Mrs. Edith Wharton belongs the dubious credit of being a close student of Mr. James. It is her misfortune that in almost all her books, whether novels or short stories, she has revealed the manifest defects of *his* qualities. A number of years ago, when I was fresh from the strange and fearsome obsession of Stephen Conrad's hyper-realistic tales, I read Mrs. Wharton's *The Touchstone* with unfeigned pleasure. It struck a new note: I felt its intellectual power rather than its emotional poverty, its discriminating analysis rather than its morbid introspection. Only recently, when I began to re-read some of Mrs. Wharton's other stories, did I realize that where James was finely graceful she was only Bostonly "precious," where he was heart-searching she was only acutely

morbid and super-sensitive. I saw then that real feeling was what she seemed to lack, or at least what her art had not yet enabled her to express. In reading her stories I always felt as if shut in a small room, in a highly charged intellectual atmosphere, where people microscopically and morbidly examined, not their feelings, but their sensations; not their emotions, but their perceptions. But her latest novel has been quite a revelation. If her *Valley of Decision* was a splendid failure, her *House of Mirth* is a tragic success. In a letter to me, Mrs. Wharton once said that her sole desire was simply to write the best story in her power. She has never bowed to the mundane goddess of success: her sacrifice has always been made to the deity of her art. *The House of Mirth* is a criticism of life, which is also a judgment: it is the summit of contemporary American fiction. Mrs. Wharton has poured her facts into the mould of inexorable logic, resolving, like Browning, "to paint man man, whatever the issue." From the first chapter, almost from the first word, the spirit of compromise, the fateful ghost of chance begin to dog Lily Bart's footsteps: had they left her, even for an instant, her life might have been a sacrament instead of an atonement. A glance, a touch of the hand, the merest turn of the screw would have served. She is exposed to contamination at every turn, compromise upon compromise is forced upon her, stage by stage is she lowered in position and in self-respect. Yet so jealously does she preserve the core of integrity at the heart of her nature that we stand transfixed with the most poignant compassion at the deep damnation of her taking off.

While Mr. James may be called the historian of fine consciences, and Mrs. Wharton the historian of morbid consciences, Mr. Howells may be called the historian of uninteresting personages and banal events. He believes that we should write only of contemporary life; if we do not understand our brother whom

we have seen, how can we understand our brother whom we have not seen? The only novels worth considering as historical, he contends, are not those written in one epoch to give a view of the life or the events of some earlier epoch, but those which deal with the life of the time at which they were written, and which have grown historical through the lapse of years. Let us have tragedy in fiction as part of life, Mr. Howells further says; but the study of human character is best pursued in the normal daily round, with its endless variety of revelation of traits and formative influences, its gentle humor and gentler pathos, its ills for which it ever has its uses and its cures. It is true that Mr. Howells has traversed a wide arc in the circle of human experience in his lifetime; but, in conformity with his theory, he has deliberately chosen to delineate those features of our daily existence which, if not positively banal, are at least, as James would say, of a mediocrity. The microscopic detail, the unmathematical insistence that the part is greater than the whole, the untiring attention to minutiae in Mr. Howells' novels, distract our attention from the main march of events to side issues. Our admiration is excited less for the reality of his creatures than for the cleverness of Mr. Howells—someone once called Mr. Howells an exquisitely tactful showman. A true New England sense of his mission in life came to him when, having moved from Boston to New York, he began to realize the gigantic proportions of the pitiless metropolis, with all its cruelty, its injustice, its inhumanity. He developed a weak form of cosmic socialism, which in turn gave way to a sort of hopelessly pessimistic tone, when he came to realize the futility of his dreams of an earthly paradise and to recognize that he was, as William Morris said of himself, "the idle singer of an empty day." It is for this reason, perhaps, that Mr. Howells' latest work is less tinged with humanitarian purpose, and more final

and authoritative as literary art. He has not produced the great American novel because he has dwelt upon the least dramatic, least vital phases of American life. He has told us of our manners and of our minds, of our humors and of our principles, of our follies and of our absurdities. Of one thing he has failed to tell us—of ourselves.

III.

Like Arthur Wing Pinero, Mrs. Humphry Ward believes that it is the great and high office of modern fiction, as well as of modern drama, to serve as a history of the hour which gives it birth. The novels are the brief and abstract chronometers of the time. The problems of individual life that agitate and disturb our souls, that disquiet and terrify the conscience and the heart, are the problems Mrs. Ward has chosen to consider. There was no daring promise of greatness in *Milly and Olly*, a child's story, or in the slight love-tale, *Miss Bretherton*; and although, with *Robert Elsmere*, Mrs. Ward entered the front rank of modern novelists, the thesis of the book is now much time-worn. The conflict was inevitable; and so the battle of modern thought was fought out in the breasts of those two passionate pilgrims in their arduous journey across the higher plains of the soul. *David Grieve* with all its high seriousness of purpose, *Marcella* and *Sir George Tressady*, with all their fine nobility of tone, seem to indicate the bent of Mrs. Ward's moral propagandism. *The Story of Bessie Costrell* is unique as a piece of exquisite literary art. But *Marcella* and *Sir George Tressady* are in no small degree marred by the positive intrusion of the problem—details of politics, of social questions, of socialistic endeavors and humanitarian designs. In *Helbeck of Bannisdale*, however, Mrs. Ward once more shows, as in the case of *Robert Elsmere*, the enormous force of a soul-problem as a theme for contemporary fiction. Helbeck is a soul rooted fast in church tradition and in

firm religious belief. And of all souls in the world to love, this soul chooses Laura, the child of pure reason, rooted in agnosticism, saturated with scepticism, nourished on doubt. They love each other deeply, and are intimately associated by bonds of a more than common kind; and yet they are more irrevocably separated than ever was Juliet from her Romeo. Helbeck can but trust in the strength of his love and in the power of his religion to convert her to himself and to God. To Laura, the skeptic passionately longing for a faith unattainable, it is an impossibility to live with Helbeck, forever subtly separated from him by that other love—the passionate love of Helbeck for his religion. There is no solution, and so Laura, the most utterly fascinating of heroines, makes her beautiful sacrifice to the mistaken ideal of infidelity and goes deliberately to a death that means to her oblivion.

In *Eleanor* Mrs. Ward has wonderfully revealed the sensitiveness of her imagination and the opulence of her resourceful style. But in *Lady Rose's Daughter* she reached the fullest fruition of her powers. I read *The Marriage of William Ashe* with absorbing interest; but it puts too great a strain upon credulity. Lady Kitty has virtually redeemed herself from her unreasonable and unreasoned bondage to that coarse Byronic imposter, Geoffrey Cliffe, when our old friend of Adelphi melodrama, the long arm of coincidence, shrinks to the finger of fate, and throws her, feebly and futilely resisting, into his arms. Even then one might have overlooked this mechanically yet diabolically devised denouement, had it not been for its absolute unlikelihood. I feel the profoundest admiration and sympathy for Mary Lister. I know with positive certainty that she did not send Lady Kitty that note. I cannot acquit Mrs. Ward of the charge of libel. Nevertheless it is a marvelous study, and nowhere does Mrs. Ward's unprecedented impartiality reveal itself more finely. Even had the

manufactured note never been sent, the tragedy was inevitable, the inexorably certain result of William's hardness, lethargy, and policy of *laissez faire*, as well as of Kitty's hardihood, her indiscretion, and her frivolous irresponsibility.

But *Lady Rose's Daughter*, a study in temperament, remember, and not a problem novel, is the very summit of Mrs. Ward's art. My wife once said that Julie was the finest case of transferred magnetism that she had ever known. A character so full of passionate life, of electric personality, of vivid intensity as Julie is rare in life, in fiction at most an anomaly. The astounding proof of Mrs. Ward's genius is her rigidly non-committal attitude. She relates in a wonderfully self-effacing manner the adventures of this unforgettable personality: the conclusions to be drawn must be your own. To put it in the conventional jargon of now, Mrs. Ward gives you the character, the heredity, the environment: you do the rest. We are in fine doubt about Julie, as we are about the people of this world. We cannot be final about her, just as we can never be final in life. The last word cannot be spoken about a human being, and Julie Le Breton is alive.

While Mr. James and after him Mrs. Wharton impose upon us the intolerable fatigue of thought, Mr. Barrie charms us with a combination of delicate feeling and exquisite subtlety unmatched in present-day literature. The penalty of realistic fiction is a sustained mental effort; it is Barrie's incomparable virtue that he never coldly searches into life with the glittering weapons of glazed phrasing and polished style. It is not too much to claim for Barrie what Johnson claimed for Richardson: "that he has enlarged our knowledge of human nature." We are familiar with the biographer who makes fiction of a real character: Bernard Shaw spoke of Boswell as the man who invented Johnson. On the other hand, Barrie is the human artist who transforms the fictitious per-

sonage into a warm, human creature of sentiment and humor, of passion and pathos, of tenderness and tears. Like Maeterlinck, Barrie might say that he had never met any woman who had not brought him something great. And he once actually said: "It is the love of mother and son that has written everything of mine that is of any worth." He has unlocked the door to the heart of youth with the golden key of gentle sympathy and feminine intuition. He says things that all of us have thought, all of us have acutely felt; he tells us what all of us, but Barrie, have forgotten, what no one before has ever remembered to tell us. Barrie reminds us of Corot, with his soft, mystic sunrises, his gentle, gray twilights. He catches the very tints of the soul at moments of unself-consciousness, when life speaks truly, and simply from the quiet depths of the heart. He does not follow the great beaten tracks of convention; he avoids the long straight road of human experience. Instead he leads us humorously, charmingly, enticingly along little by-paths of human feeling, hallowed by associations of peculiar intimacy and confidence. His shifting shades of intuition, his *nuances* of insight give us that incommunicable thrill which it is vouchsafed only to the great artist to impart. Barrie is the dramatist of the eternal feminine. I can do no better than call him the supreme feminist of our time.

IV.

It is a far cry from the rich and splendid maturity of Mrs. Ward, from the tender sentimentalism of Mr. Barrie, to the playful make-believe, the wanton romanticism, the exhaustive dilettanteism of that Bohemian of letters, Robert Louis Stevenson. I feel that there was always an enormous discrepancy between his purpose and his performance. He expressed fine sentiments and a noble ideal of his art when he said, "True romantic art makes a romance of all things. It reaches into the highest ab-

straction of the ideal; it does not refuse the most pedestrian realism. *Robinson Crusoe* is as realistic as it is romantic both qualities are pushed to an extreme, and neither suffers. Nor does Romance depend upon the material importance of the incidents. To deal with strong and deadly elements, banditti, pirates, war, and murder, is to conjure with great names, and in the event of failure double the disgrace." Stevenson was always conjuring with strong and deadly elements, banditti, pirates, war and murder; but he always seemed to carry over into mature life the playful images of a child, toying with a miniature theater, on which were assembled all the romantic properties of melodrama. Even after he was grown, Stevenson used to play with toy soldiers for hours at a time with Lloyd Osbourne, his step-son; mimic battalions marched and counter-marched, changed by measured evolutions from column formation into line, with cavalry screens in front and massed supports behind, in the most approved military fashion of to-day. This abiding spirit of the child in Stevenson, this juvenile delight in tin-soldiers and miniature warfare, never left him to the day of his death; it communicated its impulse to his books and to his plays. Pinero has said that Stevenson failed as a dramatist because he approached the great serious theater of our day as he had toyed with the tin-soldiers of his youth—in a spirit of effervescent childishness. He lacked that concentration of thought, that sustained intensity of mental effort which succeeds in producing compression of life without falsification. As someone wisely said, there was no end to his supposing: he lived in an air of joyous make-believe. As a novelist, his works always impress me as brilliant *ré-chauffés*; he cooked up the elements of romance, of mystery, of adventure, to suit his purpose; he followed where others had led. Who can read *Prince Otto* without a subconscious feeling that Stevenson had just finished the complete works of George Meredith?

Who can read *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* without a sense of haunting certainty that Stevenson had recently carefully pondered *The Story of William Wilson* of Edgar Allan Poe? It is needless to cite many other obvious examples. As a stylist he was remarkable, finished, unique; and yet it is difficult to avoid the obsession of alien influences; he was the master-copyist of other men. When he finally achieved a well-nigh perfect, highly individual style, it even then leaves us regretting its perfection.

We are too near to Stevenson, with all his many-sidedness, his contradictoriness, his baffling complexity: we do not see him from a sufficient height and distance. When Balfour in his loving *Life of Stevenson* gave us a seraph in chocolate, a barley-sugar effigy of a real man, one could not help but revolt; and I have much sympathy for Henley in writing his ideal-shattering exposure of Stevenson. "At bottom Stevenson was an excellent fellow," Mr. Henley said. "But he was of his essence what the French call *personnel*. He was, that is, incessantly and passionately interested in Stevenson. He could not be in the same room with a mirror but he must invite its confidences every time he passed it; to him there was nothing obvious in time and eternity, and the smallest of his discoveries, his most trivial apprehensions, were all by way of being revelations, and as revelations must be thrust upon the world; he was never so much in earnest, never so well pleased, never so irresistible, as when he wrote about himself."

And yet one cannot help but feel, after all, that this is only a one-sided view of the man, in whom were combined something of Hamlet, of the Shorter Catechist, and of the wandering troubadour. The brilliant Irish dramatist, Mr. Bernard Shaw, once said: "The real disappointment about Henley's much-discussed article on Stevenson was not that he said spiteful things about his former friend, but that he said nothing at all about him

that would not have been true of any man in all the millions then alive. The world very foolishly reproached him because he did not tell the usual epitaph-monger's lies about 'Franklin, my loyal friend.' But the real tragedy of the business was that a man who had known Stevenson intimately and who was either a penetrating critic or nothing, had nothing better worth saying about him than that he was occasionally stingy about money and that when he passed a looking-glass he looked at it. Which Stevenson's parlor-maid could have told us as well as Henley if she had been silly enough to suppose that the average man is a generous sailor in a melodrama, and totally incurious and unconscious as to his personal appearance." Like Mr. Shaw, I feel that while we have learned the prosaic traits of Stevenson's character, we have never yet seen the real Stevenson. All his wonderful short stories, his stirring tales of adventure, his exquisite letters, his delicate and personal

criticism, are, it seems to me, less wonderful achievements than the splendid feat of his own life. Stevenson is his own greatest character. His was a brave heart, a bold front, a noble and a stimulating optimism. He flew bright signals of courage, of decency, of saneness, of kindness, of common sense, that brought all the young and brave and imprudent hearts of his generation rallying round him. Like Cyrano, he always wore his *panache*—the feather in the cap of courage. He carried his ill-health and penury bravely and wittily into far corners of the earth, through many strange adventures. "The medicine-bottles on my chimney," he once wrote to William Archer, "and the blood on my handkerchief are accidents—they do not exist in my prospect." It is Stevenson's great glory that the influence, not so much of his books, but of his life will always remain. "His flag still flies untattered."

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

Chapel Hill, N. C.

SOLVING THE LABOR PROBLEM.

BY HON. LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN.

"I SHALL devote the remainder of my life to solving the labor question," is a remark attributed to Hon. Marcus A. Hanna.

Was it possible for him or is it possible for any other person similarly situated to succeed in that attempt?

The labor problem will be solved when wage-workers get and keep all they earn. Then labor organizations will become purely social and educational, strikes will be things of the past, and class discontent will cease.

The solution of the labor question involves two steps:

First, to find the best workable plan.

Second, to carry out that plan.

That any successful business man past

the age of sixty years should originate a scheme capable of solving the labor problem would approach the miraculous. The whole current of his life has been in another direction; the thoughts and purposes which have filled his working hours, the fixed opinions which are now a part of his being, and indeed all his mental habits, combine to make a full and unbiassed investigation impossible to him. Many men, possessed of the first ability and impelled toward success by the strongest motives, have devoted the prime of life to the discovery or invention of such a plan. As the net result of the consecration of many noble lives to the one purpose, of their diverse conclusions few to-day are accepted as

true by any considerable body of supporters.

Any philanthropist, therefore, no matter how great his ability, who has given his years of strength to the acquisition of wealth, will only waste time in trying to evolve a new project for solving the labor problem. His aspiration, however, if genuine, need not be a vain one, provided he is willing to abandon the *rôle* of inventor and become a student of what others have done. If prepared to accept the less ambitious task of electing between plans already formulated, then it is possible for him to do a work of great usefulness, and even to reach the practical end at which he so laudably aims.

Before entering upon an investigation into the merits of the rival schemes, the rich philanthropist, in order to hope for success, must disabuse his mind of any prejudice he may hold against them. He must, indeed, assume a teachable spirit, be ready to question, and, upon sufficient proof, to abandon cherished views and long-established convictions.

With the ground thus cleared for arriving at an unbiased judgment, a single year should suffice for him to determine between the propositions which lay a reasonable claim to being a solution of the labor problem.

The schemes which need engage his attention are but two in number,—the one associated with the name of Karl Marx, the other with that of Henry George.

Either plan, in order to be accepted must stand the tests: Is it equitable? Is it speedy? Will it be effective?

Should both projects be found to possess these requisites, it must then be decided which of the two has them in the greater degree.

STATE SOCIALISM.

State Socialism means the assumption by the government of all large businesses which are now in private hands. It would make the public the owner of all

the means of production and distribution—of the land, of the mills and machinery, of the stores and goods, of the railroads and cars, and so on. It seeks to abolish the private capitalist and to substitute for him government-ownership, supervision and operation.

Socialism has one doctrine, and but one, peculiar to itself; confute that and the whole structure falls to the ground. The essence of that doctrine is: Interest belongs to the public. The argument for it is that tangible wealth, when used as capital—such as factories, stores, cars and machinery—is not the product of the individuals who now possess it, nor did it really belong to those persons from whom the present owners acquired it, but is the accumulated product of the past efforts of the human race as a whole. The logic is that without the combined efforts of practically everybody, of the many dead and the comparatively few now living, such wealth as mills and machinery could not be in existence. Therefore (it is argued) no one person has a right to claim over it a greater degree of ownership than another.

In answer to this reasoning it may be said that if a savage dug out a canoe by his own unassisted labor, the log being cut from common land, why should not he be the owner—instrument of production and transportation though it be? Just so, if several or many persons unitedly build a large sea-going vessel, do not they own it jointly? And may they not transfer the title to some one individual who then equitably becomes its owner? If these questions are answered properly in the affirmative, then no wrong is done by the private-ownership of capital. If not impossible, it certainly is difficult, to demonstrate that in order to satisfy the demand of equity, interest, which is the return to capital, must all go into the public treasury.

It does not, however, of necessity follow that the time may not come when it will be wise for the State to own and operate mills and stores, even though

by so doing private competition is rendered impossible. This would be State Socialism, but it would necessarily be arrived at very slowly, and probably only after a widespread and prolonged trial of voluntary coöperation.

And who can foretell the consequences of State Socialism, whether it will increase or lessen production, whether its effect upon the character of the people will be good or bad? These are questions which any impartial thinker will find difficult to determine definitely for himself, much more so to answer to the satisfaction of other minds.

In considering the practicability of State Socialism, it may be said that its adherents rightfully reject the term "reform" as descriptive of it, and proclaim it a revolution. Certainly it would turn topsy-turvy the statute-books of any state entering upon it to an extent which might properly be called revolutionary.

Applying the tests already enumerated, a candid examination leads to the conclusion that State Socialism would not necessarily be inequitable, that its practicability is not easy to vouch for, that under the most favorable conditions conceivable its acceptance by any American state can only take place in the very distant future. Even though circumstances should arise which would invite a violent revolution and make possible the speedy establishment of Socialism, the change in social conditions would be so radical that the effects cannot be foreseen. They might be beneficial and they might be highly detrimental to human progress. Only when society has taken some shorter step forward shall we have reached a height of civilization from whose vantage-ground we can view clearly and state definitely the consequences of Socialism.

THE SINGLE-TAX.

We can but think that at this stage of his investigation the wealthy philanthropist will be disposed at least to hold his decision in abeyance until he has ex-

amined the second plan of amelioration, which is lauded by its followers, not as anything revolutionary, but as a very simple though far-reaching reform.

The Single-Tax means free land. It would derive all public revenue from a tax upon land values, reaching that end by the simple process of exempting from taxation all else. When fully applied all ground rental values will go into the public treasuries and land will have no selling price. The market price of a house and lot would not exceed the cost of replacing the house; the market price of a street railway would just equal the cost of replacing the tangible assets, such as track, cars and power-houses; so of every other public-service corporation; so of all mines, forests, water-courses, water-fronts and other real-estate.

The doctrine peculiar to the Single-Tax is the common ownership of ground rent. Its adherents claim to demonstrate the truth of this underlying principle by the following line of argument. Since man is a land animal his natural right to life embraces and necessitates the equal right to land. If this statement be incorrect, and if an individual can own land, just as he owns a hat or a house, to use, abuse, lock up, destroy at will, or reap the revenue therefrom, then one man may ethically become the owner of all the land, and, by ordering off all others, annihilate the human race. This *reductio ad absurdum* can only be avoided by admitting the natural and equal right of all to the land.

Assuming, therefore, that the land was intended for all the people, it follows inevitably that land values are also theirs; for value is given to any piece of land no more by the owner than by any other member of the community. In fact the value which attaches to land, and which is measured either by its price or by its annual rental value, is created by the community and should be classed as the earnings of society, just as much as wages are reckoned to be the earnings of the individual.

If rent belongs to the community, then it follows that the appropriation of ground rents by an individual, as now recognized by law, is unjust, and that the wrong should at once be righted by the taking every year by the public of all ground rental values in the form of a tax—the rate to about five per centum upon the present selling price of land.

The legislation needed to put the Single-Tax into practical operation is very simple. It is only necessary to pass national and state laws substantially as follows:

All taxes shall be levied upon land values, but in no year shall the total assessment of any piece of land be in excess of its annual rental value.

The necessary corollary of such laws will be the exemption from taxation of all the products of labor. This means the refusal to tax incomes and inheritances; the abolition of tariffs, custom-houses and internal revenue; as well as the exemption of improvements and personalty of every kind. In practice it would necessitate an understanding between the nation and the state as to what proportion of rent each should take. Perhaps two-thirds to the state (including municipalities) and one-third to the nation would be an equitable division.

No doubt the first application of the Single-Tax will be in some state, in consequence of a law or constitutional amendment permitting it by local option.

So long as the national government chooses to derive its revenue as heretofore, it will remain within the province of any state, under the Single-Tax theory, to take the whole rental value of land, thus greatly increasing (about doubling) the total revenue it now collects. It is, therefore, within the power of any legislature at its next session, unless prohibited by the state constitution, to introduce the Single-Tax by the passage of a law of one or two short sections, exempting from taxation personal estates and improvements. This would necessitate of course a heavier tax than now upon

land values, in order to raise present revenues. Probably, very shortly after permission was given and accepted, cities and towns generally would increase their revenues up to the limit prescribed. Every step in that direction would lessen the price of land, making it cheaper and cheaper, until finally none could be found commanding more than a nominal price in the market, and for all practical purposes land would be free. It would then be unprofitable for any one to own land who did not put it to a good use, nor need any one who desired to own land, either for a homestead or for business purposes, go without. The candid philosopher who makes a full investigation of the Single-Tax will be forced to the conclusions: It is equitable; it is practicable; it is speedily attainable, and it will prove effective.

CARRYING OUT THE PLAN.

For the sake of argument, let it now be assumed that among the number of philanthropists who desire to expend their millions for the benefit of their fellowmen, one of them accepts the conclusion stated above, and decides to risk a small fraction of the sum he is giving away to bring about as speedily as possible the consummation of the Single-Tax. What steps should he take?

No better illustration of the best method of procedure can be given than that followed by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, when, upon the death of his grand-child in the summer of 1900, he sought to discover the germ which gives rise to "summer complaint" in young children. He placed the sum of \$200,000 at the disposal of Dr. William H. Welch of Baltimore, one of the most noted pathologists in the world, giving him *carte blanche* in its expenditure.

Although Mr. Rockefeller could not by his own research discover the fatal germ, he could and did discover a scientist who was most capable of conducting the work successfully. Dr. Welch was pointed out as the right man by the

consensus of the competent, which means by the agreement of persons engaged in the same pursuit.

In like manner the wealthy philanthropist bent upon solving the labor problem through the application of the Single-Tax, would find that every real reform has within its ranks expert agitators, men who, although for lack of funds compelled to make bricks without straw, yet have been surprisingly successful in what they have undertaken. He could get at the consensus of the competent among Single-Taxers by consultation with such men as William Lloyd Garrison and C. B. Fillibrown of Boston; Lawson Purdy and Bolton Hall of New York; Louis F. Post and John Z. White of Chicago, and Judge James McGuire of San Francisco.

It is not within the scope of this article to indicate the steps which should be taken by the expert who may be entrusted with so momentous a task. Yet it is a pretty safe assertion that the major part of the sum contributed would be devoted to educating and arousing public sentiment in a single locality, either a

state or a city, under local option law. It has been said that Paris is France. With even greater truth the epigram would apply to the metropolitan city in several of our states. In such a case the thorough conversion of the chief city, whose press reaches every section of the state, would mean the conversion of so wide an electorate as to lead to the enactment of the requisite law.

No proposal for benefiting mankind can compare with the one here pointed out. The founding of libraries and the endowment of educational institutions are commendable; but it should be borne in mind that these fields already are well cultivated, while the direct amelioration of society as a unit has most woefully been neglected. Two hundred thousand dollars dedicated to the establishment of the Single-Tax in the manner suggested would do more for the human race than \$200,000,000 directed to the education of individual members of the community, in whatever way the larger sum were expended.

LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN.

Lonsdale, R. I.

JUDGE WILLIAM JEFFERSON POLLARD: A PRACTICAL IDEALIST WHO IS ACHIEVING A GREAT WORK IN REDEEMING DRUNKARDS.

AN EDITORIAL SKETCH.

I. A TYPICAL SELF-MADE MAN.

JUDGE William Jefferson Pollard of the Second District Court of St. Louis is the type of the self-made man at his best. America is the paradise of self-made men, but unhappily many of her youths have long riveted their eyes on the acquisition of gold, subordinating all else to the quest, and when they have achieved their desired goal they have done so at the expense of that which is finest and most divine in their natures. They have steadily exalted egoism and

subordinated altruism. They have permitted the lust for gold and the lust for power to choke out the love of justice, reverence for the rights of others, and the fragrant flower of sympathy. Hence while they may be considered successful from the superficial view-point, having achieved vast fortunes or gained places of power and honor, their influence is the reverse of helpful to the world. Indeed, it is frequently blighting in its direct effect and insidiously poisoning in its less obvious influence on the ideals and conduct of others.

But there are other self-made men who rise in life without sacrificing the higher things that make up a noble character—men and women who succeed while holding fast to the eternal moral verities that are the soul of civilization. Such a man is Judge Pollard. His father was a southerner of means at the time of the Civil war. He had extensive lands and owned large numbers of slaves. He threw his fortunes in with the Confederacy, and at the close of the war found himself practically ruined. His little son was thus deprived of the broad culture that otherwise would have enriched his early years; but the child was nobly ambitious and determined to win success and to rise to an honorable position in society if such a thing should be possible by hard work, patient study and the holding fast to true ideals. The exigencies of the family made it necessary for the boy to help earn a livelihood, and for some time he was a messenger boy in a telegraph office. Later he became for eight years the proprietor of a grocery store. But all this time he was storing his mind with knowledge, not only striving to broaden and develop his intellectual powers in a general way, but also to master the science of law, as he had determined to become an attorney. After successfully passing the examinations and being admitted to the bar, he held several important positions of a public and semi-public character.

In 1888 Hon. David R. Francis, at that time Mayor of St. Louis, was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor. He selected Judge Pollard as his personal representative in North Missouri and the brilliant campaign the judge made secured for him the declaration from the newspapers of that section of the state that his work was the entering wedge of Governor Francis' success. Three years ago he was appointed by Mayor Wells of St. Louis Judge of the Second District Police Court. In this position he has made innovations and set precedents that are destined to exert a far-reach-

ing and helpful influence on legal methods for dealing with the victims of drink.

At the beginning of his judicial career Judge Pollard sought inspiration from the noble-minded southern thinker, Albert Pike, and he tells us that he took as his guiding rule the following admonitions of this high-minded man:

"We shall be just in judging of other men only when we are charitable. See, therefore, that you exercise your office cautiously and charitably, lest in passing judgment upon the criminal you commit a greater wrong than that for which you condemn him and the consequences of which must be eternal.

"Orphanage in childhood, or base, dissolute and abandoned parents; an unfriended youth; evil companions; ignorance and want or moral cultivation; the temptations of sinful pleasures or grinding poverty; familiarity with vice; a scorned and blighted name and desperate fortunes, these are the causes that might have led anyone among us to unfurl the bloody flag of universal defiance."

II. A JUDICIAL INNOVATION IN THE TREATMENT OF DRUNKARDS.

Like Judge Lindsey of Denver, whose faith in humanity and sympathy for the young led to the inauguration of the treatment of youthful offenders that has already saved to the nation numbers of children who would otherwise have become a curse to themselves and a burden to society, Judge Pollard has introduced a new method for the treatment of drunkards by which hundreds of men have been reformed instead of brutalized by judicial procedure. When he took his office the Judge found himself confronted by scores upon scores of men brought to the bar for drunkenness. Among this number were some confirmed topers whose characters had been so weakened that they no longer had the moral strength to resist temptation. Judge Pollard recognized the fact that to liberate such men on the pledge to abstain from drink and permit them to go free would in

Second District Police Court

CITY OF SAINT LOUIS, MO.

WM. JEFF. POLLARD, Judge

Charge_____

Charge_____

As evidence of my appreciation of the opportunity given me by the Judge of the above-named Court to become a sober and better citizen, in staying the fine imposed upon me this day, I hereby freely and voluntarily sign the following :

PLEDGE

I will abstain from the use of intoxicating liquors of every kind and character for the period of_____ from date, _____ day of _____ 190_____

effect be like leading them into temptation. Only by taking from them the power to gratify their appetites and by environing them with an atmosphere of ethical enthusiasm and stimulation that would favor the strengthening of the moral fiber and the calling into action of the dormant will-power, or by skilful scientific medical and psychological treatment, could permanent cures be hoped for in their cases.

But there was another class of prisoners brought to the bar by drink, far more numerous than the confirmed drunkards, who, he believed, might be redeemed to the state and to their families by a double restraint: one an appeal to their manhood and all the better elements of their nature; the other the threat of the consequences of the violation of the pledge given to the state.

He knew that the old way, the easy way for the judge who did not feel the tremendous responsibility resting on a judicial official who holds the fate of human lives in his hand, was to fine every offender five, ten or twenty dollars, and in default to send him to the workhouse to break stone with many men more degraded, brutal and criminal than himself, until the fine was worked out. But

he also knew that the result of such sentence was in most cases to further brutalize the victim of drink. After such a sentence the man, if he had not become a criminal by association and the sense of degradation, would still have less power and incentive to resist temptation than he had before he entered the workhouse, and thus the effect of the sentence would have been to force the victim farther on the downward road. The Judge believed that the majority of these men might be saved to society and to their families if they could be enjoined against drinking; if they could be made to feel that the law and the courts were desirous that they be saved, and though society had to protect itself, still, if the offender would do his best the court would help him to make a fresh start. Such was Judge Pollard's belief, and he proposed to test its practicality by giving those who had not become confirmed drunkards a trial. There was no precedent to justify him in his innovation, and the members of the bench and bar shook their heads incredulously; but his faith in humanity and his realization of the worth of a human soul, the value of a sober citizen to the state and the need of the victims' families for support all urged



Photo. by Strauss, St. Louis, Mo.

WILLIAM JEFFERSON POLLARD
JUDGE SECOND DISTRICT POLICE COURT, ST. LOUIS, MO.

him to put his theory into practice. This he did three years ago.

When the drunkard who is not a confirmed toper is arraigned and the case heard, the Judge imposes a heavy fine which will necessitate sixty days in the workhouse, breaking stone. This sentence, however, is held in suspense if the guilty party will sign a pledge which he has framed, to abstain from drink for one year.

Three years have passed since this innovation, which the conventionalist pessimists so freely predicted would prove a dismal failure, was put in operation, and up to the present time not more than two persons in one hundred thus put on their honor have fallen. The effect of showing the victim of drink that the court is interested in his reclamation and is willing to give him a chance to prove his manhood, and the knowledge that if he fails to keep his pledge sixty days of hard work breaking stone in the workhouse are before him, exert a double check. The success of the innovation has exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the Judge and his friends.

III. JUDGE POLLARD'S VIEWS ON THE TREATMENT OF DRUNKARDS.

"As long as the germ of good is not dead," said Judge Pollard in a recent interview, "I believe it is the duty of the court to save drunkards from themselves and for their families. I would rather make my court a tribunal of reformation than of punishment. A judge on the bench must exercise common sense and good judgment. I try to do the best I can for the defendant and the city. Back of the man is his family, whose interests must be taken into consideration in fixing his punishment. To send a man to the workhouse to work out a fine breaking rock at fifty cents a day while his family faces starvation is a pretty serious thing to do. I would rather send the man back to his family and keep him sober than to send him to prison. It is better for the city, better for society, better for the in-

dividual, and a thousand times better for his family to say to the drinking man: 'The Court will forgive you for your past conduct, but you must pledge yourself to behave in the future.' Virtually the man is enjoined from getting drunk.

"In giving a defendant an opportunity to sign the pledge I always impose a suitable fine for his offence. I let him off on his promise of good behavior, with the distinct understanding that if he drinks again he will have to go to the workhouse. The man who knows he is going to be sent to the rock-pile for getting drunk will keep out of the reach of temptation. I have learned by observation that after they have kept sober for a month they have very little trouble. It is during the first month after giving them the pledge that I have to keep a sharp lookout over them. They must report to me regularly every week either at the court or my home. If a man is working and cannot get away without losing time I give him the privilege of reporting to me at night at my home. If he is a married man I require him to bring his wife with him."

There are, Judge Pollard holds, great numbers of good-hearted, honest men whose moral fiber has not been weakened or destroyed by drink, and they would be permanently injured if the court should "put the stain of the workhouse upon them." "What they need," he says, "is a good strong moral stimulant. I produce the pledge and give them a chance to work out their own reformation. Then I back up that pledge with the law created by 700,000 people. The chances are that the man who knows the eye of the court is upon him wherever he goes will stay at home even evenings instead of lounging around saloons.

"Here is a case in point. A delicate woman endured the abuse of her drunken husband as long as she could. He was a poor teamster, earning \$9 a week. He was the father of three children, ranging in age from three to eight years. Regu-

larly every Saturday night he went home drunk, having spent the greater part of his wages for liquor.

"He mistreated his wife. His children were so afraid of him that they hid under the bed when they heard him coming. The furniture in his little home was mortgaged. His wife and children were in tatters. Finally in her desperation the wife had the husband arrested, and he was brought into my court for disturbing her peace. The thin little woman appeared in court, carrying her youngest child in her arms. Tears streamed down her cheeks as she told me of the indignities she had borne. She asked me to send him to the workhouse until he reformed. I asked her how she would get along without him. She said she would take in washing and manage to eke out an existence. She was willing to make any sacrifice if he could only be cured of the drink habit.

"I called the defendant to the bar of the court and had a heart to heart talk with him. He seemed penitent, and when I asked him what he would do if I gave him a chance to reform his countenance brightened and he said he would do his best to keep away from liquor. I asked him if he could keep sober a year. He said he would try. I produced the pledge and he signed it. Then I told him to report to me at my home once each week for a month, because he had no time to lose from work, and his family needed all the money he could possibly earn.

"He came to see me regularly every week. When he appeared in court he was a sorry looking sight, but week after week there was an improvement in his appearance. He was more cheerful and ambitious. It was not long until he told me the mortgage on his furniture had been paid off and that he was getting along better than for years. He wore better clothes and his general appearance was neater. I saw that he was a reformed man, and after the first month I released him from the obligation to visit me every week. I saw him a few days ago and he

told me he was happy and prospering, that he had been promoted and never intended to drink again.

"If I had sent him to the workhouse he would have come out soured on the world and probably would have gone back to drink. During his incarceration his family would have endured many hardships. I have not the slightest doubt that he will keep the pledge, not only for a year, but for all time. His wife tells me that he treats her with the greatest possible consideration, that his children have learned to love him again, and that he is ambitious to get ahead in the world.

"That is only one case out of hundreds. The records of the police courts of St. Louis show that thousands of persons are arrested annually and formally charged with petty offences committed while they are under the influence of liquor. So many cases resulting from intemperance made me do some real earnest thinking.

"Any man after a forced sobriety of a year who has any moral stamina about him will not fall into his old habits of intemperance."

IV. COURTS SHOULD SECURE JUSTICE AND CONSERVE THE BEST INTER- ESTS OF THE STATE.

Judge Pollard holds the old-fashioned idea that courts of law are for the purpose of dispensing justice, and not for its defeat through quibbling, technicalities and fine-spun theories, and his rulings have often proved very disquieting to a class of lawyers who hover about every court and rely on quibbles and technicalities or the citation of precedents which are often strained to fit the case, regardless of the essential right or wrong involved. His methods of procedure in his efforts to dispense justice are quite unconventional and refreshingly free from red tape, as the following incidents will show:

"I once let a man go to trial," said Judge Pollard, "in the absence of an important witness. The city's attorney

closed his case and the man was about to be fined through his ignorance of court methods, when in came the missing witness. He was summoned by the prosecution, and when I wished to put him on the stand the attorney for the defense objected. The city's case, he said, had been closed.

"I told him that this court was not intended to be a forum for the splitting of hairs, and that I wished to get to the bottom of the matter. That witness' testimony was heard and the defendant was freed as the result.

"I told those attorneys right then that a case was never closed in my court until I had imposed a fine or discharged the accused."

On another occasion the Judge allowed a mule to become the chief witness in a complaint brought before him. This case is interesting as showing the common-sense and humanity of the jurist. A man had been arrested by the Humane Society for working a galled animal. The arrested party secured a prominent veterinary surgeon to aid him in testifying that though the poor creature had a raw place on the shoulder, the collar was such an excellent fit that the animal did not suffer any inconvenience from it. Judge Pollard had the mule brought up to the sidewalk in front of the court. He went down to examine the creature. He found a great raw place on the shoulder and touched the spot with his cane; the animal winced. He touched it a second time, and the mule shied, and this was the place where the collar was constantly rubbing. The men all returned to the

court-room after the examination, when Judge Pollard rendered his decision which proved that the mule in the case had been the star witness. He prefaced his finding with these remarks:

"I am no expert on horses and their diseases, but I hope I have common-sense enough to see that an animal which can't stand a gentle touch on a wound is manifestly unable to be worked.

"That mule is a more eloquent witness in its silent wincing than all the volubility of you men here."

He fined the driver fifty dollars.

Space prevents our citing numerous other illustrations showing how common-sense and an eminent degree of practicality go hand in hand with a wise humanitarian spirit that is so frequently painfully absent in modern business, political and judicial life. Judge Pollard embodies in a large degree the new spirit of twentieth-century civilization, which appreciates the priceless value of the human soul, the worth of the citizen to the state and the great responsibility devolving upon society if it presses the weak and the offending downward when it might help them upward, and which insists that the noble ends of justice shall not be defeated by quibbles, by technicalities or by precedents born of a less enlightened age than our own, advanced by men of prostituted intellects who systematically seek to circumvent the demands of equity in the interests of sordid wealth or a soulless conventionalism, and who place property considerations above human rights.

EDWARD W. REDFIELD: AN ARTIST OF WINTER-LOCKED NATURE.

By B. O. FLOWER.

I.

MANY are the master architects of a nation's greatness and diverse are their spheres of activity. The dominating spirits that guide the development of her physical resources; the clear-visioned educators; the fearless, conscientious and high-minded statesmen, editors and clergymen; the scientists, inventors and discoverers; the artists, sculptors, poets and architects,—all in their way, if they be true to the vision, advance civilization and forward the true greatness of the nation while broadening and deepening the life of the individual unit.

Necessary and important as is the material prosperity and the development of the physical resources of a land, that nation or civilization that is fatuous enough to center its affection upon material wealth so that idealism no longer exerts imperial sway over the public consciousness, signs its own death-warrant. The imagination and emotional nature must be fed and stimulated on the nobler plane of being if a people is to become great and to enjoy perennial youth. Gold with its potential power for good becomes the supreme curse when it so fascinates the brain as to become the master-passion of man. Moral rectitude is absolutely essential to permanent greatness; but wealth and moral integrity alone cannot foster a full-orbed civilization. Man is so constituted that he must have his hunger for beauty, for poetry and for music satisfied if he is to express in full degree the power and beauty that are potential in the soul. Hence it is that the artist, the sculptor, the architect, the poet and the singer are master-builders of civilization.

In the past we as a people have con-

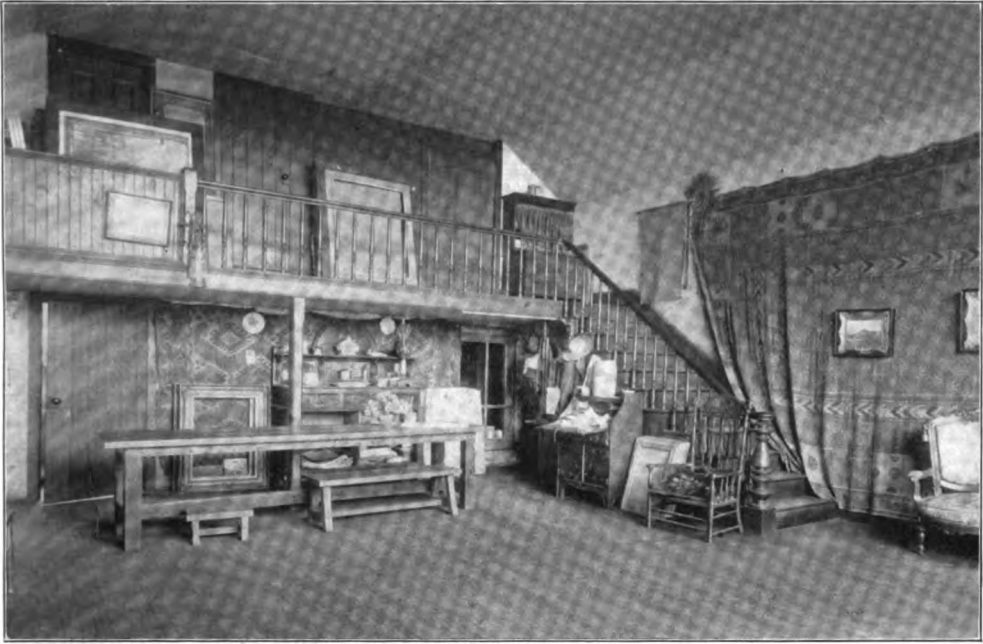
cerned ourselves chiefly with conquering and subordinating the virgin land and and meeting and mastering the problems relating to the physical development of our national resources. We have experimented with free government and paid a little attention to moral education; but unhappily in this three-fold struggle



Photo. by Park, Lambertville, N. J.

EDWARD W. REDFIELD.

the passion for the acquisition of gold and for triumph on the physical plane has more and more dominated the nobler aims of leading the world in the experiment of free government and becoming the standard-bearer of justice, equity, integrity and righteousness that are the



INTERIOR OF MR. REDFIELD'S STUDIO.

only invincible banners in the battle of national life.

Moreover, until very recently art has been subordinated to other things, and such art work as we have produced has necessarily enough been largely a reflection of the art of Europe, owing to the fact that our young men and women had to go there for instruction. The dream of a great original art for the New World that was long entertained by a few chosen spirits and that found fine expression in Professor John Ward Stimson's distinctly great work, *The Gate Beautiful*, has been vaguely shaping in the minds of many of our foremost artists, sculptors, architects and artisans; and especially among our younger men of genius and imagination is this noble dream of a new Greece that shall far outshine ancient Hellas, and of a new Italy that shall eclipse the sunburst of glory that marked the Renaissance, slowly taking shape. On every hand we find our artists and artisans honestly, earnestly and faithfully doing work that

points to the coming of the dawn—works that at least are hints and prophecies of the new day.

In the May ARENA Mr. George Wharton James gave a graphic pen-picture of one of these earnest and gifted American artists who is doing strong, fine work. Mr. Grant has chosen the ocean as his mistress, and her varied moods he is painting with rare fidelity. Others of our younger artists are doing equally good work in different specific spheres. Some have taken human life as their subject; others have chosen the mountains, the valleys, the streams and picturesque nooks of the highways and byways. Among this number is Edward W. Redfield, who has probably won wider and more merited fame for his paintings of winter-locked landscapes than any other American artist.

II.

Mr. Redfield is a fine type of sturdy American manhood. His life is sincere and simple as are his pictures enthralling



Edw. W. Redfield, Pinx.

"THE CREST."

in their witchery and compelling power. His love of nature has led him from the crowded, nerve-racking, brain-distracting metropolitan centers to a quiet nook on the picturesque banks of the beautiful Delaware. Should the reader, some balmy day when spring calls the children of the city into the country, chance to find himself at Trenton, New Jersey, and being of an exploring, country-loving nature should he determine to follow the windings of that wonderfully picturesque stream, the Delaware, up toward the lofty hill-land region, he would in time come to a great covered bridge that spans the river, beyond which lies the little hamlet of Center Bridge, and he would note an island in the stream and beyond the island, between the river-bank and the tow-path of an old-time canal, he would note a modest frame-house with a wide window looking toward the river. Most probably, if the

day was fair, he would see a man hard at work in the midst of a promising garden, with a child at his heels asking the thousand and one questions that crowd the youthful mind and which often relate to problems about which the wisest sage knows no more than the dullest brain. How does that little seed change into the wonderful plant with its beautiful flowers? And why does this seed blossom into a red flower and that one, that looks exactly like it, unfold into golden or bronze? Why is this flower so fragrant and that one innocent of odor?

While you note the gardener busily engaged with his plants, pausing now and then to reply to the child's questions which baffle the imagination of maturity, a country lad approaches you and you ask him who lives in the house by the river-bank, with the broad window outlook.

"Oh, that is Ed. Redfield's home,"



Edw. W. Redfield, Pinx.

"CENTER BRIDGE"

comes the prompt reply, "and that is Ed. and his kid in the garden."

You draw yourself up with a start.

"What? The great painter?"

"Yes, he paints in the winter when it is down to zero and the wind is blowing forty miles an hour; but in the summer he works in his garden, tends his poultry and carpenters about his place."

"Then the artist is a gardener and a carpenter?"

"Sure," comes the confident reply, "and a good one, too. Why, he raises all the vegetables and chickens his family can eat, and he has made lots of improvements in his house since he bought it. That large window he made so he could get lots of light in his paint-shop. And say! if you go over there, ask Ed. to show you into the paint-shop. Then look at the table, the bench and the stool. He made those things himself out of driftwood he caught that was floating down the river to the sea."

The boy, you find, has spoken the truth. The studio and its furnishings are largely the work of the inventive artist, and as a gardener he deserves much praise, for his heart is in the work, and "the heart," as the poet says, "giveth grace to every art." Mr. Redfield loves nature with such whole-souled love that the wonders of seed and plant, of blossom and fruit, the eternal miracle of birth, growth and fruition, appeal to him with that fascination that only the creative mind is capable of fully experiencing.

It is also in the winter, as the boy said, that our artist is busy with palette and brush. Then, no matter how cold the day, if the spirit moves him, he bundles up with arctic apparel and sallies forth. Suddenly he sees a scene that appeals to his artistic nature, and he is riveted to the earth. Quickly the brush moves over the canvas. If all goes well in three hours the study is completed that is to become a master-painting, and the artist



Edw. W. Redfield, Pinx.

"THE THREE BOATS."

returns to his home well satisfied with the morning's labor.

Mr. Redfield makes from forty to sixty studies during the winter. If twelve of these satisfy his artistic judgment the year's work has been a success. Sometimes, however, not more than seven or eight pictures are sufficiently excellent to pass his severely critical judgment, for he is a critic no less than an artist, and he possesses the rather rare power of being an impartial judge of his own handiwork.

Mr. Redfield is making the beautiful valley of the Delaware famous throughout the New World, though one regrets that he limits his wonderful portrayal to the somber, austere and sublime aspects of the land in the winter time; for we know few regions in our land so rich in beauty or that present so many

spots that are really picturesque as the valley of the Delaware in summer and autumn.

Our artist was born in Bridgeville, Delaware. His art education was chiefly gained at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia, and under Bougereau and Tony Robert Fleury in Paris.

III.

As before observed, Mr. Redfield loves nature with the strong and unaffected affection of the true artist. All her moods are dear to him, but unlike most of his brother painters, it is not in the joyous, budding spring, the rich luxuriance which comes with the glories of the summer time, nor yet the flaming splendor of nature when, stricken to death, she arrays herself in matchless robings



EXTERIOR OF MR. REDFIELD'S STUDIO AT CENTER BRIDGE.

for her triumphant exit, that he finds his chief inspiration. Few are his canvases that reflect nature in her gladsome growing and thrillingly exultant hours. His noblest work pictures the great Mother mantled in her shroud of snow or somber and silent in the recuperative sleep that so resembles death.

A typical picture by Mr. Redfield is entitled "The Three Boats." It is one of the best of the artist's pictures that was sent to the Portland Exhibition. No one can look upon this canvas without feeling the spell of winter's icy hand. The shroud of snow, the skeleton trees, the somber river and the idle boats speak more eloquently than words of the sleeping time of nature.

Another picture that has won high praise, but which, owing largely to the nature of the treatment, it is impossible properly to reproduce by photography, is entitled "The Crest." It won the

second medal and the award of one thousand dollars at the Pittsburgh Art Exhibition given at the Carnegie Institute in the autumn of 1905. The first medal at this exhibition went to a French artist, and the third award was to Mr. Childe Hassam for the striking painting called "June," which we reproduced in *THE ARENA* a few months ago.

Another canvas by Mr. Redfield and one that by many is considered his best painting is entitled "Center Bridge." It is a panoramic view of a wide expanse representing his home village, the long covered-bridge and the mountainous hills in the background. This painting was highly praised at the Society of American Artists. It was later put on exhibition at the Albright Galleries in Buffalo. While there, President Charles L. Hutchinson of the Chicago Institute saw it and was so impressed with its power and merit that he promptly purchased it to

add to the permanent collection of the Chicago Art Institute.

At many of our best exhibitions Mr. Redfield's paintings have taken honors over the work of other justly famed artists. In 1901 he received the Temple Medal, which is the highest award of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. He has also received a gold medal from the Art Club of Philadelphia. Among other notable recognitions that have been accorded him were medals given at the Paris Exposition in 1900; the second Hallgarten Prize at the National Academy of Design; the Shaw Fund Prize, Society of American Artists; the Jennie Sesnan Gold Medal for the best landscape, from the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts; and the second medal and one thousand dollars award at the recent Pittsburgh Art Exhibition at the Carnegie Institute, to which we have referred.

Mr. Redfield is one of the coterie of American artists who are doing sincere and honest work that cannot fail to aid in the building up of a great American art. He is a man gifted with the im-

aginative power that enables him to catch the brooding spirit of nature, the soul of the landscape, and to so reproduce it that it is much the same whether one looks on the landscape or on the artist's canvas; and it is the possession of this power that differentiates the artist of genius from the mere technical expert who, though he may reproduce every object visible to the eye with camera-like fidelity, is unable to come so *en rapport* with nature herself as to be conscious of the soul of the great Mother. Hence her charm, her witchery, her wonderful essence, elude him. Technical knowledge is necessary to great work, but it alone is not enough. It must be complemented by the imaginative power to penetrate the holiest of holies of that which is portrayed. Only the man of genius can do really great art work such as is being done by Mr. Redfield and other of our artists who are laying the foundations for a great American art.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

RAMBLES IN SWITZERLAND.

BY CARL S. VROOMAN.

THE TRIP in early summer from Italy into Switzerland, through the Italian lakes by boat and over the Alps by diligence, is only less memorable than the reverse trip in the early spring from the snows and storms north of the Alps down into the flowers and sunshine of Italy. On crossing the Simplon Pass early one June, I was surprised to find that the runners had been taken off the diligence only a week before and that even yet our road ran for miles through deep cuts in the snow and occasionally through long tunnels in the solid ice. In one place we had to walk, or rather climb, over the wreckage of an immense

avalanche which had swept through the valley two days before, choking up the road and devastating everything it touched. A forest of gigantic pines had been mowed down as with a scythe, while a half dozen peasant families, together with their houses and farms, were still lying beneath fifty feet of snow and rock. But if Nature has been to the Swiss a stern and sometimes even cruel Mother, she has at least developed in them certain hardy virtues which are of greater value than all the bloodstained riches and enervating luxuries of the Orient.

On crossing the frontier from Italy into Switzerland one is sensible, almost



VIA MALA.

immediately, of a change in the psychic atmosphere, of a spiritual and even physical invigoration from a new ethical ozone in the air. For a time one revels in the wonders of Italy nor counts the cost, but after a few months spent in warding off beggars, hunting out overcharges, refusing bad money and preventing the robbery of trunks in transit—the exasperated traveler not infrequently ends by getting the impression, which is manifestly unjust, that every Italian, from prince to pauper, is a miniature Machiavelli, who lies and steals from centuries of inherited instinct. This is the psychological moment to start north and seek repose in a land where honesty is as nearly universal as is the ability to drive a shrewd bargain.

Perhaps the first sociological observation the average traveler makes on entering Swiss territory is the fact that the land is as free from beggars as Ireland is from snakes. I am sure that everyone who has had occasion to travel to any great extent in foreign lands, will agree with me that whoever may be responsible for this immunity from beggars

deserves an even higher place than St. Patrick in the calendar of saints. A man has a fair chance to defend himself against a serpent, but what can the most fearless of us do with the beggars of Italy, or the Orient, but “pay, pay, pay,” or submit to their intolerable, unceasing and ever-increasing importunities? Often at the frontier of Italy, or even of France, you can see beggars gathered like flies and mosquitoes on a window-screen in summer—unable to get in but ever ready to pounce upon you as you come out.

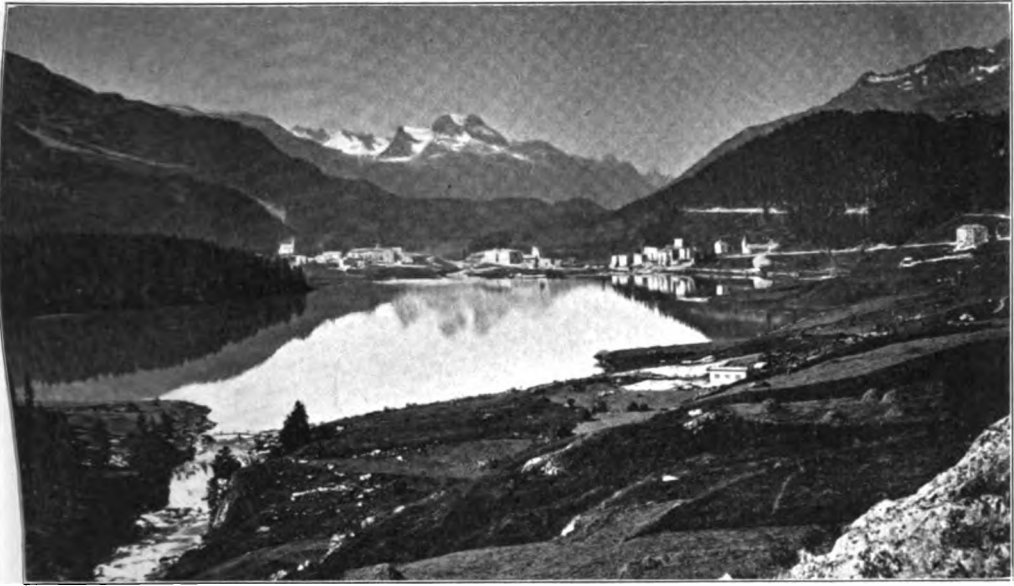
To be sure, the poor are to be found in Switzerland as elsewhere, especially in the cities, but as the worthy poor are all cared for at the expense of their native communes, I believe the proud claim that no one ever dies of starvation in Switzerland to be quite justified by the facts. From the experience of a friend of mine, it seems that some of the country districts have arrived at an almost unscriptural condition as regards poverty. Having spent a very agreeable summer at one of the little Swiss mountain-resorts, on leaving he handed the village

pastor fifty francs for his "poor." "You are very kind," said the Swiss, "but really I cannot accept this, as we have no poor."

My first summer in Switzerland was spent cycling, boating and climbing the hills and mountains about the Lake of Thoune. I was entirely satisfied and delighted with my life there until I joined a fellow-tourist on a week's cross-country walking tour. On this trip a world of new and unimagined possibilities opened up before me. I learned that to really see Switzerland aright one must use one's legs as well as one's eyes, and thereupon dedicated my next summer to "doing" the country on foot. About the middle of the following June, in pursuance of that idea, my wife and I, with heavy hobnailed shoes on our feet, alpenstocks in our hands and a mountaineer's knapsack on my back, set forth from Thusis early one morning to walk over the Julier Pass into the Engadine. At noon we snatched an hour's nap at a little wayside inn and lunched on brook-trout fresh from the water and vegetables fresh from the earth. Then off we started again, expecting to arrive at our *hôtel* in time for a seven o'clock dinner, but by eight o'clock the sun had gone down, the stars had come out, and still we were tramping wearily along with no *hôtel* in sight. People had warned us not to be caught out after dark in this Italian canton, where hosts of newly imported Neapolitan laborers, "who would kill a man for a franc," were working on a railroad line. My wife had just declared she could not possibly go another step, when suddenly, coming up behind us, we heard voices laughing and singing and realized that we were being followed by a gang of these Italian laborers returning from their work. We looked for a peasant's hut or a clump of trees in which to hide until they had passed,—but in vain. We were in an open space and had already been seen. How I cursed Cook's agent at Pallanza, who had pried open the locked dress-suit case

I had left in his charge and stolen my revolver! Meanwhile I quickly outlined a plan of defense in case of attack. It was not necessary to urge my wife to walk as fast as possible. In true Christian science fashion she straightened herself and strode along so that I could scarcely keep pace with her. To my dismay our pursuers quickened their gait in proportion. We had just decided that nothing short of Providence could extricate us alive,—when a faint tinkle was heard. Gradually it grew louder and louder, and suddenly the stage-coach came swinging up from behind scattering the Italians like a flock of chickens. We stopped it and almost trembling with delight climbed on board. At Muehlin my wife dined and breakfasted in bed, and meekly took the diligence over the Julier Pass into the glorious valley of the Engadine. From St. Moritz we walked all over that favorite of European resorts. The *hôtels* were open but the guests were few and much in demand. There was as yet none of the dust or heat of summer and the woods and meadows were radiant with a glory of flowers and ferns. "The field of the cloth of gold" was tinsel compared to this, Nature's own carpet of gold and silver and sunbeams,—every strand alive and breathing out incense and gladness. As we glided over the lakes, threaded the forests and scaled the hillsides, every atom in my being rejoiced in a feeling of kinship with nature. With the delight of a child or a savage I feasted my eyes on her harmonies of color and form, touched the trees and the flowers with my hand—in a word felt and gloried in a personal, mysterious relationship with these inspiring, calming fellow-members of Nature's family.

After two most perfect weeks, a drenching rain held us and a half-dozen other tourists, weatherbound for three dreary days. We spent the first day playing whist, the second day discussing the weather past, present and future, and lying loquaciously to keep up our spirits.



ST. MORITZ.

The third day we made no such attempt; we gave up. Suddenly an epistolary inspiration seized me, and I wrote my college chum:

"DEAR B——: I write you because I have nothing else to do (five minutes' hard thinking failing to evolve anything more) and stop because I have nothing else to say.

"Yours in great haste."

A fellow-traveler was more fertile than I. He went to the desk, bought some paper decorated with beautiful, glistening lithographs of mountains, lakes and glaciers, and wrote to a wealthy invalid aunt, well known for her perennial acidity of temper, as follows:

"The day is like a dream of Paradise. The mountains are so enticing in their radiant garments woven of snow and sunbeams that it seems almost a sacrilege to stay indoors. Yet I cannot let the day go by without sending you a breath from this bright world, without attempting, in my feeble way, to share with you the glory and gladness that are mine,

but which cannot be fully mine, until I know that they are partly yours. How I wish that you were with me. [Then shuddering as the sky grew blacker and the air damper and more depressing.] The day only needs you here to give this scene completeness. As we cannot see this fair country together, however, I shall live in the hope of sometime making excursions with you in that land of which this is but a faint intimation, where travel is without fatigue, the days without clouds and the hotels are kept by the angels."

He then held the letter out of the window, caught a raindrop and wrote under it: "Pardon this tear."

On the following morning, having had the good luck to find a "return carriage" bound for Andermatt, we set forth for a three-days' drive through one of the least tourist-spoiled valleys in Switzerland. We lolled in the carriage and drank in the kaleidoscopic view; we dropped asleep and dreamed of lands certainly not more fair; we walked along the carriage-side gathering wild flowers

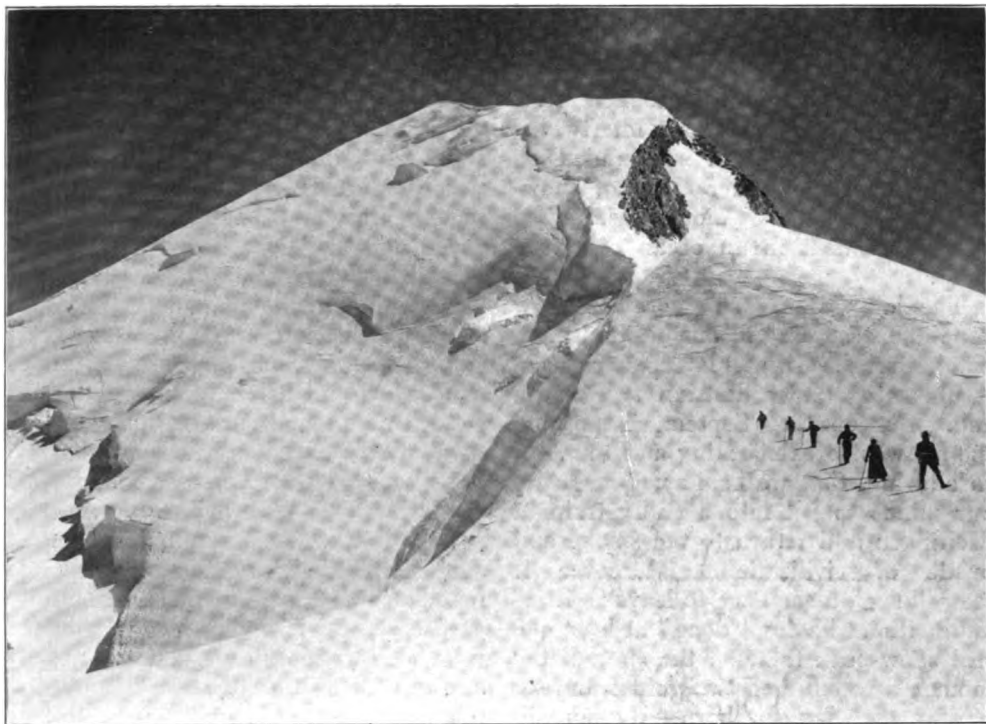


MOUNTAIN CLIMBING IN SWITZERLAND.

and strawberries, and in little Swiss chalet *hôtels* ate, drank and slept with all the joy and some of the power of the virile voracious races of primitive man. At the top of the Oberalp Pass, sending our luggage on ahead to Andermatt by the carriage, we walked up to little Lake Toma, the source of the Rhine, and thence down the winding mountain-path to find two weeks' letters awaiting us.

A day at Andermatt was spent inspecting, as much as is allowable by foreigners, the splendid military fortifications which the Swiss promptly erected here when Italian imperialism threatened to rob them of their Italian-speaking cantons. The Swiss army is one of the most remarkable of her political institutions. It is the ideal toward which the common people of every European country, weighed down with taxation

to support huge standing armies, turn with longing and hope. The Swiss have a system of militia which is very efficacious, and yet saves millions of money to the taxpayers and years of freedom from military service to the soldiers. Practically all Swiss serve from the age of twenty to fifty in the militia and reserves. The raw recruits go into schools, the infantry for forty-five days, the cavalry for eighty days. After this the cavalry serves sixteen days each year, and the infantry and artillery fourteen days each every other year. The reserves serve only five or six days every four years. The officers, of course, are carefully trained in good schools for a period of years. This short service would be insufficient were it not preceded and supplemented by military training for boys in school and rifle practice every year by practically all Swiss citizens. Target-shooting is the national sport and, in accordance with the law, a place for target-practice must be supplied by every town in the country. As an encouragement, prizes of all sorts are offered by the national government. Thus little Switzerland, with a population of less than three millions of people, has an army of 337,000 of the most martial soldiers of Europe,—armed, equipped and ready to take the field at a moment's notice. In glaring contrast with this system of militia are the systems of military service in the other countries of Europe. In talking with a young Frenchman a year or so ago about military matters I was astonished at the intensity of his feeling on the subject. "Our military service is far worse than three years cut out of our life," he said bitterly. "Our pay is but an American cent a day, so that during my service, in order to make life at all livable, I had to spend for necessary incidentals the hard-earned savings of years, with which I had hoped to start in business for myself. During my barracks-life I formed new habits, lost the skill which was the result of long



IN THE SWISS ALPS.

training in a bank, and at the end of three years was thrown into the army of the unemployed, penniless and economically crippled, just at the time when as a young man I was most anxious to marry and begin my career." So much is military service detested that at one time young men in such numbers began to incapacitate themselves for the service by cutting off the index or trigger-finger, that the government put a summary stop to the practice by making of these unfortunates a special regiment and sending them to the most unhealthy post, to do the severest and most menial work. Later it was discovered that, in order to evade military service, men actually were being inoculated by doctors with tuberculosis. This also was stopped by severe punishment and imprisonment.

On our walking-trips it was always interesting to watch the faces of the people who passed us in diligences, carriages

and automobiles. Some of them looked at us in surprise, others with plutocratic scorn, but those who realized the situation must have sighed with envy as we strode along inhaling great drafts of pure Alpine ozone at every step, stopping to rest or read wherever and whenever we wished, making little side excursions now and then to see a mysterious grotto or world-famed vista, and always carrying with us the exultant sense of personal, physical triumph over this proud old Alpine world.

After a week's climbing about Andermatt, we left early one morning to cross the Furka Pass into the Rhone valley. In the course of the summer we walked over a number of other passes: The Abula, Brunig, Oberalp, Gemmi, Meiden and Augstburg, each with its own special variety of indescribable Alpine scenery, but none of these opened to view a panorama which could at all compare, in

grandeur of form and mass, and mystical beauty of color and shade, with that which stretched out before us as we reached the summit of the Furka and looked westward over miles of glaciers, intertwined with green valleys and surrounded on all sides by chain after chain of snow-covered, cloud-capped mountains, bathed for the moment in an ocean of sunset glory.

The last days of summer were now gone and according to our original plan, a walk over the Grimsel Pass to Meiringen would bring our pedestrian tour to an end. But on that September morning the air was so exhilarating and the Alps so alluring, that we could not make up our minds to get into a stuffy train at Meiringen and return to the smoke and bustle of civilization. Moreover it seemed such a sacrilege to leave Switzerland without having "done" at least one real snow-peak that, on the spur of the moment, we engaged two guides and set off for the Ewigsneehorn—a mountain only 11,000 feet high, but which commands one of the finest panoramas in the High Alps, and in fine weather, according to Baedeker, "presents little difficulty to adepts." Unfortunately, however, by starting from a point only 2,000 feet above sea-level, we gave ourselves a climb of 9,000 feet, which is over 2,000 feet more than from the Eggishorn hotel to the top of the Jungfrau and only 400 feet less than from Zermatt to the top of the Matterhorn. As a last touch, about an hour after leaving Meiringen, it began to rain in the valleys and snow on the mountains, thus doubling the difficulties and dangers of our trip and transforming a comparatively simple climb into a formidable "first-class ascension." We slept that night on straw between huge woolen blankets in an Alpine hut, built by the Swiss Alpine Club for the free use of all who pass that way. It had rained all day and we were drenched, but as there was barely enough wood on hand to make tea and heat our canned soup, we were forced next morn-

ing at four o'clock, with clammy clothes and chattering teeth, to continue our trip over five glaciers and through eighteen inches of new-fallen snow to the summit. There is nothing more dangerous on such trips than this new-fallen snow, which conceals the crevasses yawning in the glaciers beneath. We were all roped together—one guide going first, I next, then my wife, and the other guide bringing up in the rear. As the guide sounded the snow with his ice-axe every step of the way, our progress was necessarily slow and monotonous. But when suddenly we found ourselves on the brink of a snow-covered crevasse, which was a veritable death-trap, we realized that his precautions were neither perfunctory nor excessive. A few minutes later an avalanche carrying tons of snow, ice and boulders came tearing down about five yards to our right, but so stimulated were we by the altitude and the novelty and wonder of it all, that we felt no emotion save a sort of intoxication of ecstasy and awe. Every hour we ate a sandwich, drank a glass of tea and red-wine mixed and rested five minutes standing. Then on and on we pushed doggedly. As the last half hour included a very interesting bit of "rock work" on all fours, my wife's short skirt proved not only a great nuisance to her but a source of considerable danger to us all. When at last, however, we reached the summit, though miserably cold and almost exhausted, the dangers and fatigues of the way were completely forgotten in the indescribable sublimity of the view. In every direction as far as the eye could reach was a region of endless winter. It is not likely we shall pass that way again. If not, we can never be too thankful that this once it was our privilege to tread these corridors of flowing ice, to hear the thunders of the avalanche, to gaze face to face upon the Jungfrau, the Queen of the Bernese Alps and her court of snowy giants, to enter, as it were, the very holy of holies of this mighty temple of Nature, to which pilgrims flock from

all the ends of the earth,—a temple not built with hands, whiter than marble, as enduring as the world itself and reaching to the very heavens.

During a short stay in Geneva, I was surprised to learn that the chair of Political Economy in the University there is held by a prominent Socialist, M. Edgard Milhaud, with whose name I had long been familiar through his contributions to the French reviews. Having won high honors as a student at the University of Paris, Professor Milhaud, after taking his Bachelor's and Master's degrees, was sent to Germany on a traveling fellowship. On his return to France he spent a year and a half working with M. Millerand, Socialist Minister of Commerce and Industries, in the Waldeck-Rousseau Ministry, leaving that position to become foreign editor of *La Petite République*, the oldest socialist daily paper in Paris. He is the author of *La Tactique socialiste*, *Le Rachat des Chemins de fer*, *La Démocratie socialiste Allemande*, and while still a young man is probably the greatest living authority on European socialism. In spite of his heavy duties and responsibilities as a teacher and writer, however, he still finds time to participate actively in practical politics as speaker and organizer and as Secretary of the Socialist Federation of the Department of Savoy, France.

It is not surprising that the advent of such a man at the quiet old University of Geneva was regarded with little less than horror by the faculty and the "better elements" in the city. The conservative press, not only in Switzerland but all over Europe, made a great outcry, while the wealthy and aristocratic students in his classes organized a tremendous demonstration against him,—at his first lecture yelling and hooting so that he was hardly able to speak a dozen connected sentences. However, as he was in a State University, and his friends had a comfortable radical socialist majority behind them, of necessity, this sort of

nonsense soon came to an end and his opponents, having no alternative, submitted to the inevitable as gracefully as possible. Moreover, as his classes have been increasing in numbers every year, students even coming from foreign countries especially to take his lectures, and as it has been pretty generally ascertained that he has neither horns nor a cloven hoof, a considerable revolution has come about in the general attitude toward him—even the aristocrats being forced at last to recognize that if he is a "socialist militant" he is at the same time a gentleman and an economic authority of international repute. Nevertheless I believe it is still problematical what would be the result if a conservative majority should come into power.

On one's first trip abroad it is usually customary to travel first-class as a matter of course. The next time by going "second" one manifests to the traveling public that the novitiate period is over and one has flowered into a full-fledged globe-trotter of the second degree. On later trips many of us learn that it is wiser to discriminate; to travel first-class when, on long journeys, fast trains and ample room are a consideration; to travel second-class when in the mood for bourgeois comforts, bourgeois company and bourgeois prices, but otherwise to travel third for the charm of the company to be met in third-class compartments only. Here one comes into close contact with the natives of the different countries, the real people with their new and naïve ways, their fresh, truthful views of life, with much of the local color and some of the local odors of their native villages still clinging to them. Time passes quickly watching them—they are as unconventional and refreshing as savages or animals and far more interesting. As one of our ambassadors wisely said, on being asked why he traveled third-class: "I travel third-class because there is no fourth."

At Brieg, I once bought for seven

dollars and a half, a third-class ticket, good for two weeks' travel on the lake steamboats and great railway lines in all parts of Switzerland. During this period I had occasion to travel almost constantly, looking up some sociological data, but on the whole found nothing which interested me more than the little ticket on which I was traveling. When first introduced it was generally feared that its almost nominal price, while entirely satisfactory from the standpoint of the traveling public, would prove a losing venture to the railroad department, but the resulting increase in travel soon proved what railroad managers seem so loath to learn, that within certain reasonable limits, cheaper rates are always a paying venture. In spite of the "doctored statistics," to which such wide publicity has been given by subsidized journalists and well-salaried "authorities," to the effect that government railroads in Switzerland are a failure, the many improvements, such as the one just mentioned, which have been introduced in railroad management since the government purchase in 1901, tell a strikingly different story.

To be sure, the reorganization of a system of railroads in accordance with democratic ideals is a herculean task, which can be carried to a successful issue only by proceeding slowly with the work of reform and adhering at all times to the soundest of sound business principles. During the first four years of government ownership the progress made has been very creditable and satisfactory to all except the most impatient reformers and

interested capitalists. But it is apparent that very much more remains to be done during the fifty-six years that must elapse before the roads are paid for, than could possibly have been done during the four short years of government management that are past.

In the first place a very appreciable reduction in both passenger and freight rates has been made—a reduction of from twelve per cent. to twenty per cent. on round-trip passenger tickets and from five per cent. to fifteen per cent. on most of the freight rates. The hours of labor have been reduced from twelve hours a day to eleven, and at the same time wages have been raised. At a very considerable cost, much needed improvements in the roadbeds, rolling-stock and stations have been carried out while faster and more frequent trains have been introduced. In addition to this, and after paying all expenses, including the interest on the capital invested, each year a definite proportion of the government bonds which were issued in payment for the roads are bought back out of the net profits, so that *at the end of sixty years from the date of purchase the last bonds will be retired and the road will be the property of the people free and unencumbered.* This triumph of democratic or socialistic "high finance" compares not unfavorably, both as to methods and results, with our individualistic or plutocratic "high finance," from the inside history of which the whole world turns away with mingled horror and disgust.

CARL S. VROOMAN. .

Geneva, Switzerland.

CHILD-LABOR, COMPULSORY EDUCATION AND RACE-SUICIDE.

BY WILLIAM FRENCH.

AS A TOPIC for agitation, child-labor has recently attracted unusual attention and new laws have been suggested and enacted for which there was grave necessity; yet children do not love to labor, and the parent is inconceivable who could rejoice in the abstract fact that his child was at physically ruinous and unremunerative work for others.

Compulsory education is our boast, for it has proved a wise act and has worked out well for the nation. Yet, in spite of the facilities afforded and special officers to protect it, its provisions are none too properly observed: though even instinct leans naturally toward education.

Race-suicide is a term forced upon us by conditions that are alarmingly on the increase—alarming enough already when we realize that there are five additions to our population by immigration or foreign parentage to every birth of a true-blood American. Why is it? Mother-love is not obsolete, nor are paternal instincts dead.

The answer to each of these propositions is the same. It is the almost unbearable burden of children. Let us be frank. Old-time farms, where sentiment can count and the cost of them is nominal, are very few. Tenements, cottages and city flats, where salaries are small and each little cost counts heavily, are constantly increasing. The young and the old are burdens which no amount of sentiment can offset. Middle-life must bear them or evade them. We have all kinds of ultimate refuges for the aged and infirm, for we are philanthropic as well as dogmatic. In an awkward, objectionable way, they partially relieve without attempting to obviate, only the lesser part of the burden in desperate

cases; but youth remains helplessly hanging on middle-life and often, by sheer force of inexorable *Must*, middle-life is driven to shirk the burden.

To properly feed and clothe and entertain the normal allotment of children would overtax the utmost earning capacity of the average family, to-day, demanding almost brutal economy, sacrifice and abnegation for the first twenty years of marriage—the vital twenty years of life. Celibacy is not indictable. Race-suicide cannot easily be made a statute crime. The five who are wise take refuge in one or the other, to the degradation, detriment and partial obliteration of the nation.

The five who are foolish—the lower element, among whom Nature is less obstructed by forethought—finding themselves sinking below sustenance under the weight of the contents of increasing cots, unable to make more sacrifices to send the children properly to school, are finally forced to put them to earning, however little, to help make the dire ends meet. Philanthropy stands ready, again, in cases of acute distress to be disagreeably helpful; but at its best philanthropy is rather like physic. If you do not see why only wait for the hour of necessity and take a dose.

Child-labor laws to prevent these little ones from being put to the brutal tasks of bread-winners deserve all of the commendation they receive.

Compulsory education is not so much to save the child as the nation, by making intelligently valuable instead of dangerously ignorant citizens. If we could add to them a law enforcing marriage and preventing race-suicide, the combination would result in "a nation to be proud of," so far as numbers and intelligence are

concerned, but a nation of bowed shoulders, soulless lives and lifeless souls broken in bearing the burdens. The laws are a means to an end—the building up and betterment of the nation—and the end is good, but the means entail privation and suffering and enforce an evasion more disastrous to the future of the nation than child-labor or permissible ignorance could ever be; for neither, in the very instincts of humanity, could have the far reach of race-suicide.

There is a better way to accomplish the end—more than the end at present sought—but it is a way so absurd and preposterous as to bring a smile to one's lips while he proposes it and a laugh to him who listens. It was something the same, years ago, when pensions were first suggested, in the broad view which America takes of the subject, as an expression of the nation's gratitude to her old soldiers; but we all believe in pensions now—at least that the practice is good, though the principle may be bad—very bad. It must be that we believe, for our pension-roll is materially larger than the entire German army appropriation. We condemn the heavy taxes imposed to support that vast standing army, but who complains that we expend much more upon our pensioners, though only out of gratitude? For we know that not a dollar of the billions going out of the treasury ever yields such good returns. The country could double its pension-roll, to-day, to its own betterment; the practice is so good—though the principle may be bad.

Taxes, in the last analysis, come all and always from the poor; but on the way to the Treasury they go mostly through the coffers of the rich. They would go that far anyway and if taxes were not they would simply stop there. The rich would be so much the richer and the beneficiaries of Treasury disbursements so much the poorer. For taxes, in the final and labelled lumps, come very largely from the rich, directly depriving the pockets of the rich of vastly

greater sums than the pockets of all the middle and the poor combined. Now, there is no better way given among men to keep money in circulation than to fetch it out of the pockets of the rich where it loves to lie and rot, and drop it into the pockets of the poor, whence it must hie away on the wings of the first morning following. Taxes bring it out of one, pensions drop it into the other.

Money in circulation makes for prosperity, for the mission of money is its purchasing power and it can only perform that mission while circulating. No more than with blood can the circulation be beneficial to the whole unless it reaches the remotest digits of the body politic. Pensions are our greatest circulation instigator. The larger the pension-roll the greater the finite circulation and the finite prosperity which makes for the infinite of the nation. The practice is good even if the principle is bad—the principle of supporting a man for life and his sisters and his cousins and his aunts after him, because he lost a toe more or less while under pay from the government.

Last winter the Congress, especially the Senate, tried to put in action a little act which provided that government-clerks, when they reached a certain age, should be retired. They really ought to be. Dr. Osler goes even further. But the bill fell flat because it made no pension provision for the long-time servants when they were retired. The next session will try it again with better results, because there will be added a pension provision. We believe in pensions.

At West Point and Annapolis lads are educated by the government that it may benefit by their intelligence in time of war, and when they reach the age-limit they are retired under pay for life if they have been good soldiers and sailors. Our public-school system carries the same theory toward all education at Government expense, but why should it stop short of *summum bonum*? Why should it not expand to its reasonable limit the theory of the greatest good to all, in the

perfecting of every little citizen to be of the highest value to the nation in perpetual peace?

It is a notion so absurd and preposterous that even the pen that writes it almost smiles, and yet why not? Why should not every child on being born and registered receive a salary as a servant of the nation, gradually increasing as his necessities increase, until his education is complete? No occupant of a desk in the executive offices is more essentially giving his time and energy for the best good of the nation than the child who faithfully prepares himself for good citizenship. Then at the age of retirement, in cases of necessity, the pension could begin again as a reward for having been a good citizen—upon ground as valid, surely, as the continued pay of the retired officer.

Where would be race-suicide, child-labor or call for compulsory education? Where would be the bent backs and anxious faces of the economizing, abnegating, drudging multitude, sacrificing all the joys of life, to-day, in an agony to put their children on their feet and prevent being a burden in old age, or throwing away the reality of life to escape the responsibility? The childless family is envied, now, and the life-insurance incubus a necessity. The baker's dozen would be at a premium then, the horror of early marriage on a small salary and anxiety for the future would disappear while the nation received its own with usury.

Would the taxes be doubled to accomplish it? Suppose they were quadrupled;

what of it? The infinite mass of poor who suffer most pay no taxes and would feel the change only in a slight increase in expenses far more than counterbalanced by the simple commercial value of their children. The children would assume an importance and their education be a remunerative ambition. The individual taxes of the middle-class are very small and the money relief alone would far outweigh the increase. The gigantic pyramids of gold rising in mighty and mightier monuments to the Pharaohs of Finance would yield the beautiful bricks wherewith to build the tower-of-strength about the nation, reversing race-suicide, obliterating child-labor, relieving any further thought of compulsory education; while no better way could be devised for reducing the alarming congestion in the treasure-vaults of wealth and thrilling with the ichor of prosperity the remote and languishing corpuscles.

Is it really so absurdly preposterous, after all? I have talked with many among the richest men in the country and found but one who did not say that he would gladly lend his influence and pay his portion to have such a system in operation. Several heartily indorsed the statement of one: "If my taxes were four times what they are I should save money in being relieved of obnoxious obligations for philanthropic donations of which I do not approve but constantly meet because they are efforts, however unsatisfactory, to come illegitimately toward this same end."

WILLARD FRENCH.

Washington, D. C.

GOVERNOR ALBERT B. CUMMINS: A STATESMAN WHO PLACES THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE ABOVE THE DEMANDS OF PRIVILEGED CLASSES.

BY LEWIS WORTHINGTON SMITH.

THERE is a considerable body of men who have come to political leadership in the Middle West whose general aim and purpose may be defined collectively as that of a new espousal of the rights of man. Among them Governor Cummins of Iowa is a significant and commanding figure. All men now recognize more or less clearly that even here in America the common man has only in a measure come to his own, that the hand of a power that he has had no part in shaping is over him, and that it may be as heavy as the mailed hand of medieval king or czar; but Governor Cummins is one of those who have seen this most surely and have most heartily made the cause of the masses their own.

Governor Cummins came to Des Moines in 1878, and soon built up a law practice that brought him in a very substantial income, an income nearly three times as large as that which he now enjoys as the governor of the state. It was sixteen years later, in 1894, when his name came up for nomination for senator from Iowa. In the Republican caucus he received more votes than any one else except John H. Gear, to whom the support of the party was finally given and whom, as an old man likely to retire soon, it was understood that Mr. Cummins was to succeed. In the McKinley campaign of 1896 he was one of the national committeemen, and in 1899 he was a candidate for the senate before the state legislature.

It was at this time that there began that alignment of forces against him that has continued until this day. The railroads did not want him in the senate. They were then a big factor in Iowa politics,

in some respects a bigger factor than they are at present, and their influence defeated him. He is not and was not a man to be the instrument of any power unjustly exercised, not a man to be the hireling of the money-changers in the temple, not a man to run at the bidding of the slave-drivers. They could not use him, and whom the railroads could not use then the people should not have. That was the beginning in a more open way of the attack upon privilege as the great menace of our national life to which his whole political career has been a devotion.

In 1901, as a result of the fight made upon him, he was advanced by his friends as a candidate for governor, and was nominated in the Republican convention on the first ballot. Party conventions are closer to the people and are not so easily manipulated, perhaps, as legislatures; and that convention was the largest political convention ever held in Iowa, numbering sixteen hundred and forty-one, a body ten times as large and unwieldy as the legislature. He was elected, and within thirty days after entering upon the office was compelled to meet squarely the issue raised in our present industrial development between the interests of the people and those of the great corporations. Both houses of the legislature had passed the Molsberry bill, and he was called upon to sign or veto it. The important provision of this bill was one removing the debt limit of corporations. It was proposed more particularly in the interest of the prospective merging of the Great Northern and the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy railroads, according to the intention of

James J. Hill. J. W. Blythe, the general counsel for the Burlington, director of political affairs for the corporations in Iowa, had engineered the bill through both houses and now hoped to secure the signature of the governor for it.

As a consequence of the slackening of control over corporations which this bill contemplated, its passage would have invited the trusts and other like bodies to organize and incorporate themselves under the laws of Iowa as Iowa institutions. The possibility of assuming obligations far in excess of capitalization which the bill offered would have opened the way to the fraudulent manipulation of securities of which we have had so much evidence elsewhere of late. Incidentally Iowa might have seemed to derive benefit in some respects from the location of large business interests within her borders, but it would have been at the expense of the general good. That at least must have been the feeling of a man looking at the question from the standpoint of a belief that the great corporations demanded by our present economic conditions must be the objects of constant and watchful supervision if they are not to become the irresponsible masters of our collective and individual lives and fortunes.

In making decision in this particular case Governor Cummins was confronted with that situation that more than any other tries the courage of men. Friends with whom his relations had been long and closely personal were interested in the success of the measure. He was importuned by them to sign it. They gathered about him, one and many. Eastern attorneys of the railroads came to the aid of the local political dictator. They urged and protested and explained. The pressure was tremendous. Not to sign the bill was to disregard long and pleasant associations, to alienate men whose good will was dear to him. It was in a measure to cut loose from the organized forces that controlled political destinies, to cast himself upon the un-

certain chances of popular approval. The break with the machine was altogether a less thing than the severing of personal relations established in the course of his long law practice. It was this that might have given him pause and might for many a man of honest intentions have been a sufficient reason for signing the bill. Governor Cummins was made of sterner stuff. The convictions that had been deepened in him by his own experience of the domination of the railroads made only one course possible, if he was to retain his own self-respect. He did not sign the bill, both because he believed it to be unconstitutional and because he believed it to be vicious. He had fought the fight out with the attorneys, answering plea after plea and argument after argument with a fine readiness born of a profound knowledge of the law, a clear mind, and established convictions; and in returning the bill to the legislature he sent a letter that is one of the notable documents bearing upon the subject of corporation control. He said in part:

"The bill proposes to take off, for the first time, every limitation, and confer upon a class of railway companies a privilege which, within the limit of my investigation, has no parallel in modern legislation. . . . I can not bring myself to believe that this species of special legislation is consistent with the public welfare or necessary for the legitimate development of railway property: on the contrary, it is my firm belief that corporate power to issue stocks and incur indebtedness needs regulation rather than expansion."

There is in Governor Cummins little of the spirit of compromise when that means yielding to corrupt or vicious influences in politics. The issue between him and the great corporate interests that threaten to make the American experiment in democratic government a mockery has been definitely raised, and he faces it and will face it squarely and

unflinchingly. There is no longer any possibility of accommodation between him and the forces of wealth organized for the purpose of controlling legislation in their interest. He is a Republican unfaltering in his devotion to the principle of protection, but he is fighting the tariff as it now stands, believing it to be the bulwark of the new tyranny of the age of capital. Manufactured articles that need protection he would protect, but he would levy no tariff by which the manufacturer is enabled to rob the people. In his view, laws made for the control and direction of our industrial and commercial life can not be laws framed in the spirit of our democratic institutions when those who place them on the statute-books are the creatures of a small body of men banded together to conserve and advance their own interests against the interests of the people. He is an advocate of reciprocity, not as a blind partisan following the banner of a great leader, but as a man of clear vision willing to urge upon his party an unpopular course when conditions demand that fine courage of true leadership.

Governor Cummins is a man of warm human feelings and sympathies, approachable, courteous, loyal, a clear intellect and a clean life. A man of fine tastes and wide intelligence, he might easily have lost himself in an elegant exclusiveness, but he has kept his heart open to the needs of men. He is now offering himself as a candidate for a third term as governor, and the indications are that he will win easily. The people, at least, are enthusiastic in their faith in him. Should the Republican convention fail to nominate him, it will be because he has not wooed the good will of the party dictators in the state as he should. The railroads in particular will remember that in Iowa they are paying taxes on an estimated valuation forty-four million dollars higher than it would have been but that he as a member of the Executive Council was instrumental in raising the assessment. This higher val-

uation brings in to the treasury of the state yearly some forty thousand dollars more in taxes and into the treasuries of the various counties a sum of nearly six hundred thousand dollars. That is not a thing that can be used against him before the people, evidently, but it will have its effect in the convention. The man who is keeping his eye on the struggle from the gallery may not hear a word of it, but it will be a thing to be taken account of none the less.

At the time of this writing there appears to have been an effort to discredit Governor Cummins on the part of the railroad interests unfriendly to him in the circulation of a letter addressed to him by Senator Elkins of West Virginia. The letter disputed some of the statements in a recent speech of Governor Cummins relative to the treatment accorded him when he appeared before the Interstate Commerce Committee of the Senate as a witness.. Senator Elkins is the chairman of this committee, and it is safe to say that his known friendliness to the railroads has not disappeared in the light of the discussion that this letter has evoked. The original charges made by Governor Cummins that the cross-examination to which Senator Elkins subjected him was antagonistic and unfair, as that of a friend of the railroads might be expected to be, remains practically unassailed.

It is Governor Cummins' first passion to bring government back to the people. This year he has been pushing forward before the legislature two measures having that particularly in view. One of these was an anti-pass law and the other is a general primary law under the provisions of which latter nominations for office would be made by the voters of the party rather than by a few men gathered together in a caucus. Progress toward the enactment of these measures has been made, but the fight is not yet won. Under his unfaltering leadership it will be won in good time. These are the issues upon which he goes before the people in the present campaign, and,

while efforts are being made to befog the popular mind, there is every evidence that he is carrying the state with him.

Governor Cummins ought to be in the Senate, but it is his misfortune to live in a state that is already well and ably represented there by men to whom he is loyal. His case brings attention to a thing that in the mind of the writer has always been a defect in our representative system. The Senate should be a body of men made up of those leaders of public opinion best able to represent the political feeling and faith of their constituents. As it is, it can not be so, because the man who is the ablest exponent of a policy to which the public opinion of a state is pledged may live and often does live in a state whose citizens in the main hold other views, while the state with which he is in accord must send to the Senate less capable men because within its own citizenship it can not do better. The Senate should be made up of men who belong, so far as considerations of residence are concerned, to the nation rather than to the state. If it were possible for the people of a state to choose for the Senate men who had distinguished themselves by the advocacy of policies which that state wished

to advance, regardless of their place of residence, as in England, we should have a body of finer and more disinterested statesmen in the upper house. The country at large would then secure the services of such magnificent leaders of men as Governor Cummins among Republicans and William J. Bryan among Democrats. At least it would be possible for the various political ideas of various commonwealths to be adequately and ably represented at Washington. It is not so in the best sense now.

While the whole country is entitled to and ought to have the service which such men as he are able to give it, there is work enough for him to do in his own state for his own state, and that he is doing and will do splendidly. A man of great physical vigor, of commanding presence, of telling speech, he wins his way into the firm confidence of the honest, thoughtful voters of a great commonwealth, and they are supporting him in his work for the common good. It is a great work greatly carried forward, and it is such work by such men that will establish republican government anew on the firm foundation of the political equality of man with man.

LEWIS WORTHINGTON SMITH.

Des Moines, Ia.

BRITISH EGYPT.

BY ERNEST CROSBY,

Late Judge of the Mixed Tribunal at Alexandria.

PART II.

THE acute character of the hardships which Ismail's subjects suffered during the last years of his efforts to pay the interest upon his national debt is proven by the history of the Soudan as well as by that of Egypt proper. The Soudan, or the "Land of the Blacks," as its name signifies, is an enormous region more than a thousand miles square lying south and southwest of Egypt and Nubia,

and its surface is as great as that of all the United States east of the Mississippi river. This territory was conquered by the sons of Mohammed Ali in 1820 and added to the Egyptian Pashalic, and for over sixty years it continued without interruption to share the fate of that country. A governor-general represented the government at Khartoum, and subordinate governors were stationed in Darfour, Kordofan and the other provinces, and under Ismail the people suffered from the same excessive

taxation and fiscal misrule which oppressed their fellow-subjects farther down the Nile. It is to their credit that they, too, began to chafe under this tyranny and that signs of irritation began to show themselves. Stirred up by the wretched economic plight of his neighbors, one Mohammed Ahmed of Dongola, son of a Nubian carpenter and boat-builder, began to preach to them very much in the style of the ancient Hebrew prophets. The people were downtrodden, he told them, because of their sins. They must repent and reform and return to the commandments of Allah. He announced himself to be the Mahdi, a prophet long expected in the Moslem world, who was to be the forerunner of Jesus or Issa, upon his return to the earth to judge the quick and the dead. The minaret is indeed pointed out at the great Mosque of Damascus where Issa is to alight. In token of his relationship to Issa, Mohammed Ahmed, who was thenceforth known as the Mahdi, bore a cross upon his banner, and it was indeed a sort of crusade that he preached. It is to be noted that his activity began at his home on the island of Abba, far above Khartoum on the Nile and altogether beyond reach of any connection with the independent movement in the Delta under Arabi. It is strange, and inconsistent with his usual breadth of vision, to find Lord Cromer in his last Blue-Book speaking of the Mahdi as a "religious impostor." Nothing can be more certain than that he was perfectly sincere and possessed of many fine qualities. He was an ascetic with that one exception so common in Moslem countries which relates to the number of a man's wives. He denounced luxury and limited the amount of money which might be spent at a wedding. He forbade the wearing of jewelry, and for years the women of the Soudan, who love nothing so much as bracelets and anklets, obeyed his command. His sermons and proclamations give the true ring of the religious enthusiast who is full of his message. At first only a few followers gathered round

him, and together they refused to pay their taxes. A company of soldiers was sent to collect the tax and punish the mutiny, and they were defeated. This success gave color to the claim of Mahdism and brought many recruits to the standard of Mohammed Ahmed, and before long he was the leader of a great armed insurrection, and the troops of the Khedive were completely overawed. Expeditions were sent against him in 1883 under the English general Hicks and in 1884 under General Baker, and both of these Egyptian armies were annihilated. The Mahdi now found himself the real ruler of the Soudan with an enthusiastic and victorious army under him, possessed by all the religious fervor of the first followers of the great Mohammed. Khartoum and a few other posts remained in the hands of the representatives of the Egyptian Government, but that was all.

At this juncture another interesting character comes upon the scene, a British general, but one who resembled the Mahdi in character far more than he did his fellow-officers. The English Government, now in control of Egypt, began to fear for the safety of the garrison at Khartoum and for the continuance of Egyptian control in the Soudan, and they determined to interfere. General Gordon was not far from London at the time and it was known that during his years of service as Governor of the Equatorial Provinces in the Soudan under the Khedive, he had become popular among the natives and understood them better than any other Englishman. Lord Wolseley telegraphed to him to come to London. He arrived in the morning and in the evening he left for Khartoum. It is said that Lord Wolseley had some difficulty in the haste of the moment and after banking hours to collect the money necessary for Gordon's traveling expenses, but that finally at the station he handed him two hundred pounds. Gordon, when he arrived at Ismailieh met an old servant of his in the street, halt and blind, and in response to

his appeal for a small backsheesh, gave him one hundred pounds, and he had to borrow in order to finish his journey. This anecdote is characteristic of the man. Years earlier he had received a gold medal from the Chinese Emperor in recognition of his distinguished military services in that country, but, on his return to London, wishing to contribute to some philanthropic cause and having no money to spare, he obliterated the inscription and gave the gold piece away. His opinions, expressed in his letters and diary during his tenure of office as provincial governor under Ismail are original and extraordinary. "It is not the climate, it is not the natives," he writes, "but it is the soldiery which is my horror": and again, "These are their (the white man's) maxims, if the natives do n't act after the most civilized manner, then punish them for not so acting, but if it comes to be a question of our acting, then follow the customs of the natives." A sheikh, engaged to guide an attacking party, leads them astray, and they clamor for his punishment. "If he did mislead them," says Gordon, "he was a brave patriotic man, and I shall let him go." "Some philanthropic people write to me about 'noble work,' 'poor blacks,' etc." he says; "I have, I think, stopped their writing by acknowledging ourselves to be a pillaging horde of brigands. 'We do not want your beads, we do not want your cloth,' of the poor Moogies rings in my ears." In the seventies he writes, "We ~~decided~~ these poor blacks who fought for their independence, and now God gave them the victory. I declare . . . I truly sympathize with them. They say, 'We do not want your cloth and beads; you go your way and we will go ours. We do not want to see your chief.' This they have said over and over again. They have said 'This land is ours, and you shall not have it, neither its bread nor its flocks.' Poor fellows! You will say I am inconsistent, and so I am and so are you. We are dead against our words when it comes to action." And still again he writes: "People have little idea how little glorious

war is. It is organized murder, pillage and cruelty, and it is seldom that the weight falls on the fighting men; it is the women, children and old people." And finally in 1883 he says, "Anything is better than the wretched want of sympathy between us and the Egyptians, which is now increasing into deadly hate. We must have a Nemesis unless we show more sympathy."

And in 1884 General Gordon was as "dead against" his words, as he had been years earlier, and he set out confidently to stem the rising of the Soudanese, eager to possess their own country, a task similar to that which he had accomplished in the sixties in China. But when he reached Khartoum he found the situation much more serious than he had expected. His own popularity with the natives was a rush-light in comparison with the religious ardor which the Mahdi had aroused. The latter sent an embassy to Gordon with an eloquent message calling upon him to join him in spreading the true faith. Gordon treated the messengers with contempt and trod on their message, thinking that thus he could best impress their master, but they were not to be overawed, and soon the host of the Soudanese had invested the city and the long, dreary, fatal siege had begun. The story of Gordon's last year has often been told and it is not necessary to repeat it. For months from the roof of his palace, he saw the investing forces of the Mahdi closing in and his own garrison dwindling, as he scanned the horizon to the north, where the Nile disappeared on its journey to the sea, in the vain hope that relief would come. And relief, after much unnecessary delay, was on its way. On Wednesday, January 28, 1885, the first boat arrived within sight of Khartoum, but the flag of the Mahdi was flying from the palace. They were two days too late. Before dawn on the Monday Khartoum had fallen and Gordon had been cut down. Slatin Pasha, an Austrian prisoner in the Mahdi's camp, had listened anxiously to the firing during the night of the assault,

hoping for the defeat of his captors. In the morning two Arabs came to his hut with something wrapped in a cloth, and exhibited it to him. It was the head of Gordon, and his brown hair had turned completely white during the anxieties of the siege.

The Mahdi did not live long to enjoy his triumph. The story is that he gave himself up to sexual indulgence and died in a month or two as a result. It is possible that this is true, although it seems strangely inconsistent with the rest of his career. His death was a misfortune for the Soudan, for his successor, the Khalifa, Abdullahi, was a very different kind of a man, tyrannical and cruel, although it must be remembered that all the information we have of him comes from his enemies. For a dozen years he was the absolute ruler of the Soudan as far north as the frontier-post which Great Britain maintained in the name of Egypt at Wadi Halfa. From time to time he made advances towards this post, in the mad scheme of conquering the world for Islam, and he actually sent a message to Queen Victoria threatening the destruction of her capital if she did not acknowledge him as the representative of Allah on earth.

Meanwhile the Sirdar of the Egyptian Army, General Kitchener, was preparing to reconquer the Soudan. An officer of the engineers, he belonged to the school of Moltke and made of his army a machine which could coöperate with his new railway with mechanical precision. His presence in Egypt was, as I heard the story, an accident. He had been assigned as a lieutenant of engineers to assist in making excavations in Palestine and had there learned to speak Arabic. Thence he had been transferred to Cyprus to construct roads. Returning from furlough to Cyprus via Egypt in 1882, when the "Events" were immanent, he expressed his regret to an English friend whom we shall call X., that he could not stay and take part in the inevitable campaign. "I have written for an extension of leave," he said: "but I am expecting a letter order-

ing me back every day." A few days later X. was at the club when some one said "Here is an official letter for Kitchener." "I'll take it for him," said X., seeing the opportunity for rendering him a service, and he put it in his pocket and there it remained. It was discovered afterwards that it was an order to proceed at once to Cyprus, but Kitchener did not receive it. Meanwhile Sir Garnet Wolseley arrived and saw the need of having an officer on his staff who could speak Arabic. Kitchener alone met the requirement, and he was duly appointed. When the Egyptian army was reorganized with English officers, he naturally remained, and his ability and energy made his promotion certain. One of his officers told me long before he was famous, that Lieutenant-Colonel Kitchener, as he was at the time, did not know what it was to be afraid or to be tired. He could work twenty-four hours a day, and expected the officers under him to do the same, and for this reason he was far from popular among them, but, when he made up his mind to move up the Nile, the result was a foregone conclusion. I do not understand how military men can get up much enthusiasm over victories won with all the latest modern weapons against semi-civilized peoples armed with lances and muzzle-loaders. Kitchener's victories at the Atbara and Omdurman were of this character. They were mere massacres of dusky warriors who showed a reckless bravery unknown among men of European blood. Omdurman, the new capital of the Khalifa opposite Khartoum was destroyed, the venerated tomb of the Mahdi was despoiled by order of the general in command and his body dismembered. The Khalifa was pursued into the desert and slain, and the Soudan came back to its allegiance to the Khedive. The Khalifa may have been guilty of barbarism, but who shall acquit his victor of the same charge? And we have the testimony of Mr. Winston Churchill, who took part in the campaign, that there are some things to be said in favor of the Khalifa. "Never were rescuers more un-

welcome," he writes in the *Morning Post* (see the *Academy*, November 5, 1898). "The thousands who advanced to the Zareba or stood unflinching against the cavalry charge were not pressed men. They fought for a cause to which they were devoted, and for a ruler in whose reign they acquiesced. The Khalifa's house exhibited several signs of cleanliness and refinement, and the loyalty of his people—unquestionably displayed—gives him some claim to be considered a fair ruler according to his light and theirs." And I may refer to Mr. Churchill's book on the *River War* passim, for many examples of his ability to see things judicially and from a standpoint above that of a partisan. I regret that I have no space in which to quote his horrible pictures of the campaign and his outspoken condemnation of the outrage committed upon the Mahdi's

body. (Vol. I., pp. 434-5; Vol. II., pp. 195-6.) He is no less explicit as to the entire justice of the revolt of the Mahdi. "Looking at the question from a purely political standpoint," he says, "we may say that upon the whole there exists no record of a better case for rebellion, than that which presented itself to the Soudanese. Their country had been ruined; their women ravished; their liberties were curtailed; even their lives were threatened. Aliens ruled the inhabitants; the few oppressed the many; brave men were harried by cowards; the weak compelled the strong." (Vol. I., p. 22.) It is no wonder that Mr. Gladstone said that the Soudanese were "struggling and rightly struggling to be free."

(To be continued.)

ERNEST CROSBY.

Rhinebeck, N. Y.

A PRIMER OF DIRECT-LEGISLATION. 28-470

CHAPTER THREE.

Part I.—The Recall.

BY ELTWEED POMEROY A.M.,

President of the National Direct-Legislation League.

Q. WHAT is the Recall?

A. The Recall, formerly also known as the Imperative Mandate, is a simple piece of governmental machinery by which, whenever any of the constituents of a public officer do not like his actions, they can, by signing and filing a petition for his recall, suspend him from office. If he is an elective officer, a new election is held for the balance of his term, and at this election the old officer is a candidate for reelection unless he expressly declines, and others are nominated in the regular way. If he is an appointive officer, the appointing power must appoint some other man. The percentage for the petitions is 50 per cent. in the case of appointive officers and sometimes 50 in the case of elective officers, though in

some instances ; actual practice it is an one-seventh and one-cent. or 20 per cent. general statement avoids

Q. What is correctly showing the general statement avoids

A. The Recall is a simple piece of machinery by which the people are the master district is about the them the will give good representation servants who legislative and civic election is exercised in all cases where an

Q. Is it in any way a representation of the people?

A. Nothing is more properly and advantageously than one day of two that their annual officers, two of these people, but thusly apply, namely: means a most would be the utmost freedom control by the nominating candidates. ernment and a who is elected should the completest majority of the votes cast. mental aims of o

Q. Where has it been introduced?

A. The agitation for the Recall in Switzerland began about the same time as that for Direct-Legislation proper or the Initiative and Referendum, and it was incorporated into their law in some places; but after the Swiss people secured the Initiative and Referendum so generally, the need for the Recall lessened and to-day the agitation for it in Switzerland has almost subsided. It was adopted two or three years ago in Los Angeles, California, and used with telling effect on a recreant alderman. Petitions are now out for a second use of it against an alderman with whom many of his constituents are much dissatisfied. You could not possibly persuade the people of Los Angeles to abandon it now. It has recently been incorporated into the charters of four or five other California cities and into that of Seattle, Washington.

Q. Is there need of it in the United States?

A. The only answer to this is to point to the franchises given away, the bad laws passed, the jobbery, etc., of our city councils and state legislatures; to the non-administration and bad administration of the laws that we have by executive officers. It is badly needed.

Q. What will be its effect?

A. Its effect will be to make legislators far more responsive to the wishes of their constituents, to make executive officers seek to really enforce the laws, and, most important of all, to make the people feel that they are responsible for the men they choose to office and more really interested in their government. If embodied into law it will not often be used, because the fact that it can be used at any time will make officers do their duty.

ELTWEEDE POMEROY.

East Orange, N. J.

Part II.—Proportional Representation.

BY ROBERT TYSON.

WHAT is Proportional Representation?

Army, General. Proportional representation means to reconquer the South. al representation the engineers, he belonged lots for the elec- Moltke and made of his a perative or leg- which could coöperate with tance, a City with mechanical precision, a Congress, ence in Egypt was, as I heard, onal Repre- accident. He had been as means of im- lieutenant of engineers to assist election. excavations in Palestine and of election learned to speak Arabic. Th as to give been transferred to Cyprus ion; which roads. Returning from furl, d pretended prus via Egypt in 1882, ong train of "Events" were immanent, rymandering, his regret to an English friement, crook- shall call X., that he coul exclusion of take part in the inevit political domi- "I have written for an ext tions, the block- he said: "but I am expect ts, and the tri-

umphant rule of the selfish and unscrupulous party machine.

The Unproportional systems of election now usually employed are two in number, namely: (1) Single-Member Districts; that is, electoral districts from each of which only one representative is elected, every elector or voter having only one vote. (2) The Multiple or Block Vote, used in electoral districts from which several representatives are elected, each elector or voter being allowed to cast as many votes as there are representatives to be elected.

Only the simplest of changes is needed to introduce Proportional Representation. Take one feature from each of the present methods. Use the Single Vote, but abolish Member Electorate. Use the orate, but abolish the Mr.

Ye

Single Vote in a

Multiple Electoral District; that is to say, an electoral district from which several members are elected, but in which each elector can vote for one candidate only. I am speaking broadly, so as to cover the ground without unnecessary detail, and am reducing Proportional Representation to its simplest terms. With a view to greater completeness, and to meet varying circumstances, working details and modifications have been added, resulting in several distinct systems, which will be briefly referred to.

This simple change would purify and revolutionize politics. The mere use of the Single Vote in Multiple Districts would dethrone the party boss, snatch from the party machine the monopoly of nominations, and make straightforward honesty the road to political success. That being the road to success, the average man would gladly abandon the devious paths which now lead to political preferment.

At first sight these may appear to be extravagant claims: but an intelligent study of the subject will fully substantiate them. The beginning of this study is to understand the true principle of representation, as follows:

Each important phase of public opinion should be represented in proportion to the number of voters holding that opinion. No voter should go unrepresented. Even if the candidate he most prefers is defeated, he should be directly or indirectly represented by some successful candidate who would have been, or is, his second or third choice.

To illustrate the principle, suppose a thousand men or women desire to elect a committee of ten persons who will be fully representative of the thousand. On what basis ought those ten persons to be elected? Evidently each one of the thousand has a right to be represented by the person of his choice, providing he does not interfere with the equal right of any other man to be similarly represented; but as there are only ten on the committee, and as there are a thousand men to be represented, it is evident that before you

can be represented by the person of your choice you must get about ninety-nine of the other men to agree with you in the choice of a representative. Then if one hundred of you, that is, one-tenth of the voters, agree together on a representative, you are entitled to that representative, and the other nine hundred have no right to mar your choice. The same thing applies to every other one hundred voters who can agree together on a representative. In other words, the electors, by the act of balloting, must be able to divide themselves into as many groups as there are members to be elected: each group being represented by the one man of its choice, without interference or dictation from the other groups. The individual units of each group may come from any part of the electoral district. The electors are not divided on territorial lines, but on lines of principle and preference. In speaking of a "group" I mean the voters who have in a sense grouped themselves together by voting for the same man. We may put it specifically as follows:

In a seven-member district, any one-seventh of the electors must be able to elect one representative.

In a five-member district, any one-fifth of the electors must be able to elect one representative.

And so on. In actual practice it is somewhat less than one-seventh and one-fifth; but this general statement avoids detail whilst correctly showing the general principle.

A five-member district is about the smallest that will give good representation: results in legislative and civic election. But in special cases where only three, or even two representatives are required, the proportion must be used to advantage in the election of two.

the proportional officers, two of these speaking, half thusly apply, namely: auditor, and half would be the utmost freedom majority electing candidates.

Details of the who is elected should how the proportion of the votes cast. the proportion

Q. What are the chief points of difference in the principal methods that have been successfully employed?

A. Three methods have been successfully used, namely, the Hare-Spence system, in Tasmania; the Free List with Single Vote, in Belgium; and the Free List with Multiple Vote, in some of the cantons of Switzerland.

The differences between these systems can best be shown by a brief general description of each.

THE HARE OR HARE-SPENCE SYSTEM.

If you are voting on the Hare-Spence system in a seven-member constituency, you mark your ballot for seven candidates (or less) in the order of your choice, with the figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. The man whom you like best you mark No. 1, and so on in rotation. If your vote goes to help the candidate of your first choice to be elected, then it does not count for anybody else. But if the candidate whom you have marked No. 1—your first choice—has enough votes without yours, or has so few votes that he cannot be elected, then your vote goes to the man whom you have marked No. 2. If your No. 2 does not need or cannot use your vote, then it is passed on to No. 3, and so forth.

In counting the votes, the first operation in the Hare-Spence system is to sort out the ballots into as many compartments as there are candidates, according to the first choice or No. 1 votes, paying no attention for the present to the other figures on the ballots. While this is being done two tally-clerks are keeping tally of the votes. When the total number of votes is thus ascertained, it is determined to seven, which is the number of been transferred elected. This gives the roads. Returning for of votes required prus via Egypt in 1. For instance, if "Events" were immane be elected, and his regret to an English have been cast, shall call X., that he couthousand. take part in the inevit candidates who "I have written for an ext, h a quota is de he said: "but I am expect, is more than a ats are transferred

to such of the other candidates as may have been marked No. 2 on the ballots so transferred. If the candidate marked No. 2 on any of these ballots has already been elected, then the ballot goes on to No. 3, and so on.

It never happens that the full number of members required have quotas of first-choice votes; so we then begin at the other end, take the man at the foot of the poll, with the lowest number of votes, declare him "out of the count," and then distribute the whole of his votes amongst the remaining candidates, according as indicated by the voters themselves, each on his own ballot. This process is repeated until seven of the candidates either get a quota or come the nearest to it.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the essential feature of the Hare-Spence system is the Single Vote in a Multiple District,—the transfers play only a minor part, and frequently do not affect the result in any way. Six Parliamentary elections were held in Tasmania, and in each case the result would have been precisely the same if the election had been decided on the count of the first choices only, ignoring other choices and making no transfers.

The preferential feature of the Hare-Spence system can be usefully employed in electing a single officer, such as a mayor. It enables a clear majority to be always got at one balloting, even if several candidates are running.

THE LIST SYSTEMS.

The method of Proportional Representation in widest use for actual legislative elections is where the candidates are divided on the ballots into party lists. This plan is in operation in Switzerland and Belgium. Besides the division of the candidates into lists, the following are the chief features:

Any group of voters entitled to nominate candidates, either by convention or petition, may nominate as many candidates as it sees fit up to the whole number to be elected.

Votes count individually for the can-

didates as well as for the party or group to which they belong.

In counting the votes, an electoral "quota" is obtained; either by dividing the total vote by the number of members to be elected, or by some improved method which deals with unfilled quotas in a more accurate and scientific way.

The total vote of each party or group of voters is divided by this electoral quota, and each party is allotted as many seats as the quota is contained times in its vote. Should there not be enough full quotas to elect all the members, the required number is either taken from the party or parties having the largest unfilled quotas, or is dealt with in the improved way indicated, called "the d'Hondt quota," which there is not space to detail.

The proportion of candidates to which each party is entitled is usually taken from its list in the order of the votes received by the candidates.

The foregoing features are subject to variation, but give the general idea.

List systems are a partial exception to the principle of the Single Vote in Multiple Districts. The Single Vote is not essential in list systems, although the large districts are. In Switzerland the multiple or block-vote is used; that is, each voter has as many votes as there are candidates to be elected. But in Belgium each elector has only one vote, thus carrying out more fully the true proportional principle.

Q. Where has Proportional Repre-

sentation been introduced, and has it given general satisfaction where employed.

A. In Tasmania, Belgium, and Switzerland, and is in active practical politics in France, with every prospect of speedy adoption. It has given admirable results, along the line indicated in the answers to Question 1. In Tasmania, after it had been used in six elections, its use was discontinued through the efforts of interested politicians. The Government responsible for this met an overwhelming defeat, and the new Government passed a Proportional Representation Bill through the Lower House by a very large majority. Then the Upper House rejected the measure by a majority of two, after the manner of Upper Houses in dealing with progressive measures. But the will of the people must soon prevail.

Q. What are the chief reasons why friends of free institutions and just government should favor Proportional Representation?

A. The reply to the first question has indicated this. Proportional Representation introduces the Golden Rule into politics; makes honesty and straightforwardness the road to success; places political power in the hands of the people; deals a death-blow to corruption; and gives full scope for wise and beneficent civic and municipal activity.

ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Canada.

Part III.—The Absolute Majority Method.

BY ROBERT TYSON.

IN A country like the United States, where so many executive officers are elected by direct vote of the people, it is vitally important that those officers should be elected in accordance with the true principles of representative government.

In electing such officers, two of these principles obviously apply, namely:

1. There should be the utmost freedom of choice in nominating candidates.
2. The man who is elected should have a clear majority of the votes cast.

No one will dispute the correctness of these two principles. Yet they are continually set at naught in the elections of mayors and executive officers under the present system.

It is a common occurrence, when three or more candidates are running, that the successful candidate gets a minority of the votes cast. This is simply the result of defective methods. It is quite practicable to use a system that will give a clear majority at one balloting, no matter how many candidates.

The other serious disadvantage of the present method is that it restricts the choice of candidates. When two fairly strong men are nominated, others dislike to enter the field, because they might injure the chances of one or the other of the contestants by cutting into his vote, and because many electors will not vote for a man, however good, unless they think he is one of the strongest candidates.

There is a method, however, that will carry out the two principles mentioned and will remedy the evils complained of. It is an adaptation of the Hare-Spence system of Proportional Representation and is a method of Preferential Voting.

Suppose that Smith, Brown, Jones and Robinson are running for a city mayoralty. Under the improved system each voter marks his ballot for all the candidates in the order of his choice, with the figures, 1, 2, 3, 4. For instance, take a voter who wants Smith to be elected, who thinks Robinson the most objectionable of the candidates, and who prefers Brown to Jones. The names being alphabetically arranged, that voter will mark his ballot thus:

Brown,	2
Jones,	3
Robinson,	4
Smith,	1

By thus marking his ballot, the voter practically says: Smith is my first choice, and I want my ballot to count for Smith, if possible. But if Smith has so few votes that he cannot be elected, then I want

my vote transferred to Brown, who is my second choice. If Brown is also out, and it comes down to a contest between Jones and Robinson, then I want my vote to count for Jones and against Robinson.

A description of the method of counting will show how the wishes of this voter and of every other voter are given effect to.

At the close of the poll the ballots are sorted out according to the "number one" votes for each candidate, no heed being paid to the other figures. If any candidate has then a clear majority of first-choice votes, he is elected, and the count goes no farther. But if there be no majority, then the candidate who has the smallest number of these first-choice votes is declared "out of the count," and his ballots are distributed amongst the other three candidates in accordance with the second choices thereon—that is, each candidate gets the ballots on which his name is marked "2."

This may give some one a majority. If not, then the lowest of the three remaining candidates is excluded, as was the fourth, and his ballots are similarly transferred. When any ballot contains as second choice the name of the man already "out," his name is passed over, and the ballot goes to the third choice.

The effect of these operations is to concentrate all the votes upon the two remaining candidates; and whichever of them is found to have the greatest number of votes, transferred or original, is declared elected.

You will notice how the foregoing plan favors the full and free choice of the electors, by encouraging the nomination of more than two candidates. In the illustration above given, Smith's friends are not afraid to give him their first-choice votes, because they know that this will not injure the chances of any other candidate if Smith cannot be elected. They know that in that event their votes will go to a stronger candidate whom they have marked as next choice on their ballots. All fear of "vote-splitting"

being thus done away with, there would be nothing to prevent the nomination of half a dozen candidates, or even more. Instead of asking, "Is he a strong candidate?" the main question would be, "Will he make a good mayor?"

POLITICAL CONVENTIONS.

The great usefulness of this plan in political conventions is so apparent that we only need to direct attention to it, and say no more on that point.

PRACTICAL POINTS.

Returning now to political or municipal elections, it will be noticed that the preferential vote may be used with single-member districts in electing members of Congress, legislatures, or city councils. Proportional Representation in multiple districts is the right plan for such elections. Preferential Voting in single-member districts is only to be tolerated as a step towards proportional voting and as familiarizing the voter with the preferential method, which is a part of some proportional systems.

For the election of a governor of a state or even of the President himself, the advantages of the preferential method would be especially marked. This brings in some consideration as to counting the ballots.

Under the system above detailed, it would be necessary that all the ballots should be brought to some central place in order that the transfers may be made. Part of the counting may be done at the voting precincts, or polling sub-divisions, as they are called in Canada. There, the ballots may be sorted according to the first choices, tally-sheets made, and the ballots tied up in bundles. But there is a good deal to be said in favor of the ballot-boxes being sent unopened to the central office, and all the counting being done there by as many persons as are needed. Being fewer in number than the precinct officers, expert and reliable officials could more readily be secured; and the count could be more easily watch-

ed than at hundreds of scattered precincts. These remarks apply with especial force to city elections.

Assuming the abolition of the electoral college, it would be a formidable task to send all the ballot-boxes to Washington at every Presidential election. A similar objection, but in less degree, would apply to sending ballot-boxes to state capitals at the election of governors. Another difficulty in the way of the preferential vote is that it bars the automatic voting-machine which has been so successfully adopted in Rochester and other places. The preferences differ on each ballot; and the ingenuity of man could not make a machine simple enough to record several preferences for each individual vote.

We must therefore look for a plan which will answer the same purpose as the preferential ballot where the latter cannot be used. That plan may be found in an adaption of the Gove System.

THE GOVE SYSTEM.

This system, which was proposed by the Hon. Jesse M. Gove of Salem, Massachusetts, as a simple plan of Proportional Representation, is equally well adapted to the preferential election of executive officers.

Under the Gove System each candidate publishes, after the nominations and before the elections, and in a certain formal way, a list of the candidates to whom shall be transferred the votes cast for him, if he does not get votes enough to be elected. The order of preference of such transfer may either be settled by the list or determined by the comparative number of votes cast for the others whom he names; that is to say, the man having the largest number of votes on his own account may have the first claim on the transferred votes, if he needs them.

It is, therefore, only necessary for the voter to mark one name on his ballot, and the result of the election can be obtained by dealing with statements furnished by the precinct officers, instead of the actual ballots being sent to a central

office; although this can, of course, be done if desired.

Then if any candidate has a clear majority on the vote itself, as will frequently be the case, there is no need for any transfer, and the lists of the candidates are not used.

But if no candidate has a clear majority, the man with the lowest number of votes is declared "out of the count," and his votes are transferred in accordance with his list. This process is continued until only two candidates remain; and as they now have all the votes between them, one or the other must have a clear majority.

Any automatic voting-machine can be used with the Gove System, and a very simple one at that.

The Gove System is chiefly objected to on the ground that the candidates determine the transfer of ineffective votes, whereas the voters themselves ought to determine this.

To this objection the answer is that the voter takes into consideration both the candidate and his list of proposed transferees. Those whom a candidate puts on his list are usually men of the same party as himself, or those in harmony with his opinions; and these are just the persons whom in most cases the voter himself would choose. The making of an improper list would seriously injure a candidate's chances; whilst the very making of a list is useful information to

the voter as to the political position of the candidate, especially if independently nominated.

On the other hand, the counting is much quicker, and any citizen, when the vote is announced, can figure out the transfers for himself. At every election a thousand checking-pencils would prevent even the suspicion of fraud in the transfers.

CONCLUSIONS.

To ensure an absolute majority the present writer knows of no other plan than the two foregoing, if we except the French plan of holding a second election, which is unsatisfactory.

The Hare-Spence or preferential ballot has been tried over and over again in actual elections of presidents, secretaries, etc., and it works without a flaw. It would be applicable to the greater number of elections, for mayors, etc.; and where its use would not be convenient, the simplicity and ease of the Gove plan makes it well worth consideration.

In each case it should be borne in mind that the provisions for transfers are a subsidiary and contingent part of the election, sometimes not used at all, sometimes making no difference in the result when used; yet giving always the very satisfactory result of a majority beyond peradventure.

ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Canada.

Part IV.—The Direct Primary.

BY IRA CROSS.

Q. WHAT is the Direct Primary?
A. It is a system of nominating party candidates for elective offices by direct vote of the people.

Q. How are candidates nominated under a Direct Primary law?

A. One of the registration days is set

aside for the primary. The voter goes to the polls, registers and receives a ballot containing a list of the candidates. In some of the states, where the "open" primary is used, the voter is given a "blanket" ballot containing the names of the candidates of all the parties, but

in voting he must confine himself to the candidates of but one party. Under a "closed" primary the voter receives the ballot of only that party with which he declares himself to be affiliated. In either case he then retires to the booth and votes directly for the men of his choice.

Q. How does a candidate get his name placed upon the primary ballot?

A. By the circulation of nomination papers, which must contain the signatures of a certain percentage of the total number of persons who voted for his party at the last election in the district in which the nomination is sought. For state officers this is usually fixed at 1 per cent., for congressional officers at 2 per cent., and for county and local officers at 3 per cent.

Q. Is a plurality or a majority vote at the primaries necessary for nomination?

A. As a rule, only a plurality vote is necessary.

Q. Does this not result in minority nominations?

A. No. Actual results have shown that, as a rule, the requirement of a plurality under the Direct Primary results in majority nominations. In Minnesota, at the fall primaries in 1904, out of 211 nominations, 195 were made by a majority vote, while the remaining 16 were made by an average of 37 per cent. of the party members. In Milwaukee, Wisconsin, at the city primaries of April, 1906, out of almost 200 nominations only 11 were made by a minority vote.

Q. What are the provisions of a Direct Primary law which best conserve the interests of free government?

A. Experience has shown that every good Direct Primary law must be constructed upon practically the same basis as are the most effective election laws: (1) It must be made compulsory upon all parties; (2) the Australian ballot must be used; (3) all parties must hold their primaries at the same time and place; (4) the city, county and state governments must bear all the expense of conducting the primaries; (5) all pri-

maries must be held under state regulation, in the same booths that are used in the subsequent elections, must be conducted by the same officials and must be kept open for the same length of time. The details of this law will vary according to the prevailing political conditions in those places in which the primary is introduced.

Q. What is the object of the Direct Primary?

A. Its object is to give the people a better government by placing in their hands the power to nominate their party candidates.

Q. Do not the people have this power under the legalized caucus?

A. No. Under a legalized caucus the voters do not nominate candidates, they only elect delegates, and a delegate, no matter how conscientious he may be, cannot represent the wishes of all, or even of a small portion, of his constituents upon the candidates whose names are brought before the convention. Even though the delegates do try to nominate the best man, their efforts are usually foiled by the wild and reckless enthusiasm of the convention, in which deals and trades and the flagrant use of money and promises of future favor count far more than the fitness or ability of the respective candidates.

Q. What have been the results of the Direct Primary where it has been tried?

A. It has universally proven to be satisfactory, as is shown (1) by the fact that it has never been abandoned where given a fair trial; (2) by its adoption and present use to a greater or less extent in thirty-two states of the Union; and (3) by the increasing demand for its adoption by the remainder of the states, as well as for its extension to all elective offices in those states where it now exists.

There is no necessity for stating why the Direct Primary has brought out more voters to the primaries, or why it has succeeded in giving the people better government by destroying machine domination and by making the officials responsible to the voters instead of to the

boss and the ring, as is the case under the caucus system. Sufficient proof of these statements can be gotten by reference to those places where the Direct Primary has been tried.

In Minneapolis, under one of the best legalized caucus systems in the United States, a little more than 8 per cent. of the voters took part in making the nominations. Since the introduction of the Direct Primary in 1900, more than 90 per cent. of the people now nominate their party candidates. In St. Paul at the 1906 spring primaries more than 80 per cent. of the voters attended the primaries. The *Pioneer Press* of that city said, March 15, 1906: "Under the caucus and convention system the vote would not have been one-tenth of what it was Tuesday." In Crawford county, Pennsylvania, where the Direct Primary first originated, an average of 73 per cent. of the voters have come out to the primaries held from 1868 to 1900 (later figures are not obtainable); the average in the 25th Congressional District of the same state for the ten years preceding 1900 being 77 per cent. Experience with the Direct Primary has shown that the people will turn out and that they will manifest an interest in the government if they are but given the opportunity to do so.

When such a large number of the voters take part in the primaries it is impossible for the machine or the ring to dominate the political arena. They cannot control 70 per cent. or 80 per cent. of the voters under the primary as they do the 20 per cent. which attend the caucus. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the machine politician has always fought its introduction. From all over the country comes the convincing proof of actual results that the boss and the corruptionist have been abolished and that as a rule better candidates have been nominated by means of the Direct Primary. The people want good government and good officials, and when they are given the power and the opportunity, they see to it that they get what they want.

Q. But does not the Direct Primary

give the rich candidate an advantage over the poor one?

A. The demand for the primary has come from the poor. It has been opposed by the rich. Under the caucus system, what advantages has the poor man? He cannot afford to pay the expense of running for office, of buying delegates, etc., unless he is backed by the purse of some corporation which will gladly purchase his nomination in return for his favorable vote in the future.

Q. Is not the Direct Primary cumbersome?

A. It has proven itself to be very simple in operation; indeed, much more simple and inexpensive than the caucus system.

Q. What is the tendency of legislation dealing with the nomination of candidates?

A. Wisconsin, Oregon, Florida, Mississippi and North Dakota have Direct Primary laws, state-wide in scope. It is also in partial use in twenty-seven other states. In 1905 fourteen legislatures considered its adoption. Corporate influence and politicians are fighting hard for the retention of the obsolete and inefficient caucus system. But its death-knell has been sounded. It is no longer representative of the wishes of the people. It has become the tool of corporate influence. It has made the delegate the main-shaft of the political machine. The people are demanding its repeal. They are demanding a voice in the government and in the selection of their party candidates. The movement for the adoption of the Direct Primary is sweeping over the country like a wave. This agitation will not cease until its application and use have become as universal and as comprehensive as has its worthy predecessor, the Australian ballot. The latter drove the boss with his corrupting influence from the election-booth; the Direct Primary drives him from the fountain-head of political power, the primary. It insures the inauguration of true representative government by efficient, capable officers, responsible in their official capacity to the majority of the people.

Madison, Wis.

IRA CROSS.

THE PARTING OF THE WAYS.

BY WILMATTE PORTER COCKERELL.

COMPANY H has been ordered out against the strikers! The word was passed along among the men and women of Eldorado. It was the answer to demands and petitions from leading citizens, for Eldorado lived on the mines and the strike had lasted a month already.

"I had to let my parlor-maid go this morning," Mrs. J. B. L. Powelson told a friend tearfully, "and if this insanity among the miners keeps up, I may have to part with Wilson's assistant."

"It's terrible," her friend replied, feelingly. "I've ordered the loveliest fur-raglan, and I can't think what would happen if it should be sent home now. Fifteen hundred dollars is n't much for a good fur, but Fred. would use the strike as an excuse for making an awful row!"

But the power of the state had been called upon to see that such sacrifices were stopped, and groups of excited men gathered on the street-corners to discuss this new phase of the labor war. Geraldine Langley had her coachman stop near one of these groups.

"Bah! it's what we've been wanting," a young man said. "We'll shoot a few of the leaders and the thing is over. If the Governor had n't been so weak-kneed, things would n't have reached this pass."

"I'm glad of my chance,"—it was a mere boy who spoke, a soft-mouthed, wide-eyed youth,—"I've promised myself the lives of a dozen miners. Say, fellows, it's great!"

An older man joined the group just in time to catch Johnson's words. "There's where you're right . . . the whole organization of society is at stake . . . it's the chance for you to show what you're made of . . . there's been a lot of talk about the craven-hearted, soft-bellied young men of to-day. Well, it's up to Company H to show what's in them!"

Geraldine leaned forward, her eyes

ablaze. "They will," she said, excitedly; "Company H will make good!" The men in the group turned toward her, and in the sudden silence the quick rattling of a drum was heard far down the street.

"Hear the beat for assembly! Three cheers for Company H!" called someone from the rear of the crowd. The cheers were given with a will, and Geraldine stood up in her carriage and waved her silk scarf. She looked very radiant there, with uplifted bare arm and shining face.

"If this is the spirit of our women, we have little to fear from the young men," one old man said to another. They were both fat, with great protruding stomachs, and they waddled when they walked, but they clung to the idea that they represented the best possible civilization.

"Quick, Peter," Geraldine said, "drive to the College!" "I shall be the first to tell him," she said to herself, and shut her eyes to better imagine the effect of her news. Someway it seemed to her excited imagination that she had lived her whole life only for this. Now she would see her lover a soldier in very truth. With the warm temper of her Irish grandfather, she had rejoiced in his sword and uniform, for the dramatic possibilities that they suggested, but now she was to see the fruition of her ideals.

"Quick, Peter, quick!" she commanded. The horses seemed almost to creep, and, in fact, Peter held them back judiciously, while making a great show at speed. "And it's not a little thing like the callin' on the meeeshaw, the raison for sweatin' the darlin's," he said to himself, though he flourished his whip and called, "Hi! Hi!" in a soft, excited voice.

The girl's mind was full of pictures . . . the first, the best . . . it had always been so, and to-day had given it added meaning. It had suddenly become the fashion to belong to Company H, and David had

come to her in his new uniform. He had poked a bit of fun at himself, but she would not have it that way. "Take off your belt," she had said, rejoicing in his strength and vigor. Then she had kissed the belt and buckled it on again. "I have girded you for battle,"—the words still sang in her ears; "You are my Knight now, and the West's!"

To-day, it was not a drama, but life! Her Knight and the West's!

The carriage stopped in front of the Chemistry Building and Geraldine hurried up the steps, and ran down through the long laboratory, into the private room where David Epsteen was at work.

His room was a curious, cluttered-up place, with boxes of ore about on the floor, mixed in with coils of copper wire; tables, covered with test-tubes and beakers and bottles of reagents. Epsteen was smoking a stubby pipe, his dog from a corner noting with quick eyes his master's every movement.

"I need something else in this blamed solution," and he tilted a large porcelain dish back and forth. "You know what it is, Ramsey, you villain, but you won't tell." The dog beat his tail on the floor with joy at being spoken to. "This may fix it," and Epsteen lifted a bottle of sulphuric acid, which he added drop by drop. Geraldine came in, but he did not look up.

"Ramsey and I have almost perfected the solution," he said whimsically, and then he saw the girl's face and the bottle fell with a crash.

"What is it? What has happened?" he asked.

"Your company is to start at once for the coal-mines. How proud you must be of the chance. O, I hate myself for being a girl!"

Epsteen's face went white, and she could feel how cold he was and see his face quiver.

"You're not afraid?" Geraldine was trembling now, and the color was all gone from her face. To love a man who was afraid . . . nothing that could come to a woman would be worse. Like a great

wave of freezing gas the thought went through her.

"No, not that way,"—the voice seemed far away and impersonal. "I could stand up and be killed for a good cause . . . though I've liked being alive . . . until now. But to lead the power of the state against men who want a little more life . . . just a little more daylight, perhaps . . . everything so one-sided, for we've got to win with the state behind us . . . I can't do it!"

Geraldine's eyes seemed frozen to his face.

"I *am* afraid," he went on, "afraid of your scorn, of everybody's hatred. I've been dreading this hateful thing for days . . . but there's one thing sure for me: I can't fight the miners!"

Geraldine sank down on a stool and buried her face in her arms. Epsteen put his arm across her shoulder, only to feel her flesh creep and cringe at his touch.

"Do n't," he begged. "You can't take sides with me; I've known that right along, but if you'd only understand that I'm doing a hard thing, and not hate me."

The girl looked up, her eyes wet but defiant. "I knew you had some curious notions; I felt it since you came back this fall. And father warned me. He said that socialism and anarchy were in the air, and that it would take everyone who lacked moral fiber, and that he was afraid for you."

"Will you listen," David asked, "while I tell you about my summer? I should have told you before, only I hoped there would be no need. I can't hope you'll see my way, but if you could only feel that I must . . . stand away from the others."

Geraldine bowed her head, and David took it as permission and plunged into his story.

"I started out with Newstead and Blair for a vacation trip on my new car. Well, Blair was driving one day, at a terrific pace, when a tire went flat and I was thrown into a ditch with a broken shoulder and a twisted knee. There was a house near, a miner's shanty . . . I was

there a month. The miner and his wife did everything possible for me, but I could see that the woman hated me.

"'You must n't mind her ways,' the husband said to me one day; 'Things have gone bad with us. I'm to blame . . . I could have saved her more if I'd thought, but she thinks it's all because we're poor.

"'You see the baby were n't ever very strong, and when it took heart-trouble nothin' would save it. The doctor was foolish enough to say that it might live in California.' The poor fellow's voice broke when he added, 'I had n't the money, but I reckon I was n't savin' enough.'

"Geraldine, I could n't look in that woman's face after that without remembering the dead baby. I did n't wonder she hated me. The price of my car would have given her boy a chance for life. That little pearl brooch you wear would bring enough at a pawn-shop to buy a ticket to the coast.

"Your own brother's life has been saved by a trip to the South more than once. How would you have felt if there had been no money to send him?"

"The idea of comparing my brother, with all his splendid possibilities, to a common miner's child!" the girl spoke hotly.

"You ought to see that the mother cared just the same."

"Bah,"—the girl shrugged her shoulders,—“such women can't care in the same way. They always have more children than they want anyway. You're talking nonsense!"

"Perhaps," David answered sadly, "and there is no good going on . . . only I wish I could make you feel that woman's sorrow. There were no more children for her . . . she had worked too hard before Benny came, the man told me. He blamed himself that he had n't helped out, but how could he when he was working twelve hours a day? Geraldine, you must see the awful pathos of it. The poor woman, maddened by the thought that we had used for luxury, money that

would have given her life its true meaning . . . it was an awful accusation I saw in her eyes . . . I resolved then that I would help on every man's cause toward freedom and light."

"Toward bad whiskey and gambling," the girl answered. "Ask my father and he will tell you that every hour's reduction of work means added time for drink and carousal."

"To some miners, yes. Not to Joe Dallas and his kind. There are plenty of fine fellows at Houston,—clean, decent men who deserve a little of God's good sunshine." They both looked involuntarily out across the campus, with its stretch of level greenness, and its vines and trees rich now with the glory of autumn coloring. Beyond were the mountains, one glorious peak reaching right up into the purple shadows. Geraldine moved nearer the window, and in a moment Epsteen had her hand in his. "We love it, dear," he pleaded, and through the window came the glad, sweet call of the meadow-lark and the hum of a bumble-bee in the hardy clover.

"Why should we wish to shut others out from this? All the mines in the world might shut down, but the crimson and gold of the fall, the shadows of the hills, the warmth of the sun would remain. The world might be even richer in life, and that is all that is worth while."

He looked down upon her with infinite pleading in his eyes, strong, virile, and magnetic, and Geraldine found herself thinking his thoughts . . . of the robbery of men and women, and worst of all the robbery of little children. Tears stung her eyes.

"It will be easier now that you understand," David said, but the softened face, showing delicate beauty in every line, beneath a glorious mass of auburn hair, touched now by the sunlight with reds and golds, made him a coward. "I cannot lose her; I will not give her up," he thought bitterly, but a row of saddened, hardened faces came before the girl's beauty and held him fast to his ideals.

Geraldine drew her hand away and

shook off the influence of his pleading. "They will all scorn you so . . . You'll only be asked to look out for the thugs and such like. Surely you'd be glad to protect life." Epsteen shook his head.

"They mean us to guard their scabs. To help bring into the country the lowest and vilest negroes and foreigners. There are too many such people among us now. Our mountain-men will one day curse this generation because, for a little gain, we provided them with such an ancestry."

Outside there was the steady tramp of soldiers, and down the street Company H marched, accompanied by a great multitude of people on foot or in carriages.

Well, he would meet them fairly and squarely now, and he ran out to join the company on the street. Yes, they were all there, the young men with whom he had been boon companions, the women at whose houses he had been entertained, —and none of them would understand.

A shout greeted him as he came down the steps. The Company halted in front of the Chemistry Building and a man came forward from a great white auto-car, to harangue them on patriotism and their duty to their commonwealth.

Epsteen spoke to the captain. "Impossible; I could n't hear of such a thing." But Epsteen insisted. "You could say you let me out for the good of the service." "Great heavens! Do you know what you ask? You'd be marked for life—it would be worse than having a cattle-brand upon you!" "But I can't go; I'm quite determined upon that. I can't shoot down people I think in the right." "Well, I'll give you the chance," he said bitterly, and he stepped out in front of the soldiers. "If there is a man here who will not serve Eldorado in her hour of need, this is his chance for dismissal." Epsteen stepped out of the ranks.

"To hell with the coward!" yelled a man in the crowd, and, catching his example, the street rang with cries and shouts.

"Down with him!"

"Mob him!" "Socialist!" "Anarchist!" "Coward!"

"Thrash him! Killing's too good for such!"

"Friends," said the captain, "no more of this! Leave him. The contempt of friends, repudiation by all who respected him, is punishment enough."

Epsteen looked neither to the right nor to the left, but with a face that might have been carved from granite, so cold and gray it looked, he passed back into his laboratory. It was his last sight of it. He knew that Eldorado would never give him place again. He had been a traitor to his class. He did not care then; he was stunned with blows and he thought nothing else would move him, but when he turned to go he found Geraldine waiting for him on the porch. The crowd had passed on, but there were still echoes of cheering from far down the street.

She held something out to him. "Take it," she said. "I hope I shall never see you again!" It was a plain little ring of Navajo silver. Geraldine's mother had opposed an engagement while they were in college, but young hearts are not to be bound by convention.

Epsteen took it in his great palm. Someway it awoke him to suffering again.

"The poor, little thing," he said sadly, and remembered the glowing triumph when he had at last persuaded her to wear it as a pledge. It brought back the fragrance of springtime and the radiance of a mountain moonlight.

"Could n't you," he asked brokenly . . . "I should like to keep mine as a memory . . . You must n't think I'd hold you to your pledge. But life seems pretty rough and our dream was very sweet—"

The girl had turned to go down the steps, with a look infinitely bitter and resolute on her face; still, without a word or a backward look, she held out her hand and took back the ring.

It was just at dusk that Epsteen walked down to catch the Western Limited.

He only glanced at the closed home

back among the trees, where Geraldine lived, but his dog's quick sense told him that the girl who was his friend was near at hand. He knew that he was going away, so much of his master's sorrow had penetrated his doggish brain, and now his tail hung limp between his legs and he shuffled as he walked.

"We make a poor showing, Ramsey, old boy," David said; "our enemies will

rejoice, if they care enough to think of it, to see us so down in feather." The dog rubbed against his master's legs. He would have liked to have told him of the girl and her tears, but—well, perhaps it was as well that David could n't know, for Geraldine belonged to the world in which he had lived—yesterday.

WILMATTE PORTER COCKERELL,
Boulder, Colo.

THE MOUNTAIN ROBBERS, THE FALSE GREAT CITIZENS, AND THE PLUNDERED PEOPLE OF THE PLAINS.

A PARABLE OF THE HOUR.

THERE was a certain great city on the edge of a mountain range. Now in the fastnesses of the mountains were certain bands of robbers who coveted the wealth of the people of the city of the plains. So they conspired together and sent emissaries into the city to certain men of wealth and position, and to them they said:

"We will greatly increase your power and help you by the gift of much booty to gain political influence and increase of worldly goods, if you will allow us to name the men who shall be the watchers appointed to guard the entrances to the city."

But the wily men of power said:

"It costs much money to make watchers of the men the people distrust."

"True," replied the emissaries of the robbers, "but we will supply you with ample funds to conduct your campaign and we will rely entirely on our dexterity in recouping ourselves after the watchers are appointed, if you will but select the men who find favor in our eyes."

Then the great men who were called the leaders, and whom the vulgar called the "bosses" covenanted with the robbers for the selection of faithless watchmen, knowing that thereby the city would be spoiled of millions of dollars for every thousand given to the leaders to maintain

their power and their political machine. And it was so. After the faithless servants were appointed they did even as the robbers desired and gave them the keys—called franchises—to the homes of all the people, both great and small, so that every man was robbed by the many bands; and when the people protested against their servants, the great men waxed indignant and said:

"The men whom you accepted to guard the city have all power and have the right to say who shall enjoy the keys to the treasure-boxes. If you propose to set a guard upon your servants or try to prevent them from allowing the men of the mountains to enter at will, we will call you anarchists and will say you believe in mob-rule, and we will have our servants far and near denounce your proposals for self-protection as 'half-baked' propositions 'born of agitation.'"

But the people took counsel together, saying:

"Shall this, our city, become a government of bandits, bosses and cravens, or shall our people overthrow the corrupt bosses and take the keys away from the watchmen and establish a government of freemen, for freemen, and for the overthrow of the bandits?"

And they determined to be free.



Chorus of Muck-Makers alias High Financiers, Political Bosses and Office-Holding Servants of The Interests: "If we can get a few more men like Taft to become a screen or fence for us, we can continue our work undisturbed; otherwise, the days of graft, high finance and political jobbery are well-nigh over."

Drawn by Ryan Walker expressly for THE ARENA.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

THE BATTLE FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE MORAL AND PHYSICAL LIFE OF THE NATION.

Muck-Shielding The Hope of The Thieves and Corruptionists.

ON THE 24th of April Secretary Taft came to the rescue of the alarmed high financiers and corruptionists in an attempt to discredit the men and women who have been responsible for the awakening of the public conscience to a realization of the carnival of corruption that has been in full flower in recent years or since the political bosses and party machines have been captured by the great public-service corporations, the trusts and the high financiers who are bent on securing special privileges and enjoying immunity for flagrant and continuous corrupt practices. The great thieves and master political traitors are in terror lest the present campaign of publicity shall be kept up and by means of continued exposures the thieves and corruptionists of the "interests" and their agents in government shall receive their just dues. They realize that every exposure made by leading magazine writers that has resulted in an investigation has not only substantiated the charges made and which were at first savagely denounced as lies and slanders, but that the sworn testimony adduced has so far exceeded the charges made by the magazine writers that the exposures which were formerly denounced as sensational appear tame in the light of the sworn testimony. Mr. Taft in his effort to give aid and comfort to the Odells, the Durhams, the Coxes, the Gorhams, the Penroses, the Aldriches, the Spooners, the Depews, the Ryans, the Perkinses, the Rogerses, the Archbolds, the Rockefellers, and their ilk, said:

"Just at present we have been passing through a siege of attacks upon our social and political system by gentlemen whom President Roosevelt has properly called the 'men with the muck-rake.' They attribute corrupt motives without proof, and by dwelling on instances of evil they destroy, or seek to destroy, the sense of proportion of their readers and hearers in a general condemnation of society

at large. . . . The denunciations of the 'muck-rakers' have reached such a point that a reaction has set in. Their eyes have become so dull that they have not realized that everything they say is now discounted by the public as born of a desire to be sensational at the expense of fact and the expense of justice."

It will be noticed that all the apologists for the grafters and the corruptionists, all the stand-patters who fear that the people will become tired of beholding the corruption that is making the trusts, the corporations and the political machines all-powerful engines of oppression and moral degradation, and who would therefore have us leave the corruptionists to work undisturbed even though they destroy the Republic, denounce the magazine and newspaper exposures as irresponsible and untrue, as charging corrupt motives without adducing facts, etc. But each and all of these would-be protectors of the corruptionists are very careful not to name the irresponsible writers or at the same time to show wherein their statements are false. And there is a reason for this. Like the men they would shield, they know and know full well that the exposures are true. They know that if the writers had been guilty of slander or muck-raking, in the sense they would have the public accept the term, they would have been promptly prosecuted for criminal libel.

Mr. Upton Sinclair, after publishing his powerful novel, *The Jungle*, was freely denounced in the muck-shielding dailies and his charges declared to be 95 per cent. false. But he has repeated his charges, making them specific and detailed and has substantiated his claim of systematic violation of the law on the part of Mr. Armour in such a manner as to imperil the health of the people, in one of the most searching, calm, dispassionate and convincing articles that has appeared in any magazine in recent years.* He has marshaled an overwhelming and irrefutable array

*See "The Condemned-Meat Industry," by Upton Sinclair, in *Everybody's Magazine* for May, 1906.

Rogers, in *New York Herald*.

MAKES HIM FEEL SMALL.

of evidence and has publicly challenged Mr. Armour to give him a chance to prove his assertions in the criminal courts. But Mr. Armour discreetly prefers to have his muck-shielders denounce Mr. Sinclair rather than to face the brilliant young author in the courts. His only answer, as Mr. Sinclair observes, has been more advertisements of his products.

Already one of the fruits of Mr. Sinclair's exposure is seen in a drastic bill being introduced into Congress by Senator Beveridge of Indiana, which is said to have the support of the administration. The measure seeks to render impossible the abuses which Mr. Sinclair had pointed out existed, by establishing the strictest kind of government regulation of all the packing business and the inspection of all meat and meat products, for interstate as well as foreign commerce. If such a bill shall be enacted into a law, Mr. Sinclair will through his novel and *exposés*, which have already subjected him to so much calumny from the muck-shielders, have been the means of performing an inestimable service to the public.

When Mr. Lawson made his charges against the insurance companies he was roundly denounced as a reckless and slanderous libeller of great and honorable business institutions presided over by the most eminently respected American citizens; but the revelations brought out at the Armstrong investigation were such as to dwarf into insignificance all Mr. Lawson's charges.

When Henry D. Lloyd and later Miss Tarbell exposed the Standard Oil Company, they were denounced as libellers and slanderers,

but Commissioner Garfield has vindicated their charges in his official report.

The Pennsylvania Railroad Company has long posed as one of the eminently respectable and honorable public-service corporations, as it is also the greatest corporation in the United States, "richer even than the Standard Oil Company and with more tangible assets than the Steel-Trust." It has vigorously asserted that it had a clean bill of health, yet the sworn evidence recently brought out by the Interstate Commerce Commission has revealed the fact that the corporation is reeking with foul corruption. The tes-

timony, as the *New York World* editorially pointed out on May 22d, shows "that high officials, superintendents and managers, President Cassatt's son and assistant, owned stock in coal companies and favored their own companies with special rates and facilities at the expense of the Pennsylvania stockholders, of the competing coal-men and of the public. A general system of blackmail grew from these relations."

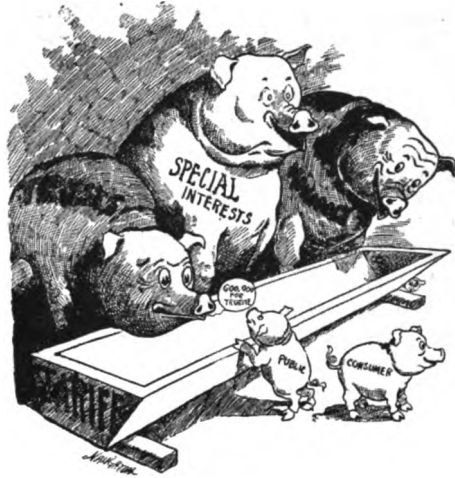
And so wherever and whenever exposures have been followed by any kind of investiga-

Rogers, in *New York Herald*.

"THE FIRST LAUGH WE'VE HAD IN A YEAR."

tion save those of palpable white-washing committees, they have resulted in more than vindicating the men and women who are rendering an inestimable service to the nation by faithfully exposing the vast sea of corruption in and out of government since the "system" or the high financiers, the corporations and the trusts have undertaken to man and operate the ship of state. And only through the faithful and persevering continuance in these vitally essential exposures, wherever there is corruption, robbery, graft and cruel and unjust exploitation of the people, can the Republic be rescued from the grip of the thieving interests and corruptionists or the government be saved from the treason of the servants of corporations, who are betraying the people while with honeyed words they are seeking to further blind them to the crimes that they hope to keep screened.

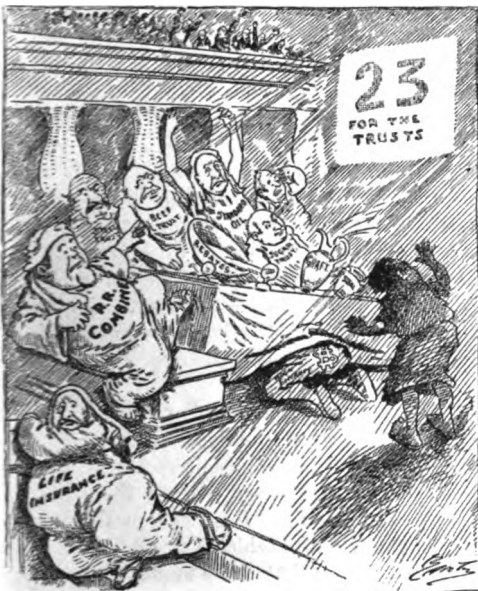
In bold contrast to the discreditable attempts of the office-seeking opportunist politicians who are endeavoring to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, or keep in with the people while doing precisely that which the corruptionists are most anxious to have them do, is the stand being bravely taken by the profoundly thoughtful and sincerely conscientious students of political economy. They



Naughton, in Duluth Herald.

"CROWDING THEM OUT."

know that to-day the most vital thing for America is to prevent the aroused conscience of the people from being lulled to sleep while the muck remains practically undisturbed. They know that there is no more dangerous enemy of the Republic to-day than the muck-shielder. Among these eminent economists who recognize that the hope of the Republic lies in the constant exposure of rascality until the thieves and corruptionists are driven from high places in the business and political world, is the distinguished economist, author and lecturer, John Graham Brooks. Mr. Brooks occupies a front rank among the conscience-element of the scholarly thinkers who have given years of study to social and economic problems. He is a man of broad education. After graduating from the Harvard Divinity School he spent some years in the Universities of Berlin, Jena and Freiburg. Later he became a lecturer on economic subjects in Harvard University and still later served as an expert for the United States government in the Labor Department. He is to-day president of the National Consumers' League. His notable volume, *Social Unrest*, is, says the editor of the *New York Independent*, "perhaps the best analysis of present-day politico-sociological tendencies in America." In a recent issue of the *New York Independent* Mr. Brooks has replied at length to the systematic attempts to discredit those who are compelling the people to take cognizance of the traitors and the corruptionists in governmental life. His article is one of the most important and broad-



Bartholomew, in Minneapolis Journal.

THE HANDWRITING ON THE WALL.

The Trusts Seeing Things.

visioned discussions of this subject that has appeared in print. It should be read by every thinking man and woman in the great Republic. So important, indeed, are the utterances that we make the following extended quotations from the essay, which is entitled "Still the Muck-Rake":

"In the spring of 1903 the New York *Evening Post* prepared its statement of political and business lewdness in Rhode Island. The exposure was as pitiless as it was true to the fact. Even to the fool that runs, it made clear the cancerous spots in our national life. Where politics touches those forms of business that are entrenched by unfair or stolen privileges, disease follows with a swift foot. It is a thing for national sackcloth and ashes that it has taken us so long really to look this ugly fact in the face.

"Strangely enough, it has been left to a group of young journalists to tell the story so that even our great well to do averages are startled into attention. They have been forced to listen. With felicitous departure from all academic timidities these new instructors have camped in the market and the mine; with lobby and legislative committee, reporting straight and without fear the thing that is.

"It is as shabby as it is cowardly of us to condemn what is best in the work of these new messengers, because necessarily open to

this or that fault—as of 'sensationalism' or 'inadequate investigation.' The best of this group are doing the highest and most saving moral work in this country.

"The clergy should be doing it, but as a class they have lost their chance. They are condemned to give out counsel from a distance too safe and protected.

"Why at last in the seats of the mighty is there anxiety? When the *Evening Post*, and later, Steffens, told plain tales of Rhode Island rottenness; a rottenness so expansive as to include among its *causes* her most petted political leader, as well as franchise magnates and much gig aristocracy of Providence. Why did none of them strike back? That an attack so definite, so personal, so charged with criminal accusation should be flouted and ignored is more sinister than the charge itself. Think of a social condition in which one can afford to keep silence before such indictment!

"No one flinched in the least at the first irrefutable proof in general terms that where the business of special privilege impinged upon politics, politics is corrupted. The supreme service of these journalists is in giving concrete and intelligible illustration to the larger general fact.

"It is quite momentous to get the main proposition into our heads that, if any corporate privileges (lighting, transportation, mining, Beef-Trust) once develops the power of great speculative gains, they not only soak the public, but immeasurably worse, they *must* corrupt a swarm of attendant politicians in city, State and nation. At this stage of the discussion, it is either a very dense or prejudiced person who denies this fact. Far more momentous is it to turn this proposition into definite material for propaganda.

"Yet several years of this task work were necessary before a public, long drugged by the phrases of our competitive ethics, began to waken. From every quarter the signs of this awakening are at hand. It is the beginning of the revolt of which I first spoke. It is so unmistakable that those same seats of the mighty are felt by the sitters to be insecure. They were, of course, the last to waken, and like one roughly aroused before dawn, they stagger a little to get their bearings.



Naughton, in Duluth Herald.

CAUGHT AT LAST.

"The senior Senator from Massachusetts is at the front in sounding the alarm. 'Who are these disturbers of our peace?' With senatorial gravity we are admonished to be on our guard against the defamer of dignities. Others are on the alert, angered, grieved, pathetic, according to temperament. The steel of St. George has at last struck home, but they will not have him so named. He is to be 'The Man With the Muck-Rake.'

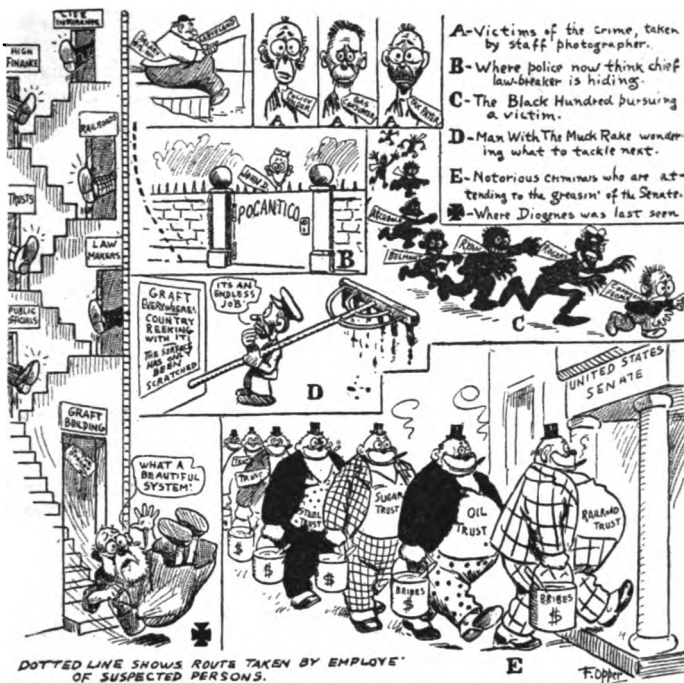
"This we might have learned from every page of really vital reform history. Every shining name on the frontier of social change was a man with the muck-rake. To English factory-owners, in 1830, such a one was Shaftesbury. So was Robert Owen to the Bishop of Exeter and all his kind. William Cobbett and the doughtiest knights who tilted against the rotten boroughs worked in muck with the same implement, because the muck was there. To the whole landlord gentry, Cobden and Bright were no better in the early forties. Midway in the century, Charles Kingsley, Hughes, Ludlow, and even the saintly Maurice, were set upon by English sweaters with a virulence hard, at this distance, even to understand.

"To four-fifths of Boston's *élite*, Garrison and Sumner were men with the muck-rake.

"The crisis in England in 1832, or our own in 1861, was no whit graver than that we now face. The one hope is that we are becoming conscious of the evil. It is this which at last frightens the politician and the freebooter.

"Nothing now concerns the American people quite so vitally as to understand the issue at stake.

"The real work for the man with the rake is just begun. Largely by mere fortuity of a pinched stock gamester and a family quarrel we have had the insurance sore opened, but are we so smitten by blindness as to think for



Opper, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.

THE GRAFT EPIDEMIC.

With Explanatory Diagram.

an instant that the speculation excesses of insurance companies constitute the only sore, or the most dangerous one?

"The probing of railroad abuses is known by every competent person to be in its initial stages. That the express companies should have thus far gone scot free is humiliating, but there is no hope for this new or unfinished task except through the agency of those who will have to bear the stigma of the muck-rake.

"What now is most to be feared is also a well-worn story in the history of political and economic reform. When blood is let, when once disturbed vested interests are driven to their defense, the commonest device is to vilify the agitators.

"The man with the muck-rake at his lowest is not our peril. Our peril is in seeing too late what it means to have democratic government in control of speculative business interests powerful enough to silence or make servile the twenty strongest men in our most dignified political body.

"Who has heard from a soul of them one searching or indignantly effective protest against evils known as thoroughly as Ohio Senators knew their partnership with a creature like Cox of Cincinnati?"

"The reasons for this dumb subservience

constitute a peril compared to which the muck-rake is innocent as a child's toy.

"Upon nothing does the public safety and a cleaner public life more depend than upon the unflinching continuance of this brave surgery."

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE WHOLESALE POISONERS OF A NATION'S FOOD.

EVERY little while enthusiastic critics imagine that they have discovered a new *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in some work of fiction that strikes at the real evils of the day; but we believe, in the light of present happenings, we are warranted in predicting that what *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was to the anti-slavery movement, Upton Sinclair's masterful historic *exposé* of the work of the criminal beef-trust, *The Jungle*, is to the popular uprising against the greatest of all slaveries that has blighted our Republic—the slavery of the people to the plundering and corrupt trusts and public-service corporations—the new feudalism of sordid commercialism. The story of the battle waged by this young David against the Goliath of the condemned-meat industry and the Philistine hosts that are beholden to the beef-trust and other lawless corporations, would make a story thrilling in interest as is *The Jungle*. It would also incidentally expose the mendacity of the controlled press and "kept" editors of certain great dailies in a manner that ought forever to destroy the influence of those sanctimonious moral harlots who have striven so strenuously to shield the beef-trust in the work of poisoning the American people with diseased, spoiled, filthy and chemically doctored meats. More than that, it would show most appallingly how Congressmen and Senators are the lackeys of the beef-trust in seeking to prevent legislation aimed to protect the people from being fed on hog-cholera lard, trichina pork, tuberculosis beef and from being compelled to run the risk of eating spoiled meat prepared in filthy quarters, if they buy and consume the products of those who have gained a virtual monopoly of the meat market of America. Space and time prevent our giving our readers at present anything like a full account of the most important facts that have come to light as a result of the publication of *The Jungle*; but a few things

bear so intimately upon the moral and physical health of the people that some brief citations are called for in a record like "The Mirror of the Present."

"The Jungle" Causes The President to Investigate Packingtown.

A general clamor had been raised by the corrupt bosses and the criminal rich who were terror-stricken at the revelations being made of graft and corruption due to the union of the public-service corporations, the trusts and high financiers with political party bosses and partisan machines, and especially was this terror felt by the machine-masters of the Republican party. Their relation with privileged wealth and the great criminal trusts was so intimate and of so confidential a nature that there could be no general house-cleaning in any direction without danger of grave disclosures that would lead an aroused and betrayed people, regardless of party, to scourge the recreant from power. The insurance trail of corruption had led to Bliss and Cortelyou, to Odell and Platt, and wherever investigations were had, the exposures that preceded them proved insignificant compared with the revelations that followed. Hence the cry went forth that the men and women who were tearing aside the robe of respectability that screened the thieves and grafters, and revealed the riot of corruption that was permeating the business and political world, must be discredited.

Now just at that time *The Jungle* appeared and Mr. Armour ran into print with the most positive, circumstantial and unequivocal defence of the packing industry, giving the lie to the charges that had been brought against the beef-packers at every turn. Mr. Armour posed as a pillar of the business world and of society, and he was a liberal contributor to the Republican machine campaign fund. Hence

The Plutocratic Press Becomes a Voice for The Beef-Trust.

[illegible]

"YOU'RE ALL RIGHT!"

"If you will read this article you will observe that I have indulged in no rhetoric in the course of it. I have used no adjectives and called no names. I have tried to make it read like a legal brief. There are no assertions of my own; there is nothing to be taken upon my own word; there are affidavits and chemists' analyses, official reports and independent investigations—all facts.

"And what has been Mr. Armour's answer to this evidence? What has he had to say to the newspapers about it?"

"More advertisements!"

"Every time that a campaign of exposure against the Chicago packers has begun in the magazines they have spent literally millions of dollars in advertisements.

"For do not make any mistake about the meaning of this thing which I have called 'The Condemned-Meat Industry'—it means murder!"

"The selling for human food of the carcasses of cattle and swine which have been condemned for tuberculosis, actinomycosis and gangrene; the converting of such carcasses into

sausage and lard; the preserving of spoiled hams with boric and salicylic acid; the coloring of canned and potted meats with aniline dyes; the embalming and adulterating of sausages—all of these things mean the dealing out to hundreds and thousands of men, women and children of a sudden, horrible and agonizing death.

"One hundredth part of what I have charged ought, if it is true, to be enough to send the guilty man to the gallows.

"One hundredth part of what I have charged ought, if it is false, to be enough to send me to prison.

"If the things which I have charged are false, *why has Mr. Armour not sued me for libel?*

"All that I ask of Mr. Armour is a chance to prove my charges in court. Is he afraid to give me the chance?"

In New England the papers that sinned especially in regard to voicing what the beef-trust spread broadcast were the *Boston Transcript*, notably in its edition of April 14th, and later the *Boston Herald* in editorial notes that appeared from time to time.

The Report of The President's Investigating Committee.

At length the report was made and it proved so overwhelmingly confirmatory of the main contention of Mr. Sinclair's circumstantial story and his arraignment of Mr. Armour in *Everybody's Magazine* that there was nothing left for the administration but to demand that the American people should be protected from the men whose practices made body-snatchers and ghouls highly respectable in comparison.

Presumably at the suggestion of the administration, Senator Beveridge of Indiana introduced a provision that became a rider to the agricultural appropriation bill, aimed at compelling the beef-trust to cease from selling the American people diseased meats or their spoiled products, or from otherwise placing the health of the nation in jeopardy through filthy and unsanitary conditions surrounding the preparation of food products and the adulterating and doctoring of the same with poisonous and injurious substances.

The idea of preventing the trust from unloading cholera-hogs or pigs infected with trichina, or tuberculosis cattle upon the American people, or of preventing them selling doctored and spoiled meat, was promptly

resented by the trust that has been so liberal with its campaign contributions to the machine political organizations in city, state and nation. But the President intimated that he would publish the entire report of his commissioners if the trust fought the measure. This appears to have proved sufficient to prevent any open warfare. That they, however, redoubled their activity was immediately apparent from the fact that Congress, the Senate and the White House were flooded with hundreds of telegrams from the cattle raisers whom the beef-trust had frightened; while the various representatives of the people from the state of Illinois were quick to act as lackeys for the trust. The press reports declared that Senators Hopkins and Cullom were very active. Cullom called at the White House in behalf of the trust. So also, it was stated, did Speaker Cannon and Congressmen Lorimer and Madden. It is said, however, that when the President stated to them the result of the investigation of his commission they were unable to oppose the provisions of the Beveridge bill, which was promptly passed by the Senate. The packers, however, appear to have immediately redoubled their efforts to emasculate the Beveridge amendment. On June 1st the *Boston Herald's* Washington dispatches state:

"The House leaders are going ahead in their plans to materially change the Beveridge rider. A substitute has been drawn by Representatives Wadsworth and Lorimer of the House agricultural committee, and was shown to-day to Senator Beveridge. He denounces it as an effort 'to butcher his amendment for the butchers.' He says the substitute 'eviscerates' the original provision, and predicts the substitute will never pass the House.

"The work of Wadsworth and Lorimer has been forwarded to Chicago for perusal of the packers, who, Mr. Lorimer said to-day, have been running their business at a loss for three or four years, and are now anxious to have a meat inspection law passed and then be forgotten by the public for awhile.

"Its leading features are placing the cost of inspection upon the government, making inspection permissible rather than mandatory, and taking from the secretary of agriculture the power to absolutely condemn meat in interstate commerce which inspectors have rejected. It also provides for appeals to the courts."

Mr. Sinclair's Second Statement to The Public.

Mr. Sinclair, when he found the new tactics of the trust in trying to afford excuses to their agents in Congress and to the machine political bosses for the emasculation of the Beveridge proposed legislation, by frightening the cattle-raisers and getting them to telegraph to Washington, issued a strong and able statement which is so germane to this important controversy that we quote somewhat at length:

"A despatch from Washington to the *New York Sun* declares that the Chicago packers are endeavoring to swerve the President from his resolve to secure reforms in the meat-packing industry; that they have depressed prices and put the screws upon the 'live-stock interests,' with the result that the latter are 'deluging members of Congress and even the White House with telegrams asking that the fight against the so-called trust be called off. No less than 700 telegrams have been received at the White House since Senator Beveridge introduced his bill proposing Governmental inspection of all the meat-packing plants of the country.

"I have not the least idea that this trick will succeed. . . . Nevertheless I think it right that the people should realize the meaning of this latest move of the conspiracy against their lives and health.

"For decades there has been developing in Chicago, entirely unrestricted and unheeded, a system whereby the public was made to buy and consume all the diseased and tainted meat that could be gathered from the five million farms of this country. When I first went to Packingtown I found that the system had reached a stage where the public had been educated to ignorance—not merely as to the practices that existed, but even to the laws concerning them.

"I wrote a book to tell the truth about it. The packers tried to bribe me, and to intimidate me; they set detectives after me, and tried to influence my publishers not to bring out the book. They filled the press with lies about me, and even sent to newspapers to prevent the book's being reviewed.

"And then the President read it; and when he began an investigation, they started the story that he was investigating me, to get material to attack me. And for months they were able to make the country believe this grotesque yarn.

"And meantime they were cleaning up in front of his commission. I got information from a superintendent at Armour's as to the precise room in which they 'doctored' spoiled hams; but they had stopped 'doctoring' spoiled hams! A night watchman for one of the 'Big Three,' who is giving me information, writes as follows: 'They knew just when the two new commissioners were to be out, and extra men were working half the night getting ready.'

"And then they sent a man to try and influence this commission. I violate no confidence in saying that much, for I have it in a letter from a newspaper reporter, who was told it by the man they sent.

"And now that all these tricks have failed, they put the screws on the poor cattle-raisers and set them to telegraphing!

"Much cause the cattle-raiser has to love the Beef-Trust, and to pull its chestnuts out of the fire! For years the packers have been beating down the prices of beef on the hoof, ruining the industry in whole states. They caused forty banks to fail in Iowa in a single month. It has been their regular practice to raise prices to induce big shipments, and then lower them, and scoop in all the cattle in sight. And it is these same cattle-men who have often been stuck in Chicago without money to get home by freight, who are now set to telegraphing the President in behalf of the Condemned-Meat Industry!

"Just a few facts to show how the packers treat these cattle-men. Dr. William K. Jaques of Chicago, who was for two years at the head of the city inspection in that city, writes me as follows: .

"'Quarantined meat is that which has been suspected of disease on the hoof, but after slaughter has been found to be good. The law provides that this is to be sold at auction. The chief meat-inspector was employed by one of the packers to buy this meat. A ring was made and the bids were in writing and the meat was always obtained at a small figure. The chief meat-inspector could ride through the yards, pick out the finest beef and quarantine it; after it was killed get it at his own price for the packers. When it was stated that I would make these bids open, it was intimated that I might come into the "ring."'

"The newspaper dispatch above quoted says that two cattle-experts called on the Pres-



Opfer, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

THE MEAT SCANDAL. With Explanatory Diagram.

ident and told him that everything in Packing-town was all right. If they did that, they said what they knew was false, for there is not a cattle-man in the United States who does not know that what I have charged about the Condemned-Meat Industry is true. The President knows it too, for he has the report of his commissioners.

"It is a business that has grown up with the trust system of large-scale slaughtering and refrigerator-car distribution; so that now all the old, dried-up, diseased and crippled cattle, which formerly were buried in the farmer's back-lot, are gathered up and shipped to the nearest trust-factory to be converted into some kind of food.

"There is no secrecy at all about this—you can go there to Packingtown and see them; you can't go there and fail to see them, if you know what a sick cow is, and are honest enough to admit it. Among the hundreds of letters I have received about these matters is one from a farmer in Minnesota, who writes:

"One day a hog-buyer came to my place and said: 'Have you any sick hogs to sell?' I answered, 'Yes, nearly all my hogs are down with the cholera.' He said: 'If they live

till I can get them on the cars I will pay you a good price for them.' And so he did. Some time after this I met the hog-buyer and asked him how he came out on the deal. He said: 'Two of them died on the way to Chicago, but I came out all right.'"

"I wonder if there is any connection between that story and the one published in the San Francisco *Examiner* of March 23d last, telling how all the inmates of an orphan asylum in Vallejo were poisoned by a can of Swift & Company's 'Jewel' brand of lard? Or another dispatch, which I clipped from the New York *Times* only last Wednesday, telling how four members of one family in Millville, New Jersey, were nearly killed by ptomaines as a re-

sult of eating boiled ham?

"Eight years ago the United States government made a practical test of the products of the Condemned-Meat Industry. It took many thousands of able-bodied men and isolated them in Cuba, and forced them to eat packing-house tinned meat. And the death-rate that followed caused a national scandal. Everybody who is on the 'inside' in Chicago knows that the Beef-Trust spent literally millions of dollars to hush up the facts.

"The newspaper dispatch says that the demand for meat is falling off as a result of my agitation, and that this is the reason the stock-raising interests are sending telegrams. That is true, and it is the first true statement the Beef-Trust has sent out in its war on me. . . . One of my agents who is now at work in Packingtown states upon the authority of a superintendent that Armour & Company's business has fallen off thirty or forty per cent., and that the big firms are no longer marketing their goods under their own names, but are sending them out under false labels.

"Naturally Mr. Armour is vexed at seeing his criminal profits disappearing."

The New York World on One Phase of The Scandal.

The New York *World* for May 28th, in speaking of Illinois' shame in that the state government no less than the municipal government of Chicago was complacent to the great campaign-contributing trusts rather than jealous of the life and health of the citizens, also thus refers to the humiliating spectacle of United States senators and congressmen acting as willing servants for the malodorous embalmed-beef magnates:

"But Illinois is too kind-hearted to inconvenience the Beef-Trust. And when President Roosevelt, by means of a private investigation, satisfies himself that the reports of disgraceful conditions in the packing-houses are true in the main, and when he uses this information to bring about the enactment of an adequate Federal meat-inspection law, Senator Cullom, Speaker Cannon, Representative Madden and Representative Lorimer march dutifully over to the White House and intercede in behalf of the Beef-Trust.

"The State of Illinois shares the moral guilt of the packers for every ounce of diseased meat sent out of Chicago."

And on May 30th the same great daily had this to say editorially:

"The packers still exercise tremendous political influence. Witness how the Speaker of the House and a United States Senator and a party of Illinois Representatives zealously trotted over to the White House to intercede with the President, and how another Chicago Representative, without specifying a single fact in defense, denied point-blank all the charges against the packers. Plainly local sentiment has not yet been aroused or has not yet made itself felt. Yet worse blindness and dishonesty have been publicly and directly charged against the Chicago inspectors than against those in the Government's employ. It is reasonable to assume that conditions have been no better in Omaha and Kansas City."

The Washington dispatches to the Boston *Herald* show how determined though underhanded is the fight being made by the corrupt trust. Among other significant statements is one showing how Speaker Cannon and all his Illinois Republican colleagues are laboring to modify the bill so as to meet the wishes of the beef-packers. The dispatch states

that "they dare not kill the rider, but astute lawyers have been called in to suggest how it can be modified."

United States Senator Hopkins is also represented as being especially active in the interests of the beef-trust. From the course that has been pursued by Illinois senators and congressmen, it is not difficult for the people to see who are the real masters of these so-called popular representatives. Their own actions are eloquently proving the truth of David Graham Phillips' charges against the recreant senators.

What Will be The Outcome?

At this writing, June 2d, it is impossible to predict the outcome, but the published reports in the papers on the morning of May 31st are far from reassuring as to there being no modification so as to satisfy the corrupt trust. Evidently encouraged by the President's surrender on the rate bill, the packers and their army of aides in Congress and out are bending every energy to so change the legislation as to give the people the shadow without the substance of relief, as has been done in so many instances since the "interests" have become a dominant factor at Washington.

The one thing above all others that the trust fears will be published are the affidavits and testimony of persons given before the commission, which would substantiate or discredit Mr. Sinclair's statements. The trust had ample time to clean up before the commission reached Chicago. Moreover, in the nature of the case the commission could only become cognizant of the real condition through the testimony of workers and those who had seen conditions when the trust was not on guard. This testimony is the vital evidence and it is also the evidence the trust most wishes withheld. Yet on May 30th the press dispatches reported that the commission's report when given to the public will only relate to what it personally saw; and this probably accounts for the statement, published in the Boston *Herald's* press report on June 1st, that "the packers appear to have lost all interest in suppressing it" (the commission's report).

If this rumor is true, the trust has won a tremendous victory and the President has again given way after one of his spectacular grand-stand plays. Moreover, if this is true we very much fear that when the legislation is completed the people will have won but a

barren victory, although of course it will be heralded abroad as was the passage of the Elkins Bill as a victory for the people. The Elkins Bill proved to be in fact a pronounced triumph for the corporations, as it eliminated the prison clause from existing legislation which was a real nightmare to the law-breaking public-service chiefs.

Later: The Abridged Report Appears.

Since writing the above the President has submitted the abridged or partial report of the commission, in which, as we expected, the damning evidence and testimony of those who appeared before the committee to testify to things which had been charged and which in the nature of the case the commission could only learn of from the testimony of workers, are eliminated. The *New York World*, however, for June 3d, published a whole page written by Mrs. Ella Reeves Bloor who, with her husband, as the representative of Mr. Sinclair, assisted the commission in its investigation by securing and bringing before it the various workers as well as prominent individuals who were cognizant of the horrible facts charged against the beef-trust.

Though the commission's report is abridged in such a way as to leave out many of the most damning facts relating to the infamous action of the murderous trust, that part of the report which deals with what the commission saw in the preparation of food products and the environment of the workmen is so revolting in character as to be almost unprintable; in fact, some things are unprintable.

Naturally enough, the beef-trust has come out in one of those general denials which it has been making to every charge made since the embalmed-beef scandal; but the American people are prepared for these perfunctory denials from organizations that shrink from any kind of legal or authoritative investigation. The insurance thieves were loud in denouncing as utterly false the charges made by the magazine writers; yet the investigation proved the charges to be more than substantiated. The Standard Oil Company likewise denied the charges made by their critics; yet Commissioner Garfield's report substantiated those charges. And so with the Pennsylvania Railroad and so with other great law-breaking and corrupt organizations

that are powerful because of their enormous campaign contributions to the corrupt political party machines. They are as ready with denials of charges even though the charges are supported by overwhelming proof, as they are reluctant to have a searching investigation of the corrupt conditions.

It is difficult, however, to see how any persons who read the report of the President's commissioners, together with the circumstantial statements of Mrs. Bloor and the affidavits of Herman Hirschauer being published in the *New York American*, can ever again bring themselves to the point where they would be willing to eat any of the canned products, the sausages or the other concoctions turned out by the soulless, money-besotted meat-trust.

Not only did the packers seize upon the advantage given them by the President in withholding the affidavits and testimony of workers relative to many of the worst conditions due to the murderous cupidity of the beef-trust and the corrupting influence of the great corporation in city, state and national government, but the plutocratic press of the country was quick to act as apologist for the evil conditions and to seek to frighten the administration from making any further public report of the results of the investigation, on the plea of loss of foreign trade. The leading editorials in the *Boston Traveller* of June 5th and in the *Boston Herald* of June 6th were typical of this general sounding of the Esau-voice of the packers. Indeed, these editorials might almost have been written by the beef-trust's industrious lawyers or press-agents, so apologetic were they in their tone for the criminal trust and so palpable were their attempts to minify the importance of the revelations made, and, in the case of the *Boston Herald*, so pronounced was the implied reflection on the President for giving to the public even what he did of the awful conditions which the commissioners themselves saw in Packingtown. The safety of the American people or the health of the nation seems to count for little in the presence of a possible loss of dollars in foreign trade incidental to the attempt to compel the trust to furnish clean and sanitary conditions and to protect the American people from diseased and spoiled meat.

THE LATEST EXAMPLE OF THE MORALLY-DEGRADING INFLUENCE OF CORRUPT WEALTH IN THE EDUCATIONAL WORLD.

"THE ARENA" has for years insisted upon the fact that the acceptance on the part of colleges and churches of gold known to have been acquired by corrupt practices and indirection, must necessarily prove morally degrading. When a church through fear of losing rich donations or the favor of the powerful, ceases to be aggressively insistent all along the line of moral rectitude, she loses her virility and become less and less a real factor in upward-moving civilization, though her edifices may rise in increased splendor as did the pagan temples of ancient Rome after the real vital faith and moral force of the old religion had ceased to exert a compelling influence on the public mind. And what is true of the church is equally true of the college or university. When it once becomes beholden to the moral criminals, or when it hopes to gain wealth from the predatory rich, it not only becomes morally enervated, but its influence is thrown on the side of the evil-doers, it becomes the apologist for moral criminality; and should such a condition long continue and become general in the educational world, it would necessarily destroy the nation's moral stamina and enthrone wrong in the seat of power. Colleges that are the bond-slaves of privileged and corrupt wealth, or institutions that are looking for aid from these sources, will not tolerate the inculcation of moral idealism and practical wisdom or the freedom of thought that is the vital soul of great universities.

When Professor Bemis showed that the cities should own and operate their lighting plants, he ran counter to the private interests of the law-defying and criminal Standard Oil Company whose wealth was so largely the sustaining power of the Chicago University. Hence Professor Bemis was relieved of his place. So in the well-known case of the Leland Stanford University. When one of the professors boldly criticized certain evil conditions and practices and thus gave offense to Mrs. Stanford, he was compelled to leave. And these illustrations are merely flagrant examples of the liberty and justice-paralyzing and destroying influence of privileged wealth in American institutions of learning.

No one knows better than the high financiers and gamblers of Wall street that their hope of immunity while continuing their corrupt practices, their monopoly and extortion, depends on their ability to bribe and silence church and college. And no student of the history of the Republic in recent decades, whose moral sensibilities and intellectual acuteness have not been blunted by the lure of corrupt wealth, can fail to recognize the lowering of ethical idealism and the increase of moral cowardice in regard to certain of the greatest exhibitions of moral criminality and public spoliation that have marked the attitude of our colleges and universities as well as of our churches since the Standard Oil Company and other representatives of lawless and criminal wealth began their systematic campaign of donations of an infinitesimal portion of their extortions to silence the school and the church,—donations that could not in effect be other than bribes.

It will be remembered that President Hadley made a brave verbal stand for honesty, integrity and the higher ethics in demanding that men who were acquiring wealth by unjust or lawless means should be socially ostracized; but so soon as John D. Rockefeller, who doubtless noting how the conscience-element of the nation applauded the President



Sullivant, in the *Boston American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

BALAAM'S ASS!

Payne, in *Pittsburgh Gazette-Times*.**LATEST PORTRAIT IN OIL.**

of Yale for his stand for old-time honesty, and fearing that if not captured and silenced he would become a peril to the commercial feudalism, tendered Yale a donation, relatively infinitesimal when compared with the millions acquired through unjust and criminal practices by the Standard Oil Company, but relatively large for a university donation, President Hadley quickly and greedily extended his hand for the tainted gold. Moreover, since that time we have not heard Mr. Hadley insisting on socially ostracizing those who gain their wealth by indirection.

Chancellor Day's Attack on The President and Mr. Hearst.

The latest and by far the most amazing exhibition of moral disintegration following the gold-gagging system of the Standard Oil Company was seen in the recent hysterical, intemperate and reckless deliverance of Chancellor James R. Day of Syracuse University. When almost the whole nation, or the law-abiding part of it, and all the conscience-element whose moral perceptions have not been hopelessly blunted by the glitter of corruptly acquired gold, was applauding President Roosevelt for calling the attention of Congress to Mr. Garfield's exposure of the systematic criminal action on the part of the Standard Oil Company, Chancellor Day, whose institution has received liberal donations from John D. Archbold, one of the chief spirits in the lawless corporation, made a vicious attack on Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Hearst and all

the men in the nation whose work has terrified the criminal rich, the gamblers, the law-breakers and the plunderers of Wall street. This man, who has given us the latest example of the moral decadence that comes when corrupt wealth directly or indirectly silences college and church, showed also in his deliverance the mental confusion and intellectual recklessness which so frequently follow on the heels of moral decline. To illustrate this fact we quote from Mr. Day's utterances as reported in the *New York World*:

"The amazing blunder is in the Chief Executive of a great nation attacking business interests, judges and persons, in proclamations to Congress and in interviews for the daily press. It is so extra-constitutional and in violation of such sacred individual rights, that it cannot be continued with safety to our country.

"There are two general forms of anarchism. The late practices of our President are of the more dangerous of these two forms. That form of anarchism for which William R. Hearst stands is harmless in comparison with that which takes on the forms of our institutions and laws, and does unlawful, unjust and tyrannous things officially. Hearst can do little because his cloven foot is instantly seen whenever he steps. But anarchism clothed with official authority is covert, deceptive and perilous in the extreme."

To realize the mental confusion of Chancellor Day's utterances it is only necessary to call to mind the meaning of anarchy, and then to note his deliberate perversion of the word in his disgraceful utterances. A common but very vicious moral offense of our times is the deliberate application of opprobrious terms to persons, regardless of the appropriate application of the term. Often an odious epithet is applied to persons against whom one desires to create unreasoning prejudice, though the term represents a diametrically opposite meaning from the ideas, the thoughts and the works of the individual criticized. Happily there are few men of influence or standing who have so little regard for their own moral and intellectual reputation as to thus deliberately juggle with words for the purpose of deceiving and prejudicing the more thoughtless and careless readers. Chancellor Day, however, is one of these unhappy exceptions. He charges President Roosevelt with being guilty of anarchy, for doing what?

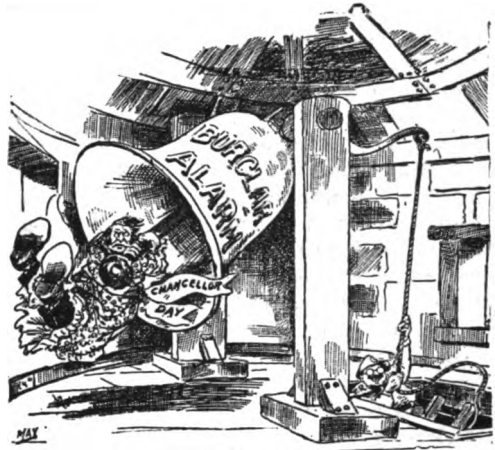
Merely the duty he is obligated to do—calling the attention of Congress to the criminal acts and systematic practice of anarchy or law-breaking on the part of the Standard Oil Company as shown by the painstaking and exhaustive investigation of the properly constituted government official in his official report. To say that the President has no constitutional right thus to call the attention of Congress to an important report of a government department is to betray a recklessness or a degree of ignorance that is almost inconceivable. But the chancellor in his extreme desire to create prejudice against those who are seeking to break up the systematic lawlessness of the criminal rich denounces the President's act in sending a message accompanying the Garfield report, as an exhibition of anarchy.

And then he ambles off into a tirade against Mr. Hearst, the one journalist and legislator of all men in America who in recent years has made the path so continuously thorny for the arrogant, rapacious and law-defying criminal rich. Mr. Hearst's exhibition of anarchy, judged by what Chancellor Day characterizes as anarchy in President Roosevelt's action, was strikingly seen when he attacked the rapacious ice-trust so effectively as to bring the extortionate band that composed it to account and in so doing saved the people large sums of money and doubtless also saved the lives of many a poor man, woman and child.

Another exhibition of Chancellor Day's brand of anarchy was seen when Mr. Hearst haled the coal-trust and the railroads into court for violating the anti-trust and interstate commerce acts, and thus aroused the bitter animosity of all the criminal rich that were fattening off of the spoliation and the misery of the people, occasioned by unjust extortion in the prices charged for coal.

Still another exhibition of the Standard Oil apologist's kind of anarchy was seen when Mr. Hearst recently placed in the hands of the government such indisputable evidence of systematic law-breaking on the part of the sugar-trust and a number of the leading railroads that it has already led to the indictment of the great magnates who have so long exerted a powerful influence in political life while posing as the pillars in our business and social fabric.

In Boston, in Chicago and in New York also Mr. Hearst has attacked the public-lighting and traction companies that are fattening off the people, in a manner very offensive to



May, in the *Detroit Journal*.

"CURFEW SHALL NOT RING TO-NIGHT!"

the predatory rich and their hirelings. But though in every instance Mr. Hearst has either simply demanded just legislation that would curb criminal greed, or the faithful enforcement of laws already on the statute-books, both of which things are the extreme opposite of revolutionary anarchy, he is denounced as an anarchist by this religious educator who plays the sorry rôle of an apologist for the criminal rich.

It is difficult to find language to properly condemn so deliberate an employment of misleading terms for the purpose of creating prejudice against those who are seeking to maintain respect for law and to conserve the ends of justice by insisting that the rich law-breakers be treated in the same manner as the poor criminal. We are glad to note the fact that Chancellor Day, though at the head of a great Methodist university, is not able to influence conscientious and self-respecting Methodist clergymen. Thus, for example, we find the Rev. Charles A. Crane, pastor of the People's Temple of Boston, in the course of a manly stricture on Chancellor Day's deliverance, saying:

"The rascals whom he rushes to defend have established their reputation as looters of the public, and that reputation could not be better established if they were convicted in court. That reputation could be added to by the action of the courts, but it could not be more clearly known than it is now.

"The President did but express the long-standing conviction of the people at large who have been held up by these trust magnates, and that conviction will not in the least be disturbed by the uproar of those who have benefited by this plunder.

"The chancellor assures us that he has no financial interest in these gentlemen whom he so valorously defends. This might lead one to conclude that Syracuse University has never been the beneficiary of these men of the trusts named and that none of them ever served on the board of trustees of that institution. This conclusion would, however, hardly be justified by the facts in the case.

"It is really moving to see this saint declaring his disinterested defense of the alleged Christian gentlemen whose plunder of the public for these many years has been a curse to church and school and state and many a home. When these predatory trusts have paid defenders in the legislatures of every state and the nation, it is truly touching to see this Methodist preacher rushing in where even 'angels dare not look.'

"He would have us believe that because a pirate has never been captured and convicted he is therefore no pirate. He seems to think that because the police have failed to catch a thief, he is no thief until caught. His logic

is as lame as his cry is sonorous and his case is as hopeless as that of dishonesty ever is when pitted against the conscience of the common people.

"Intoxicated with the exuberance of his own 'amazement,' he has made of himself a spectacle for men and angels."

Mr. Crane merely voices the sentiment of the conscience-element throughout the land, but it is humiliating in the extreme to those who wish to take pride in our institutions of learning, to behold such exhibitions as this by Chancellor Day. Still, in one respect, this utterance, coming at the present, may prove fortunate; for at a time when the conscience-life of America is everywhere stirring, when the men of thought and conviction are everywhere ranging themselves against the forces of moral degradation, corruption, graft and systematic law-breaking, it is, perhaps, well that we should have an illustration of the effect on the morals and intellect of the reception by educational institutions of wealth obtained by law-defying or corrupt methods—wealth that acts as a bribe and which serves to silence the voice of justice, manhood and Christian morality when it does not change it into an attack on the defenders of law, integrity and virtue.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PRESERVATION AND MAINTENANCE OF FREE INSTITUTIONS IN THE REPUBLIC.

A Fundamental Thinker on Free Government and How to Preserve It.

WE HAVE recently received a small brochure, written by Mr. Francis I. du Pont and entitled "Government by the People," which should be read by every earnest and patriotic citizen of America. The author is one of a group of fundamental thinkers among men of influence and wealth who are exhibiting the same lofty spirit that marked the thought and lives of Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Hancock and Adams in this country, and LaFayette and other members of the nobility of France in the dawning hours of the great revolutionary epoch that inaugurated democracy in a large way throughout Western civilization. But the new thinkers who are also leaders are more fortunately

circumstanced than were their illustrious predecessors, in that the victory won in the earlier day secured to democratic peoples the power of effecting forward movements and revolutionary changes, when the cause of justice, freedom and humanitarian progress demanded them, without appealing to force.

The sin of our age and time, in so far as the people at large are concerned, is that they have permitted themselves to fall into a state of political lethargy which has been seized upon by privileged interests and classes seeking monopoly rights, and by professional politicians for revenue and place, who by means of a union as real and effective as a close corporation have for years steadily been transforming the government in the interests of the feudalism of privileged wealth and its

office-holding dependents. We no longer enjoy, in anything like the degree intended by the signers of the Declaration of Independence, the right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, which must mark a nation of free men. Wherein we fail is shown by Mr. du Pont, after which he proceeds to point out the reason for our failure and how the mistake can be remedied; and so excellent, timely and important are his words that we quote at length from this pamphlet. The facts here so clearly given embody the most vital truth that can be pressed home upon the electorate. The first great step for the American people is to get the government back into the hands of the people, to firmly establish a government of the people, by the people and for the people in the place of a government by the trusts and privileged interests, through political bosses and party machines, for the benefit and enrichment of corporations and privileged classes and their servants in political life. When we establish guarded representative government, so as to again enjoy the blessings of democratic freedom, other reforms demanded by the people will be easy of accomplishment. Until we obtain this great victory the people will be thwarted at every turn by the over-rich high financiers, the trusts, the monopolists, the public-service corporations and their servants in city, state and national government.

"Now," says Mr. du Pont, "it is clear that the people do not have the rights of Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness, and the reason they cannot assert their rights is that we have *not* really a government by the people. We have a government by money interests which care nothing for the people.

"Monopoly can arrange two parties neither of which favor the people, and can get some voting one way and some another way, thereby keeping people from seeing the truth. Monopoly can then laugh and say, 'Heads I win; Tails you lose.'

"Citizens! This is all wrong.

"What we must do is this:

"First. Insist on a true government by the people.

"Second. Abolish that whole class of investments which check the production of the good things of life and decrease the sum-total of wealth.

"How a true government by the people can be brought about.

"Let public officials be elected as at present.

"Let the offices of President, Congress, Governors, State Legislatures, County Boards, Municipal Councils, etc., which have been found expedient remain as at present *but* deprive these of the unlimited power they now exercise when once they have entered on their offices by means of *The Initiative and Referendum* with direct ballot.

"The people's *Initiative* is a provision to give the people the power to initiate or begin the making of a law if the legislature fails to do so.

"This is accomplished by a petition having the power of command signed by a specific number of voters, to the effect that a certain proposed law be submitted to a vote by the people. If voted for by a majority it becomes a law. This leaves the legislature power to make laws as now, but gives the people a chance in case the legislature does not do their will.

"The *Referendum* is a provision that every law made by the legislature (except emergency measures necessary for public safety) remain inoperative for say 60 days during which a petition having the power of command may be presented as in the initiative to the effect that the law be submitted to a vote by the people. If voted against by a majority, it becomes void.

"This absolutely prevents the influence of legislation by money interests, for there are always patriots among the people who are on the look-out for things that may injure the community, and by the referendum the people can assert their will. The direct ballot is an important feature. To understand this let us consider the disadvantage of the present ballot. In the last presidential campaign there were various parties—two principal ones, the Democratic favoring free silver and reduced tariff, the Republican favoring gold standard and protection.

"Now if a man's views happened to correspond with either party he could vote according to his convictions. Suppose, however, a man believed in high protection and free silver. He was forced to sacrifice his vote on one or the other. In the same way suppose a man favored free trade and gold standard. He could not vote for either one without sacrificing the other.

"As a result of this many voted against their convictions and some did not vote at all.

"Under the system of direct ballot the measures are printed on the ballot and each can vote on any measure independent of any other.

"Think of such a thing as the directors of a company voting in parties. The company would probably go to ruin just as the people do in hard times.

"Of course under the system of true government by the people, if the people preferred to remain in slavery and to allow speculators to check the production of good things of life, they could do so, but it is likely that they would gradually learn, as many now know, what the trouble is.

"PUBLIC SPIRIT.

"Few realize what a great and noble thing is public spirit. It is one and the same thing with Patriotism. It is that which has made our nation what it is. It exists naturally in each individual, but is perverted or destroyed by various things.

"The greatest enemies of public spirit are government by the few and slavery. It makes little difference whether slavery is allowed

by law under that name,—that is, whether some men are allowed to own other men, or whether they are allowed to own absolutely the materials of Nature with which other men must labor, without which they cannot continue their life. It is slavery just the same, whether it is called by other names or not, and is an enemy of public spirit. Under the present system men do not discuss public affairs with much interest; the reason is that they have little or no voice in them. A man does not go out in his yard and dig up the ground for nothing, but if he can see in his mind's eye beautiful flowers growing from the seed he expects to plant, the digging will become a pleasure with which he will while away his spare time. Even so with public affairs. When men know that no matter how much interested they are in public matters, these will be controlled by monopoly, they lose interest and feel that there is no use in 'digging up the ground for nothing.'

"Just as soon as we introduce a true government by the people, we will find many heated discussions where there is now indifference, and when people realize that their welfare depends on it, there will be no trouble in their having a clear enough understanding of the whole matter."

A DISTINGUISHED JURIST'S STATESMANLIKE PLEA FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

NOT IN years have we read an address that impressed us as being clearer, stronger, saner or more instinct with the high moral idealism and true statesmanship that marked the men who wrote and supported the Declaration of Independence, than that delivered by Chief Justice Walter Clark of North Carolina before the University of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia on April 27th of the present year. In it the eminent jurist made a masterly and convincing plea for a constitutional convention to revise the antiquated Federal Constitution, which, however well adapted to meet emergencies of the case in the infant Republic of over a century ago, is inadequate for the conservation of the best interests of the people under the changed conditions of the present. In his argument Chief Justice Clark gave a graphic sketch of the

essential difference which marked the spirit and character of the great Declaration and the Federal Constitution:

"The Great Declaration was an appeal to the masses. It declared that all men were 'created equal and endowed with certain inalienable rights—among them life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—to secure which rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; and that when government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and institute a new government in such form as shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.' Never was the right of revolution more clearly asserted or that government existed for the sole benefit of the people, who

were declared to be equal and endowed with the right to change their government at will when it did not subserve their welfare or obey their wishes. Not a word about property. Everything was about the people. The man was more than the dollar then. And the Convention was in earnest. Every member signed the Declaration, which was unanimously voted. As Dr. Franklin pertinently observed, it behooved them 'to hang together or they would be hanged separately.'

"The Convention which met in 1787 was as reactionary as the other had been revolutionary and democratic."

Of the constitutional convention and its work we have a very graphic pen-picture, from which the following are excerpts:

"Ignoring the maxim that government should exist only by the consent of the governed, it sat with closed doors, that no breath of the popular will should affect their decisions. To free the members from all responsibility, members were prohibited to make copies of any resolution. Any record of Yeas and Nays was forbidden and was kept without the knowledge of the Convention. The journal was kept secret, a vote to destroy it fortunately failed, and Mr. Madison's copy was published only after the lapse of forty-nine years, when every member had passed beyond human accountability. Only 12 States were ever represented, and one of these withdrew before the final result was reached. Of its 65 members only 55 ever attended, and so far from being unanimous, only 39 signed the Constitution, and some actively opposed its ratification by their own States.

"That the Constitution thus framed was reactionary was a matter of course. There was, as we know, some talk of a royal government with Frederick, Duke of York, second son of George the Third, as King. Hamilton, whose subsequent great services as Secretary of the Treasury has crowned him with a halo, and whose tragic death has obliterated the memory of his faults, declared himself in favor of the English form of government with its hereditary Executive and its House of Lords, which he denominated 'a most noble institution.' Failing in that, he advocated an Executive elected by Congress for life, Senators and Judges for life, and Governors of States to be appointed by the President. Of these he secured, as it has proved, the most important from his standpoint, the creation of

Judges for life. The Convention was aware that a Constitution on Hamilton's lines could not secure ratification by the several States. But the Constitution adopted was made as undemocratic as possible, and was very far from responding to the condition, laid down in the Declaration of 1776, that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Hamilton, in a speech to the Convention, stated that the members were agreed that 'we need to be rescued from the democracy.' They were rescued.

"*The Declaration of 1776 was concerned with the rights of man. The Convention of 1787 entirely ignored them.* There was no Bill of Rights and the guarantees of the great rights of freedom of speech and of the press, freedom of religion, liberty of the people to assemble, and right of petition, the right to bear arms, exemption from soldiers being quartered upon the people, exemption from general warrants, the right of trial by jury and a grand jury, protection of the law of the land and protection from seizure of private property for other than public use, and then only upon just compensation; the prohibition of excessive bail or cruel and unusual punishment, and the reservation to the people and the States of all rights not granted by the Constitution—all these matters of the utmost importance to the rights of the people—were omitted and were inserted by the first ten amendments only because it was necessary to give assurances that such amendments would be adopted in order to secure the ratification of the Constitution by the several States."

Justice Clark shows clearly the urgent need of revision. He points out the fact that:

"Our Federal Constitution was adopted 119 years ago. In that time every State has radically revised its Constitution, and most of them several times.

"Had those men been gifted with foresight and created a Constitution fit for this day and its development, it would have been unsuited for the needs of the times in which it was fashioned.

"When the Constitution was adopted in 1787 it was intended for 3,000,000 of people, scattered along the Atlantic slope, from Massachusetts to the southern boundary of Georgia. We are now trying to make it do duty

for very nearly 100,000,000, from Maine to Manila, from Panama and Porto Rico to the Pole. Then our population was mostly rural, for three years later, at the first Census in 1790, we had but five towns in the whole Union which had as many as 6,500 inhabitants each, and only two others had over 4,000. Now we have the second largest city on the globe, with over 4,000,000 of inhabitants, and many that have passed the half-million mark, some of them of over a million population. Three years later, in 1790, we had 75 post-offices, with \$37,000 annual post-office expenditures. Now we have 75,000 post-offices, 35,000 rural delivery routes and a post-office appropriation of nearly \$200,000,000.

"Corporations, which now control the country and its government, were then so few that not till four years later, in 1791, was the first bank incorporated (in New York), and the charter for the second bank was only obtained by the subtlety of Aaron Burr, who concealed the banking privileges in an act incorporating a water company—and corporations have had an affinity for water ever since.

"Had the Constitution been perfectly adapted to the needs and wishes of the people of that day, we would still have outgrown it. Time has revealed flaws in the original instrument, and it was, as might be expected, wholly without safeguards against that enormous growth of corporations, and even of individuals, in wealth and power, which has subverted the control of the government.

"The glaring defect in the Constitution was that it was not democratic. It gave, as already pointed out, to the people—to the governed—the selection of only one-sixth of the government, to wit, one-half—by far the weaker half—of the Legislative Department. The other half, the Senate, was made elective at second hand by the State Legislatures, and the Senators were given not only longer terms, but greater power, for all Presidential appointments, and treaties, were subjected to confirmation by the Senate."

How undemocratic some of the provisions were and how well calculated to foster class-government or the real interests of the privileged few at the expense of the many, under the mask of a republic, our author shows most convincingly. We have space for only a brief extract on this subject:

"The Judiciary were placed a step still

further removed from the popular choice. The Judges were to be selected at fourth hand by a President (intended to be selected at third hand) and subject to confirmation by a Senate chosen at second hand. And to make the Judiciary absolutely impervious to any consideration of the '*consent of the governed*,' they are appointed for life.

"It will be seen at a glance that a Constitution so devised was intended not to express, but to suppress, or at least disregard, the wishes and the consent of the governed. It was admirably adapted for what has come to pass—the *absolute domination of the government by the 'business interests'* which, controlling vast amounts of capital and intent on more, can secure the election of Senators by the small constituencies, the Legislatures which elect them, and can dictate the appointment of the Judges, and if they fail in that, the Senate, chosen under their auspices can defeat the nomination. Should the President favor legislation and the House of Representatives pass the bill, the Senate, with its majority chosen by corporation influences, can defeat it; and if by any chance it shall yield to the popular will and pass the bill, as was the case with the income tax, there remains the Judiciary, who have assumed, without any warrant, express or implied in the Constitution, the power to declare any act unconstitutional at their own will and without responsibility to any one.

"The people's part in the government in the choice of the House of Representatives, even when reinforced by the Executive, whose election they have captured, is an absolute nullity in the face of the Senate and the Judiciary, in whose selection the people have no voice. This, therefore, is the government of the United States—a government by Senate and Judges—that is to say, frankly, by whatever power can control the selection of Senators and Judges. What is that power? We know that it is not the American people.

"*Let us not be deceived by forms, but look at the substance. Government rests not upon forms, but upon a true reply to the question, 'Where does the governing power reside?'*" The Roman legions bore to the last day of the empire upon their standards the words, 'The Senate and the Roman People,' long centuries after the real power had passed from the *curia* and the *comitia* to the barracks of the Pretorian Guards, and when there was no will in Rome save that of their master. There

were still tribunes of the People, and Consuls, and a Senate, and the title of a Republic; but the real share of the people in the Roman government was the donation to them of 'bread and circuses' by their tyrants.

"This being the situation, the sole remedy possible is by amendment of the Constitution to make it democratic, and place the selection of these preponderating bodies in the hands of the people."

Some Urgent Constitutional Changes Demanded by Chief Justice Clark.

Justice Clark mentions five changes which he holds to be vitally important constitutional provisions for bulwarking democracy in the interests of popular government. While we regret that he does not emphasize those changes which we believe to be of paramount importance at the present time, such as Direct-Legislation and the Right of Recall, the changes he indicates are all in the right direction and are, we think, of great importance, especially the election of judges and senators, the changes in the presidential electoral provisions, and the modification of the Fourteenth Amendment, as well as the provision for the termination of the life of one Congress when its successor is elected. Space renders it impossible for us to notice at length Justice Clark's strong argument for each change which he suggests. We, however, give extracts from his plea for the election of judges:

"And now we come to the most important of the changes necessary to place the government of the Union in the hands of the people. By far the most serious defect and danger in the Constitution is the appointment of Judges for life, subject to confirmation by the Senate. It is a far more serious matter than it was when the Convention of 1787 framed the Constitution. A proposition was made in the Convention—as we now know from Mr. Madison's Journal—that the Judges should pass upon the constitutionality of acts of Congress. This was defeated 5 June, receiving the vote of only two States. It was renewed no less than three times, *i. e.*, on 6 June, 21 July, and finally again for the fourth time on 15 August; and though it had the powerful support of Mr. Madison and Mr. James Wilson, at no time did it receive the votes of more than three States. On this last occasion (15 August) Mr. Mercer thus sum-

med up the thought of the Convention: 'He disapproved of the doctrine, that the Judges, as expositors of the Constitution, should have authority to declare a law void. He thought laws ought to be well and cautiously made, and then to be incontrovertible.'

"The subsequent action of the Supreme Court in assuming the power to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional was without a line in the Constitution to authorize it, either expressly or by implication. The Constitution recited carefully and fully the matters over which the courts should have jurisdiction, and there is nothing, and after the above vote four times refusing jurisdiction there could be nothing, indicating any power to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional and void.

"Had the Convention given such power to the courts, it certainly would not have left its exercise final and unreviewable. It gave the Congress power to override the veto of the President, though that veto was expressly given, thus showing that in the last analysis the will of the people, speaking through the legislative power, should govern. Had the Convention supposed the courts would assume such power, it would certainly have given Congress some review over judicial action and certainly would not have made the Judges irretrievably beyond 'the consent of the governed' and regardless of the popular will by making them appointive, and further clothing them with the undemocratic prerogative of tenure for life.

"Such power does not exist in any other country and never has. It is therefore not essential to our security. It is not conferred by the Constitution, but, on the contrary, the Convention, as we have seen, after the fullest debate, four times, on four several days, refused by a decisive vote to confer such power. The Judges not only have never exercised such power in England, where there is no written Constitution, but they do not exercise it in France, Germany, Austria, Denmark, or in any other country which, like them, has a written Constitution.

"A more complete denial of popular control of this government could not have been conceived than the placing such unreviewable power in the hands of men, not elected by the people, and holding office for life. The legal-tender act, the financial policy of the government, was invalidated by one court and then

validated by another, after a change in its *personnel*. Then the income tax, which had been held constitutional by the Court for an hundred years, was again so held, and then by a sudden change of vote by one Judge it was held unconstitutional, nullified and set at naught, though it had passed by a nearly unanimous vote both Houses of Congress, containing many lawyers who were the equals if not the superiors of the vacillating Judge, and had been approved by the President and voiced the will of the people. This was all negatived (without any warrant in the Constitution for the Court to set aside an act of Congress) by the vote of one Judge: and thus one hundred million dollars, and more, of annual taxation, was transferred from those most able to bear it and placed upon the backs of those who already carried more than their fair share of the burdens of government. Under an untrue assumption of authority given by thirty-nine dead men one man nullified the action of Congress and the President and the will of seventy-five millions of living people, and in the thirteen years since has taxed the property and labor of the country, by his sole vote, \$1,300,000,000, which Congress, in compliance with the public will and relying on previous decisions of the Court, had decreed should be paid out of the excessive incomes of the rich.

"In England one-third of the revenue is derived from the superfluities of the very wealthy, by the levy of a graduated income tax, and a graduated inheritance tax, increasing the per cent. with the size of the income. The same system is in force in all other civilized countries. In not one of them would the hereditary monarch venture to veto or declare null such a tax. In this country alone, the people, speaking through their Congress, and with the approval of their Executive, cannot put in force a single measure of any nature whatever with assurance that it shall meet with the approval of the courts; and its failure to receive such approval is fatal, for, unlike the veto of the Executive, the unanimous vote of Congress (and the income tax came near receiving such vote) cannot avail against it. Of what avail shall it be if Congress shall conform to the popular demand and enact a 'Rate Regulation' bill and the President shall approve it, if five lawyers, holding office for life and not elected by the people, shall see fit to destroy it, as they did

the income tax law? Is such a government a reasonable one, and can it be tolerated after 120 years of experience have demonstrated the capacity of the people for self-government? If five lawyers can negative the will of 100,000,000 men, then the art of government is reduced to the selection of those five lawyers.

"A power without limit, except in the shifting views of the court, lies in the construction placed upon the Fourteenth Amendment, which passed, as everyone knows, solely to prevent discrimination against the colored race, has been construed by the Court to confer upon it jurisdiction to hold any provision of any statute whatever 'not due process of law.' This draws the whole body of the reserved rights of the States into the maelstrom of the Federal Courts, subject only to such forbearance as the Federal Supreme Court of the day, or in any particular case, may see fit to exercise. The limits between State and Federal jurisdiction depend upon the views of five men at any given time; and we have a government of men and not a government of laws, prescribed beforehand.

"The preservation of the autonomy of the several States and of local self-government is essential to the maintenance of our liberties, which would expire in the grasp of a consolidated despotism. Nothing can save us from this centripetal force but the speedy repeal of the Fourteenth Amendment or a recasting of its language in terms that no future court can misinterpret it.

"The vast political power now asserted and exercised by the court to set aside public policies, after their full determination by Congress, cannot safely be left in the hands of any body of men without supervision or control by any other authority whatever. If the President errs, his mandate expires in four years, and his party as well as himself is accountable to the people at the ballot-box for his stewardship. If members of Congress err, they too must account to their constituents. But the Federal Judiciary hold for life, and though popular sentiment should change the entire *personnel* of the other two great departments of government, a whole generation must pass away before the people could get control of the Judiciary, which possesses an irresponsible and unrestricted veto upon the action of the other departments—irresponsible because impeachment has become impossible, and if it were possible it could not

be invoked as to erroneous decisions, unless corruption were shown."

The whole address is worthy of the serious consideration of every true American.

Justice Clark is one of the ablest jurists of the South, a ripe scholar, with the broad vision of a true statesman. Moreover, he is a wise and just judge and a true upholder of free government. Naturally he is not loved by the law-defying and people-oppressing trusts and corporations. When he was put forward

for election to the high position of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of his state, after serving with great credit as an Associate on the Supreme Bench, the tobacco-trust and the railways who had received no favors at his hands, strove to compass his defeat. A bitter contest ensued, but the people knew that in Judge Clark they had an able jurist who could be implicitly trusted to defend the fundamental principles of free and just government. Hence he was elected by over 60,000 majority.

A VITAL SERVICE TO DEMOCRACY.

NO MORE important series of magazine articles has been printed in the past decade than those now running in the *Cosmopolitan* from the brilliant pen of David Graham Phillips. In these papers he not only lays bare the unsavory record of the traitors to the Republic and the people entrenched in one of the chief citadels of government, by simply holding up to the gaze of the world their own public acts, but he writes with the impartiality of the patriot who loves the nation and the cause of the people more than he cares for party. He is showing how the plutocracy or the criminal rich—the "interests"—whether they be the public-service corporations, the giant trusts, or the great Wall-street gamblers and high financiers, are systematically using their tools in both parties who through their influence, either exerted directly or indirectly through vast campaign corruption funds, have been elevated to the United States Senate, supposedly to represent the states and the people of the various commonwealths, but in reality to do the bidding of their real masters, the "interests," in all great conflicts where the schemes of the predatory rich conflict with the interests of the people.

Mr. Phillips' papers are unanswerable, because the record he gives is spread on the pages of history; his facts are susceptible of proof if brought into the courts. He and his publishers know full well that to attack any of these great servants of privileged interests—any of the men whose chief concern is to compass the ends of the privileged classes, would be to invite criminal libel proceedings

in which the "interests" would gladly spend millions to discredit the splendid young American patriot and scholar who for the cause of free government and the interests of the people is to-day doing the most important work that can be done before we can hope to again get the government back into the hands of the people or break the giant power of the criminal rich acting through political machines and party bosses.

It is not strange that there is panic among the smooth, sleek, well-fed betrayers of the people. It is not strange that the bosses and the shifty politicians, finding that they cannot deny the damning records which Mr. Phillips is holding up to the American people, are shrieking against the muck-rakers. Furthermore, it is not strange that the corporations and their venal organs in the press are loud in denunciation of the literature of exposure, because they know that the success of all those who are engaged in the robbery of the people, in systematic corrupt practices and criminal acts, and the enthronement of a feudalism of wealth behind the mask of a republic, depends upon their preventing the people from knowing just how these great wrongs and crimes are being steadily carried on in spite of the growing indignation and wrath of the people.

Already the public records of Senators Depew, Aldrich, Gorman and Spooner have been published. They are records of shame and they should be read by every American citizen.

A desperate effort is being made at present to divert the attention of the people from the damning facts in the public record of the trust

and corporation senators, the criminal insurance, railroad, Standard Oil and beef magnates, by a general cry against all those who are laying bare in an incontrovertible manner the appalling facts that are the crying shame and the deadly peril of the Republic. This is no new trick of the guilty and their apologists. It is precisely what Boss Tweed's ring and the hirelings in the New York daily press sought to accomplish when Nast in *Harper's Weekly* and the editor of the New York *Times* were carrying forward the long-drawn-out and apparently hopeless struggle against the powerful officials of the corrupt ring who were plundering the people. Senator Spooner was one of the gentlemen who recently sought to shield himself by a general defence of his associates, and in closing his article in the June *Cosmopolitan* Mr. Phillips thus notices the Senator's words, and in replying to them he states the vital point which every thief and rogue is trying to cover up—the fact that it is the record of the traitor, the recreant official or the criminal, and not the laying of that record before the people, that is reprehensible. The laying of the fact before the people is the most urgent and imperative duty that lies before every friend of republican institutions to-day. The trick of the politicians, the faithless public servants and the hirelings of the "interests" in attempting to bring discredit upon the high-minded and incorruptible patriots who cannot be bought, bribed or frightened into silence while the Republic is in deadly peril, will not avail; for the people are at last too thoroughly cognizant of the real condition of affairs to

be deceived by the sophistry of the corrupt or the frantic efforts of their apologists to divert public attention from the enemies of the Republic.

"It was said at the outset of this series," says Mr. Phillips in closing his *Cosmopolitan* article, "that treason was a strong word, but not too strong in the circumstances. We have only begun to penetrate into the real Senate. Yet, is not that statement already justified? Spooner, defending the Senate at a banquet in Washington on March 27th, said:

"There is no treason in the Senate! The one man I despise most is he who takes upon his lips in blasphemy the good character of a woman; next to that is the man who will tear down the character of a man in public life. Above all things, my brothers, believe in your republic and in the general fidelity of your public servants."

"In view of Spooner's record, is it difficult to understand why he is so eager for us to shut our eyes and silence our consciences as lovers of our country and give ourselves up to blind belief in the 'general fidelity' of our Spooners? Spooner is right about the infamy of 'the man who will tear down the character of the man in public life.' But, the only man who can do that is the man who makes the record of the man in public life, the faithless, treacherous public servant himself. And Spooner's only successful assailant is Spooner himself, the maker of Spooner's record. It is not victim nor prosecutor nor judge that brings the criminal to justice, but the criminal himself."

THE COURTS, THE PLUTOCRACY AND THE PEOPLE; OR, THE AGE-LONG ATTEMPT TO BULWARK PRIVILEGE AND DESPOTISM.

DESPOTISM and privilege are ever appearing along the path of progress and seeking in constantly changing guises to substitute authority for justice; to raise artificial bulwarks behind which injustice, wrong or corruption can entrench themselves; to invest a fallible individual, who by accident or design occupies a position of trust or is the supposed minister of justice, with the sanctity that is due to the great and eternal principles

of equity and right, regardless of his conduct and even though he be false to the high demands imposed by his trust. This exaltation of authority to the seat of virtue, this investing of the man with divine sanctity which alone should be accorded to the virtue he is supposed to represent, necessarily paves the way for despotism, injustice, venality and corruption and is as fatal to democracy as it is essential to the life of autocracy.

For centuries the fiction of the divine right of kings idea rendered possible the enslavement, spoliation and oppression of the people and chained progress and human rights to the car of irresponsible personal caprice and the interests of small privileged classes. Later, when men became more enlightened and reason began to assert itself, the position of the throne became less absolute, especially in the freer lands like England, where it was not supported by large military forces. Then despotism had recourse to the courts to reinforce the cruel, selfish and unjust desires of the throne, and we see that throughout the odious reigns of the Stuarts the judges appointed by the kings became the strong arm of despotism. No name to-day in England is more odious than that of Jeffreys, and he is a fitting type and example of the kind of men who are always liable to find their way to the bench when despotism or privileged interests are able to dictate or influence the selection of judges.

Since privileged classes and predatory wealth have begun in a systematic manner to gain control of our government for the advancement of their own interests, nothing has been more noticeable or more sinister in character than the systematic attempt to prevent full publicity being given to official acts, to stifle free, honest and just criticism of public officials, and especially to throw the old divine-right idea mantle over the judiciary.

The feudalism of privileged wealth knows full well that if it can change reverence for the ideal of justice to reverence for their officials, regardless of whether they are just or faithful to their oaths, the machinery will be at hand for the circumvention of the rights of the people and for the permanent enthronelement of powerful privileged classes who may and will exert a power as absolute and oppressive in character as that of the throne and the hereditary aristocracy of pre-democratic days. Hence the plutocracy, knowing full well that if it could check all criticisms of the courts and secure for positions on the bench men who for years and decades had faithfully served the interests of privileged corporations and trusts in their battle against the interests of the people, it would have in the most invulnerable position a bulwark composed of men habituated to see things, not from the view-point of the people or even from a broad and impartial point of vision, but from the vantage-ground of privileged wealth. More-

over, the new judges would be men who through long advocacy of ingenious and often strained constructions and interpretations of the Constitution and law and through continually gathering together all the precedents that could be made to sustain the case for privilege against the people, would necessarily in spite of themselves have become more or less biased in favor of privileged wealth.

The upholders of the present commercial feudalism know full well that nothing would render so secure the despotism of privileged wealth as the preventing of honest and just criticism of decisions rendered by the courts. Hence every effort has been made by the agents and mouthpieces of plutocracy to check wholesome criticisms of glaring and unjust acts on the part of the judiciary. When recently President Roosevelt gave Judge Humphrey such a wholesome castigation, when that judge through his "immunity bath" succeeded in saving notorious law-breakers from the punishment that would have been meted out to ordinary criminals, a hue and cry was raised against criticizing the courts, as if such criticism had not always been recognized since the foundation of our Republic as one of the most essential safeguards of justice and free institutions.

Criticism of The Courts by Statesmen and The Judiciary.

As a matter of fact, our greatest statesmen, and even the noblest members of our own supreme tribunals, have been among the freest to employ frank and just criticism of our courts. No one will accuse Charles Sumner of being an anarchist or an enemy of law, order or justice; yet Senator Sumner recognized the absolute importance of free criticism of the judiciary and on one occasion he said:

"I hold judges, and especially the supreme court of the country in much respect, but I am too familiar with the history of judicial proceedings to regard them with any superstitious reverence. Judges are but men, and in all ages have shown a fair share of frailty. Alas! alas! the worst crimes of history have been perpetrated under their sanction. The blood of martyrs and of patriots, crying from the ground, summons them to judgment."

And Roscoe Conkling, long one of the most influential leaders of the Republican party, has been recently quoted by Mr. Arthur McEwen as on one occasion saying:

"Why, sir, the infallibility ascribed to the supreme court makes the constitution, the institutions of the country, nothing but wax in the hands of the judges!"

Mr. McEwen also quotes from Professor Russell of the New York University Law School, who points out the fact that in the Republic the judiciary has been given more power than is permitted to the bench in any of the European nations.

"The judiciary," says Professor Russell, "holds a higher rank in America than it does in England or anywhere else in the world. It also has a wider range of power. The deliberate setting aside of a statute by judicial authority for unconstitutionality is a practice wholly foreign to European ideas, and is recognized only in the United States."

Again, the judges of the Supreme Court have been free to recognize the importance of the great and fundamentally true dictum of Thomas Jefferson, that "error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it," and they have been perfectly free to denounce as unjust and dangerous to the interests of free institutions, law and order certain decisions made by their own bodies. One recent example will illustrate this case. It will be remembered that when the Supreme Court last had before it the income tax, this measure that has been unanimously upheld as constitutional in 1860 and in 1880, was tied in 1895, when it became necessary to have a re-hearing in order that Justice Jackson, who had been sick on the former occasion, might attend. After the first hearing, to the surprise of many, Justice Shiras, who before his elevation to the bench had been a pronounced corporation lawyer, voted that the tax was constitutional. When, however, it was found that the venerable Justice Jackson by concurring in the vote of Justice Shiras and other judges who agreed with the former unanimous finding of the Supreme Bench would give the necessary majority to maintain the constitutionality of the measure, Justice Shiras turned his famous somersault and, reversing himself, voted against the constitutionality of the law he had a few weeks before declared to be constitutional. Then it was that such able and conscientious members of the Supreme Court as Justices Harlan and Brown denounced the finding in the following unequivocal terms. Justice Harlan said:

"The practical effect of the decision to-day is to give to certain kinds of property a position of favoritism and advantage inconsistent with the fundamental principles of our social organization, and to invest them with power and influence that may be perilous to that portion of the American people upon whom rests the larger part of the burdens of government, and who ought not to be subjected to the dominion of aggregated wealth any more than the property of the country should be at the mercy of the lawless."

And Justice Brown was thus outspoken:

"The decision involves nothing less than a surrender to the moneyed class. . . . I hope it may not prove the first step toward the submergence of the liberties of the people in a sordid despotism of wealth. As I cannot escape the conviction that the decision of the court in this great case is fraught with immeasurable danger to the future of the country, and that it approaches the proportions of a national calamity, I feel it my duty to enter my protest against it."

The Fallibility of Judicial Decisions.

Nothing is more apparent than the fallibility of man, and the frequent reversals of decisions by all the courts testify that there is nothing in the elevation to the bench that affects this fallibility. One does not have to believe that judges are corrupt or intentionally unjust to recognize their decisions as frequently being inimical to public interests and wanting in the broad, judicial and fundamentally just quality which would characterize their decisions had they as lawyers, before being elevated to the bench, often through the influence of privileged wealth, been accustomed to viewing all sides of all great questions impartially. How frequently in recent years men have been elevated to the Supreme Bench in spite of the pronounced and outspoken protests of the leading members of the bar of their section on account of their records in previous years in their own locality. Thus when Justice McKenna was spoken of for the Supreme Bench, a most formidable petition, signed by a large proportion of the ablest lawyers of the Pacific coast, was presented against that appointment. And how many times since the appointment of Mr. McKenna have the decisions of the Supreme Court on vital cases depended on the vote of one man!

Even where the mind of the attorney has not been long habituated to seeing one side of a question, and that side the side contrary to the interests of the government and the people, we frequently find the decisions of judges varying in the most amazing and bewildering manner. This very morning our attention has been called to a paragraph from a recent issue of the *Australian Review of Reviews* that so strikingly illustrates the uncertainty and fallibility of judicial decisions that we quote it:

"Strange are the vagaries of justice. One is often amazed or grieved, as the circumstances warrant, in noting her strange inconsistencies. Surely she sits and judges with wide-open eyes. One grows accustomed to queer judicial proceedings, but it is a rare thing to see the pendulum swinging to such wonderful extremes as it has done within the last few weeks in Victoria. A man who embezzled some money from a bank has received a sentence of nearly three years' imprisonment, while a man who murdered his mother by stabbing her to the heart received only one year, and another man who shot his sister and killed her was sentenced to only two years; and immediately after that, a man who wrote a letter to another man, threatening to kill him, received three years' imprisonment. In the eyes of the law, therefore, it is a greater crime to threaten to kill anyone than to actually kill them. Where the justice comes in is not apparent. 'The law is a hass,' one exclaims

when reading things like this at his breakfast-table. Nevertheless an uncomfortable feeling is engendered. The justice of justice is likely to become a mere figure of speech."

Such variations found in judicial opinions where there has been no special bias indicate the extreme fallibility of judges and the absurdity of investing decisions with a sanctity that lifts them above that wholesome, just and righteous criticism that is as essential to the cause of free institutions as oxygen is necessary to the life of man.

The chief safeguard which the people have against decisions that are rendered by men who have been elevated to the bench through the influence of privileged interests and who, though perhaps thoroughly honest in their intentions, are also thoroughly biased by having long accustomed themselves to seeing things as their clients desired and familiarizing themselves with every argument and precedent favorable to their former clients and unfavorable to the public weal, is frank, free, honest criticism. That the critic always renders himself liable to a suit for libel unless he is able to substantiate or prove the justice of his criticism is right and proper, but to limit criticism because of any supposed sanctity that inheres in the decision of a possible Jeffreys is to strike a deadly blow at the vitals of democracy and to reinforce reactionary and despotic influences that are seeking to enthrone class-government in the seat of free institutions.

THE PRESIDENT, THE RATE BILL, AND THE PUBLIC-SERVICE COMPANIES.

LAST February, while in New York, we discussed the political outlook and Washington matters in general with three friends, one a prominent lawyer, a life-long Republican, who, however, has no sympathy with the high financiers who have gained so firm a hold on the political machine of the Republican party, and two gentlemen who as authors and journalists are recognized as among our most acute, discriminating and best-informed thinkers. What impressed us as most striking and significant in the views expressed by these parties who, we think, are

unacquainted with each other and whose spheres of life and influence are such that they would in all probability not be brought into personal contact, was the strange similarity of all their views in regard to President Roosevelt, the "interests" and the people. With slight variations of opinion each voiced the same general convictions, and especially were all agreed in the view that the President would be strongly with the people in verbal sentiments and in isolated cases, or in contentions where the interests of the plutocracy were not vitally concerned, but that he would

as certainly be found with the "interests" in the end whenever a really deadly blow was aimed at privilege, the corporations and the high financiers who furnish so largely the financial sinews of war for the Republican machine.

"Whenever," said one of these gentlemen, "a final stand is made by the plutocracy and the people, if that stand is vital in character, the President will compromise in a manner acceptable to plutocracy or in such a way as not to cause an irreparable break between the high financiers and privileged interests on the one hand and himself and his party on the other."

"What will be the result of the railroad rate-legislation?" we asked one of these gentlemen.

"Let me tell you," he replied. "When the rate bill is passed, if it should be passed, it will be satisfactory to Spooner, Aldrich and the railroad interests, or it will contain amendments that the railway lawyers in the Senate will feel satisfied will be decided as unconstitutional when brought before the courts."

"But," we said, "do you not think President Roosevelt would veto a bill that did not meet the points he has insisted on as vital, or a bill containing 'jokers'?"

"No," he replied emphatically. "The President may and doubtless will play to the galleries for a time and even put forward a brave front, but you will find that always at the crucial point he will do as Root would have him do. And let me tell you another thing. Even though the railroad interests get what they scarcely dare hope for,—namely, the whole matter thrown into the courts for broad review or revision whenever an issue comes between the commission and the railroads, nevertheless President Roosevelt will claim the emasculated bill to be victorious for the people, and very likely he will pretend that is what he wanted. When," continued our friend, "since President Roosevelt went into the White House, has he failed the 'interests' in the last moment when it came to a real issue? The 'interests' have ever at the side of the President the man who probably has more influence over Mr. Roosevelt than all other men put together—far greater influence, indeed, than probably the President himself realizes. In Mr. Root the 'interests' have a tower of strength ever in a position to exert a most potent power at the right moment on the administration. Mr. Root is intel-

lectually brilliant. He is smooth and wonderfully insinuating. He is gracious and winning, and he has been in the employ of the great corporations, and often of the most odious corporate combinations, since the day when he accepted a brief for the defense of Boss Tweed, excepting during the short intervals when he has served the public. Who in America could better serve the 'interests' than the Secretary of State? Then the 'interests' are reinforced by having Taft also at the President's elbow; and if this were not enough, they have Bacon, formerly of the firm of J. P. Morgan, a man about as intimately mixed up with railway corporations and Wall-street finance as any person you could find in a day's journey, as first assistant Secretary of State. He was a former classmate of President Roosevelt and his influence is necessarily most pronounced and valuable in reinforcing that of Secretary Root. Then there is the appointee of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and the 'interests' to the United States Senate—Philander Knox, formerly attorney-general under Mr. Roosevelt and a man who has enjoyed the intimate personal favor of the President since they have been thrown together in Washington. With such men close to the President, some of them enjoying the most intimate personal relations with him, do you think the real interests of the plutocracy will suffer in the pending battle of the people to break the power of the corrupt and corrupting privileged interests and to again bring the government back to the people in fact as well as in theory?"

After the rate bill came to the Senate, there were unmistakable signs that the railroads and the plutocratic senators intended either to smother it in committee or to emasculate it by arranging for a broad review which should turn questions at issue over to the courts, entailing endless delays and frequently nullifying the real benefit of any work that might be attempted by the Interstate Commerce Commission. This fact became so apparent that the press from the Atlantic to the Pacific began to denounce the Senate's attitude while demanding that the relief that had been promised and measurably provided for in the House Bill should not be denied the people by the Aldriches, the Spooners, the Forakers, the Knoxes and their confederates.

At this juncture the President took a strong stand in favor of the popular outcry for a real

and not an emasculated measure. He was very pronounced in his determination to oppose any bill that favored the broad review. Moreover, the enemies of the bill exhibited an astounding lack of that tact which shrewd lawyers usually manifest in handling cases for the "interests." They sought to frighten the President by covert threats and the spectacle of a disrupted party; but finding that this failed to bring him to terms, they deliberately insulted him and sought to discredit the measure with the party by placing it in the hands, not only of an opposing Senator, but of a man whom the President was known to greatly dislike,—a Senator who had arraigned the President in severe terms on account of the manner in which an elderly lady had been assaulted in the White House.

Then it was, however, that President Roosevelt acted for the moment the part of a true statesman who places the interests of the people above any considerations of mere partisanship, personal ambition or class-interest. According to ex-senator Chandler and unhappily for the President, according to the note sent by Secretary Loeb to Mr. Chandler, the President sought the former senator from New Hampshire and desired him to get into touch with Mr. Tillman and other Democratic leaders and if possible make arrangements so that the Republicans not bound body and soul to Wall-street gamblers and the railway interests, and the Democrats could act in unison on common ground, in order that the broad-review senators who represent the plutocracy would be defeated in their aim. Mr. Chandler found that Messrs. Tillman and Bailey would cooperate with the President if the latter would favor Senator Bailey's amendment preventing injunction proceedings pending the limited court review that was agreeable to the friends of the people's interests. To this the President readily assented and at last victory was placed within the grasp of the people's true representatives, and thus the vital points upon which the President had insisted and for which he had been so generally applauded by the nation, were practically assured, provided there was no treachery among the friends of the people.

We confess that during this period we felt that our New York friends had misjudged the President. We believed that at last Mr. Roosevelt had determined to rise to the demand of the splendid opportunity given him to prove his loyalty to the people in some way



Macauley, in *New York World*.

YO HEAVE, HO!

other than by empty words, and in conversing with a friend who had once held the President in great esteem but who had later become thoroughly distrustful of him, we expressed our gratification for Mr. Roosevelt's unlooked-for stand, saying that we believed that at last the President had decided to throw his influence on the side of the people against the money-controlled machine and the great privileged interests, in a real and effective way. "At last," we said, "Mr. Roosevelt is going to put into practice his fine phrase, 'Words are good when backed up by deeds, and only so.' At last the people are going to be surprised by getting 'a square deal.'"

But our friend shook his head. "Do not be too confident. Wait. The President is piqued by the clumsy antagonism of the representatives of the 'interests' into taking his stand, and though he is usually very brave in the opening scenes of any battle between the people and the 'interests,' and his words are generally all that could possibly be desired, yet when the last tug of war is on, when the final issue comes between the 'interests' and the people in measures where privileged wealth is vitally affected, I have little confidence that Mr. Roosevelt will be found in the breach defending the people's cause against privilege and predatory wealth. If the President," continued our friend, "had really had the in-

terests of the people at heart, would he not have surrounded himself with men like Senator La Follette, Governor Cummins, Charles E. Hughes and other statesmen who have aroused the animosity of the 'interests,' instead of with men who are so eminently satisfactory to the 'interests'?"

A few days later our new-born hope in the President was shattered by his betrayal of his co-workers and the people and his desertion to the camp of the "interests." How completely the President surrendered to the railway interests was thus admirably stated in an editorial leader in the *Boston Herald*:

"After the Hepburn Bill," said the *Herald*, "had passed the House the President caused it to be known that he would not object to any amendments that did not destroy 'the essence' of that measure. This essence, as he viewed it, was the granting of power to the interstate commerce commission 'summarily and effectively' to fix the railway traffic rates without the intervention of the courts, and subject only to future review."

"The Allison amendment," the *Herald* pointed out, which the President accepted, "provides that 'the venue of suits brought in any of the circuit courts of the United States to enjoin, set aside, annul or suspend any order or requirement of the commission shall be in the district where the carrier against whom such order or requirement may have been made, has its principal operating office, and may be brought at any time after such order is promulgated'; and it provides further, as the Hepburn Bill did not, that 'jurisdiction to hear and determine such suits is hereby vested in such courts.' This assuredly does not give to the commission the 'power to establish a maximum rate' and put it in operation irrespective of the rights of parties or the authority of the courts, without which power, the President said in his message, 'there is little use in touching the subject at all.'"

It is not our purpose to dwell upon the disgraceful and humiliating spectacle of the President, a former leading Republican United States Senator and leading members of the opposition freely giving the lie one to the other. The unfortunate episode was made so much of that the real issue was largely obscured and the public mind was diverted from the vital facts involved—facts which were most admirably summed up by Mr.

Louis F. Post, the gifted editor of the *Chicago Public*, in the following thoughtful words:

"The essential thing about it all is not the verity of Mr. Roosevelt's version of these incidents, but Mr. Roosevelt himself as a factor in the general situation. And as to this there is neither dispute nor any room for dispute.

"Certain Senators were implacably hostile to the Hepburn Bill. Mr. Roosevelt was committed to the principle of this bill. The bill would have been smothered in senatorial committee but for the union of Mr. Roosevelt's supporters with the Democrats of the committee. When this bi-partisan majority of the committee had defeated those of their Republican colleagues who represented the railroad interests, the latter proceeded to humiliate Mr. Roosevelt and his supporters in the Senate, as party men, by placing the bill in the hands of a Democrat as floor leader. The intended humiliation was personal as well as political, for the Democrat they named was Senator Tillman.

"Mr. Roosevelt's enemies then transferred the seat of their warfare from the committee-room to the Senate chamber.

"One of their methods of warfare was to make of every act of the Interstate Commerce Commission under the bill, which might be unsatisfactory to the railroads, a football for the courts. Thereby they hoped to destroy the effectiveness of the Commission. It was to be done by giving unlimited powers to the courts to review the acts of the Commission. Mr. Roosevelt and his friends were opposed to granting such powers. They insisted upon limiting the power of court review to such acts of the Commission as might be in excess of their authority under the law or in derogation of property rights under the Constitution. In this position Mr. Roosevelt and his friends were supported by the Democrats. And they welcomed the support; not cordially, to be sure, but as a harrowing necessity. The railroad interests were thereby checked, and the success of Mr. Roosevelt's policy was practically assured. But just as he was on the point of winning a victory for his policy, and so for the people if his policy would produce the results its supporters claim for it, he suddenly changed front. With his party supporters (Senator La Follette alone excepted) he went over to the other side, over to the side

of the railroad ring, and in union with the railroad senators agreed to an unlimited court-review clause. The facts bearing out this generalization are as indisputable as those already alluded to as leading up to it; and not only does nobody dispute them, but Mr. Roosevelt's own letter bears them out.

"When so much is told the whole story is told. . . . Mr. Roosevelt stands out in full public view, simply upon the historical facts that need no personal verification, as a man who has run away from his own fight for the people and against the railroad ring, his co-partisans trailing behind him and his allies left in the lurch. He has compromised with the railroad ring when his own non-partisan alliance with the Democrats made compromise unnecessary. And in his compromise he has surrendered his cause and given himself away. He appears from this episode to be the boaster and 'quitter' that his critics who knew him best have all along accused him of being."

The criticism of the President on his course in the presence of this splendid opportunity to serve the people has been severe, conservative papers uniting with progressive journals in outspoken condemnation. Thus we find the *New York Nation*, probably the most conservative of the political weeklies, thus characterizing Mr. Roosevelt's action in its issue of May 17th:

"He was 'entirely willing' to accept any amendment 'that did not seek to grant a broad review'; and when an amendment was proposed which granted the broadest sort of broad review, he was delighted with it, and declared that 'no genuine friend of the bill can object to it without stultifying himself.' So keen was his enthusiasm for the amendment to which he had always been unalterably opposed that, without a word of warning to his Democratic confederates, without a hint to his own go-between, Mr. Moody, he jumped into the galley with Senator Aldrich. Naturally, Mr. Moody, in the first flush of surprise and irritation, expressed himself to Senators Tillman and Bailey as 'flabbergasted.' 'There was nothing,' writes Attorney-General Moody, in cooler mood, 'in the conversation between the Senators and me which in any way bound you to any particular amendment, or in the slightest degree impaired your liberty

at any time to acquiesce in any amendment which you should deem expedient and in the public interest.' Absolutely nothing but a fantastic notion that, even when a man is actuated by the purest of motives and devoted to the loftiest ideals, he should keep faith with his allies."

On the other hand, the *New York American* holds that:

"The humiliating position in which President Roosevelt now finds himself, charged with falsehood, with bad faith, with not merely deserting his allies, but, as one Senator said, shooting them in the back, suggests more than one lesson to public men. It emphasizes, to be sure, the need of a better guarded tongue than Mr. Roosevelt has ever possessed. But, more than that, it strikingly illustrates the unwisdom of the growing Presidential practice of attempting to dominate every branch of the government.

"The fact is clear that it is to this restless, this arrogant and self-assertive desire to be himself the final arbiter of every governmental act that President Roosevelt owes his present discreditable plight. In order that HE might be thought the true author of a law for rate regulation he trafficked with both factions, conspired against each, and finally betrayed one. The evidence of his bad faith is too conclusive to be set aside. He appears, not as the bold, straightforward Theodore Roosevelt of legend, announcing in so many words his policy and striving by honorable means to give it effect; rather he suggests the smooth, equivocating, vacillating politician, posing as all things to all men, changing his expressed views as thought of his personal glory dictates, making explanations which do not explain, and coming out at the end the advocate of a policy he at first opposed, and the target for the scornful epithets of men whom he deceived and betrayed.

"The legendary Roosevelt has disappeared. The Roosevelt long known to men in public life as one not jealous of his word nor tenacious of honor when advantage is to be gained is in the foreground.

"It is not the President of the United States who will be on trial this week, but rather a politician, who, from the vantage of the White House, has traded with this side and with that,

using members and ex-members of the Cabinet as messenger boys, dealing with Democrats, and with both factions of the Republican party, and finally caught in the trap of his own duplicity, and caged there for the regretful gaze of a mortified nation."

The State of Providence, Rhode Island, insists with reason that the surrender of the President is in effect the victory of Aldrich. It says:

"Aldrich has come out ahead in his fight for a court-review provision in the Rate Bill. If the House accepts this provision and the

bill becomes law, then it may take years of litigation to determine whether a rate fixed by the commission is a legal rate or not, and meantime the rate will be suspended—that is, it will be just as if it did not exist.

"The President may say that this is what he wants, but last fall he gave the people to understand that he wanted the commission to fix rates which should go into effect at once, without the intervention of any court. This was the vital question, and upon it the President and the people are beaten, as usual. And by whom? By the arch-conspirator, Aldrich, champion of the trusts."

RECENT HAPPENINGS IN AMERICAN MUNICIPAL LIFE.

The Denver Election: The Latest Illustration of Colossal Frauds and Criminality on The Part of Private Corporations Seeking Public Franchises.

WE HAVE recently had another striking illustration of the fact that private corporations owning or seeking to own public utilities are the chief source of political corruption and degradation throughout the Republic. This latest illustration was afforded in the recent Denver city elections, which were marked by as flagrant an exhibition of high-handed corruption and fraud as probably was ever practiced in an American municipality.

There were about fifty million dollars' worth of public franchises that the criminal rich desired to secure from the people. As pointed out in Mr. Mills' papers in *THE ARENA* last autumn, the Utility Trust has long been one of the most powerful factors in Denver politics. The prizes offered by the possession of the inexhaustible gold mines furnished by public franchises were so great that the corrupt and corrupting corporations stopped at no half-way means to rob the people. They secured the services of the Republican and Democratic machines by that unholy alliance which has enabled the public-service corporations and the corrupt trusts throughout the Republic to systematically plunder the people and corrupt the government since the criminal rich set out to control the party machines and through them to govern the nation for

the enrichment of the privileged few. The people were represented by the Municipal-Ownership League, which put a full municipal-ownership ticket in the field; but even with the two old party machines working in unison for the plundering corporations, the franchise grabbers soon found that it would only be by the grossest frauds that they could hope to rob the city of its enormously rich treasure. Consequently they elaborated a system of premeditated fraud.

The 20th Article of the Denver Charter requires as a condition precedent to voting on franchises that the voter shall be a "tax-paying elector." Accordingly the corporations set about manufacturing tax-payers. They took options on distant and unimportant suburban property that had no market value, and a day or two before the election paid from 17 cents to 69 cents on each lot constituting a portion of such property, taking a receipt in the name of "A," "B," "C," parcelling out such receipts to their henchmen, and having the holders vote as tax-payers on the franchises.

At the instigation of the Honest Election League after the election Judge Johnson commenced an investigation. From personal letters received from some of our Denver correspondents we are able to give our readers a digest of an account of the shameful revelations that resulted. At this investigation well-dressed heads of departments of the Gas

Company swore that they were property-holders, although they had never seen the 17-cent or 30-cent lot that they admitted that they and their respective wives had voted on. They further admitted that they had paid no money on any such lots or given any consideration whatever for the same; did not know anything about the property until it was called to their attention by one of the chief heads of the corporation, to wit, Frueauff, whom they said they appointed as their agent for this particular transaction. Some of them claimed to have seen a title bond to the lot that was bought for them; and Judge Johnson ordered one of such witnesses to produce the title bond, but the witness replied that he could not do so because his agent, Frueauff, would not let him have it; and when asked by the Judge if the agent was greater than the principal, he said, "Yes." It was the most painful and humiliating sight that one ever witnessed to see bright and capable young men coming into court, sweating blood and committing perjury, and disgracing themselves and their families by attempting to boldly swear through for the benefit of their bosses this brazen scheme of fraud. Finally, H. L. Doherty, the president of the Gas Company and the consulting engineer of all the McMillen gas interests throughout the country, was himself called as a witness. But he objected to be sworn, and finally, upon the advice of his counsel, refused to be sworn, and Judge Johnson committed him to jail.

But the gamesters and corruptionists evidently counted on the complacent Supreme Court to come to their rescue, and certainly they did not count in vain;* for as soon as Doherty was committed to jail the Supreme Court came to his relief and it granted a writ of *habeas corpus* for the benefit of Doherty, and also put a lid on Judge Johnson and stopped his judicial proceedings by a writ of prohibition. There the matter stands at this writing.

If Judge Johnson had proceeded another

*Our readers are somewhat acquainted with this Supreme Court through our recent editorial exposing the high-handed proceedings by the court against United States Senator Patterson for so-called "constructive contempt," wherein, owing to Senator Patterson's just criticisms of the court in his paper, he was cited to appear for contempt, and was prohibited from presenting the evidence that would prove the truth of and justification for his charges.

day he would have had all the utility heads in town in jail, or else they would have been compelled to testify upon the witness-stand to their election conspiracy and infamy.

The *Rocky Mountain Daily News* of May 22d gives the following brief statement of the case:

"In the short period of two hours yesterday afternoon in Judge Johnson's division of the district court, tales of corporation corruption, reeking with rottenness, were given public exposure.

"The revelations, astounding in the extreme, came to a climax when Henry L. Doherty, president of the Denver Gas and Electric Company and general manager and consulting engineer of all the Emerson McMillan syndicate gas, electric and power companies in the United States and Canada, was ordered committed to the common jail of the city and county of Denver for refusing to be sworn as a witness in the proceeding.

"Panic-stricken at the hopeless spectacle presented by their witnesses and fearing the utter demoralization of their forces, the corporations rushed in desperation to the Supreme Court for relief that would give them time to reorganize their lines and fix their defense.

"At the very minute the commitment order was being made out the Supreme Court granted a writ of prohibition restraining Judge Johnson from proceeding further in the exposure of the debauchery and crookedness of election day."

The effect of the Supreme Court's writ of prohibition against Judge Johnson, as the *News* points out, stays the proceedings and gives the corporations a week in which to conceal the evidences of fraud—time which is vitally important for the criminals. If they had not been conscious of their crime they would have welcomed the investigation, which would have vindicated them.

Even in spite of the colossal frauds and the collusion of the machine Democratic city government with the Republican machine acting for their real masters, the franchise-grabbers on the face of the fraudulent returns were only victorious by small margins. Without these gigantic frauds and thefts such results would have been absolutely impossible.

The Rev. H. W. Pinkham, pastor of Beth-



From the *Rocky Mountain News*.

IT MIGHT BE WELL TO EXAMINE HIS POCKETS BEFORE ACQUITTING HIM.

any Church and one of the prominent members of the Denver Arena Club, in his excellent little church-paper, *Bethany*, thus comments in his issue of May 25th on the situation, and points out the most dangerous element in American political life to-day:

"The most dangerous enemies of society in America are not the Socialists, the Anarchists, or even the spoils-politicians. Socialists and Anarchists may be esteemed unpractical, but their moral enthusiasm is a welcome social contribution. The spoils-politicians are a contemptible sort, as a class lacking initiative and force, content to be tools in the hands of stronger men. It is the masters of great wealth who, in insatiable greed for more wealth still, are not ashamed to employ cheap politicians and to enter into an alliance with the criminal and criminal-making classes for the purpose of stealing elections, and of making democracy a farce and government an instrument through which they may plunder the public indefinitely—it is these who are the foes most to be feared. So nearly universal is the worship of wealth that these enemies of society do not realize their wickedness. They deem themselves respectable, and unfortunately they are generally treated with respect—even with deference, if they are rich enough—by their fellow-citizens. This is not as it

should be. For the sake of the public weal as well as for their own moral good, such offenders should be made to feel the condemnation with which every right-minded citizen regards them. To be more specific: A man by the name of Doherty was lately sentenced to jail by Judge Johnson because he would not tell what he knew in regard to the manufacture of 'tax-payers' in the recent election. But he did not go to jail, oh no! men of his class seldom do. He rode away in an automobile and invited the sheriff to share a good dinner with him in a fine hotel. Before the dinner was done the Supreme Court had suspended his jail sentence, and he was as jaunty as ever. Now perhaps nothing would do this man Doherty so much good as to find that until he shall explain satisfactorily the matter which Judge Johnson sought to investigate no decent citizen in Denver will shake hands with him."

The high-handed frauds and official connivance will, we believe, serve to arouse the citizens, not only of Denver, but throughout Colorado, to united action for the overthrow of the most corrupt and dangerous element in American political life and the reinstatement in civic life of decency, honesty and morality; just as the action of the would-be gas thieves and the Republican ring of Philadelphia, after being thoroughly exposed by Mr. Blankenburg in *THE ARENA*, aroused the decent and justice-respecting element of Pennsylvania to such a degree that it brought about the general overturn in the Keystone State last year.

Municipal-Ownership Victory in Omaha.

THE OMAHA city election represented a complete revolution in the relations of the political bodies of that municipality. At the preceding election the Republicans carried the city for their candidate for mayor by one thousand majority, and only one Democrat was elected to the Council. This year the Democrats adopted an outspoken platform for municipal-ownership. The Democratic candidate for mayor, Mr. James C. Dahlman, was elected by 2,790 votes, and the Council is overwhelmingly Democratic, having but one Republican in it.

Nothing in our political affairs is more noticeable than the rapid growth of popular

sentiment in favor of public-ownership of natural monopolies. Where municipal-ownership gets fairly before the people and anything like an honest election is had, the party demanding public-ownership and operation of public utilities is pretty certain to win by a handsome majority, in spite of the enormous amount always lavishly spent by the privileged interests to maintain their immensely remunerative monopoly rights.

Utilization of Sewage by Pasadena, California.

THE DREAMER, the novelist and the poet are the true prophets of progress. The visions that are dismissed to-day by the slow-thinking and faithless ones as impractical and fanciful are to-morrow realized as the highest expressions of sanity and practicality. In the successful utilization of the sewage of Pasadena, California, by that beautiful and enterprising town, we have an illustrative example of this fact.

Several years ago The Arena Publishing Company brought out an unique social vision written by Rabbi Solomon Schindler, entitled *Young West*, a sequel to *Looking Backward*. In it the hero devises a scheme for saving and utilizing the enormous waste in sewage now conveyed from the great cities to the oceans and lakes or otherwise disposed of in such a manner as to be of no benefit to society, but which, if utilized as fertilizer, would increase an hundredfold the productivity of the land treated. *Young West* in Rabbi Schindler's story, who is represented as the son of the hero of *Looking Backward*, through devising the method of saving for the enrichment of the land all the sewage waste of the cities, is regarded as the greatest benefactor of the nation, because he has so immensely increased her wealth-producing power without oppressing or taking from the life, the liberty or the rights of any other people or peoples, and in reward for his peaceful victory for civilization he is chosen president of the republic.

This idea of saving the sewage and making it yield a revenue has been put to practical test by the municipality of Pasadena. The cost of carrying the sewage to the ocean would have required a large outlay, after which there would have been no hope of its bringing any serviceable return to the people. Some practical dreamers happened to occupy municipal positions in the beautiful suburb

of Los Angeles. They determined to save the municipality the great expense of carrying the sewage to the sea and at the same time demonstrate that the modern progressive and scientific spirit in American municipal life could devise a plan by which the earth, so rapidly being denuded of its natural fertilizers, could, over partial areas at least, be renewed by the sewage of the municipality. Accordingly they purchased a tract of 300 acres as a kind of experiment station. But here they encountered the active opposition of that ever-present foe to progress—faithless and indolent conventionalism. The conservatives in the city opposed the reformers and scouted their claims, while the inhabitants in the region where the proposed experiment station was to be established interposed every conceivable obstacle to prevent the carrying forward of the work. Only men determined to achieve a labor that held great potential value to civilization would have persevered as did these intrepid municipal officials in the face of the fierce opposition without and the insistent but more covert hostility within the borders of the city. In the long run, however, the progressive municipal officials triumphed and the new plant was installed. A large section of the land was planted in English walnuts, while during the early years barley, hay, wheat, pumpkins and corn were raised very successfully. To-day 117 acres are in English walnuts and the farm has increased from its original 300 acres until it now contains 460 acres, and "on account of the simple method of sewage disposal which has proved so highly satisfactory from a sanitary standpoint and so remunerative from a financial standpoint, Pasadenians refer to their sewage farm with much pride," says Mr. S. F. Pearson, city engineer, in the course of an admirable paper in a recent issue of *The Municipal Journal and Engineer*.

The receipts from the sewage farm for the fiscal year ending July, 1905, were, according to Mr. Pearson, \$10,583.09. The expenses for operating the farm were \$7,958.82.

The experiment in Pasadena will doubtless be followed by many other inland municipalities, and in time, when we have grown wise enough not to be criminally wasteful, doubtless all sewage of all our cities will be utilized to restore the fertility of the rapidly impoverished soil upon whose productivity the nation's sustenance depends.

FREEDOM'S MOST DECISIVE VICTORY IN THE OLD WORLD.

The French Election Another Great Triumph for Progressive Democracy.

THE SIGNAL triumph of the French government in the recent elections and the notable increase in the vote of the most radical and progressive element have dealt a staggering blow to clericalism and reaction. The result has in many ways paralleled the great Liberal and Labor triumph in Great Britain last autumn. In each instance political and religious bourbonism and imperialistic reaction were pitted against radical and progressive democracy or the fundamental principles of the great democratic revolutionary epoch.

In England the reactionaries had done much to arrest democratic advance and to nullify victories that had been won since the passage of the Reform Bill in the early thirties of the last century. They had elevated religious sectarianism, reactionary imperialism and soulless commercialism to the seats occupied by freedom, justice and enlightened humanitarianism. They had exalted the interests of property above the well-being of the toiling millions. They had put on the statute-books a most odious sectarian religious educational measure. The principles of liberal democracy and religious freedom were at stake, and the people were not slow to scourge the recreant bourbons from the seats of power. This was the opening battle in a world-wide struggle which is in progress between the people and the principles of the democratic revolutionary epoch and the privileged interests and reactionary classes.

France was next called on in a nation-wide manner to decide between substantially the same issues. Here the position of the Liberal government was peculiarly difficult. In the first place, the Church of Rome for the first time since the establishment of the Concordat had encouraged and urged the Catholics of France to consolidate and aggressively enter politics and fight the liberalism of the government. In the second place, the imperialistic and monarchical plotters had succeeded in influencing some of the more hot-headed and demagogical leaders among the

workers, inducing them to attempt revolutionary demonstrations prior to the election, and secretly furnishing them with funds to enable them to make their demonstrations formidable. Thus the reactionary forces hoped and fully expected, by creating general disturbances, to accomplish one of two things: either to foment a revolt sufficiently menacing to alarm the middle-classes and make them favorable to a reactionary or a stronger government, or to compel the existing Liberal government to resort to stern measures which it was hoped and expected would cause enough of the Labor element to desert the representatives of the Bloc to enable the clericals and reactionaries to enormously swell their representation. From surface appearances it certainly seemed that if the government triumphed it would be by a very greatly reduced majority.

The elections, however, confounded the clericals and reactionaries and astonished the Liberals by resulting in an overwhelming triumph for Liberalism, and especially did the people in the selection of representatives emphasize their hearty approval of the government's course toward the Church of Rome in establishing popular secular education and the separation of Church and State. So much so was this the case that dispatches from France stated that the result was regarded as a complete vindication for M. Combes even more than as a triumph for the Rouvier-Clemenceau cabinet.

At the Vatican, according to the dispatches from Rome, the surprise felt was as great as the disappointment was bitter. It was confidently expected that there would be a large increase in the Clerical representatives, and though the hierarchy scarcely dared to expect a complete overturn, it was confidently anticipated that the influence of the expressed Papal desire would be strongly seen in the election. On the contrary, the election has seemed to prove most convincingly that if the Church hopes to hold sway over any considerable number of the people she must cease her assaults on Liberalism and Social Democracy and give over her age-long hope of temporal rule. The principles of democ-

racy are antagonistic to the obtrusion into government or popular education of any creed, sect or dogma.

The United Socialist party greatly increased its vote, which now numbers one million in France. In the new chamber of Deputies

there will be over 400 Liberals and Socialists to 179 Conservatives.

Among the strongest, wisest and most progressive French statesmen who have been reëlected to Parliament is the great Social-Democratic leader, M. Jaurès.

THE MOST IMPORTANT RECENT WORK ON HIGHER CRITICISM.*

A BOOK-STUDY.

I.

THIS volume is in our judgment the most important religious work that has appeared during the past year. The author is one of the most profound reasoners and fundamental thinkers among the German theological scholars of our time, and the Germans are without question the most thorough investigators of the age. They are not satisfied with superficial examinations of a subject. If it is worth investigating at all it is worthy of deep and profound research. No price to them is too much to pay for the truth. They have imbibed, perhaps in a larger degree than any other progressive people, the modern scientific spirit. They are infected by a passion for knowledge and a love for the truth that renders it impossible for them to close their eyes and refuse to look when a new leaf has been turned in the great book of knowledge; and nowhere is this fact more in evidence than in the domain of theology.

The author of this volume is a member of the faculty of the University of Berlin. Indeed, the work is the substance of a series of lectures delivered before the students of that famous institution. The view-point, as the author indicates, is purely historical. He has aimed to give the reader a truthful study of the origins of Christianity. The treatment of the subject is marked by reverence no less than breadth of intellectual vision and deep research. It is therefore a work that appeals to men and women who are interested in the higher aspects of religion, ethics and philosophy and who are reaching out for something more than modern theological creeds and

dogmas have given them. What William Ellery Channing did to modify the dogmatic theology of New England in the first half of the last century, Professor Pfleiderer is doing in Germany to-day. Dr. Channing felt that the iron bonds of orthodox creeds and the restrictions of dogmatic theology were enslaving the God-given reason and dwarfing the spiritual growth of man. He believed that in creeds and dogmas formal Christianity was crushing the spirit of the religion of the great Nazarene. Professor Pfleiderer, yielding to the modern spirit of critical research and with the dictum that there is no authority above truth as his guide, has striven to fearlessly sift myth from fact and to show the origin, growth and development of Christianity and how the world-thought before and the world-thought that dominated Paul and the Christian fathers have found expression in Christian theology as it was finally adopted.

The work is not written for that large class of worshipers who are happy and satisfied with their religion, nor is it addressed to those who fear to investigate lest their faith be shaken. There is, however, at the present time, a large and ever-increasing number of persons who have kept abreast of modern unfoldment of new truths in physical science, in historical investigations, in the realm of psychology, and in archæological research, and who find it no longer possible to accept many things in theology that former ages, with less light, received unquestioningly. These persons are hungering and thirsting for the truth. Many of them are drifting into the seas of doubt and unbelief because they cannot accept as truth things that they are persuaded are myths

**Christian Origins*. By Otto Pfleiderer, D.D. Translated from the German by D. A. Huebach. Cloth. Pp. 236. Price, \$1.75 net. New York: B. W. Huebach.

interwoven with truth, and to this large multitude of earnest men and women Professor Pfeiderer speaks. His purpose in presenting this work is thus clearly set forth by the author:

"This book has *not* been written for such readers as feel satisfied by the traditional church-faith. It may hurt their feelings easily and confuse them in their convictions; I would feel sorry for that because I cherish a respect for every honest faith. But I know that in all classes and circles of society to-day there are many men and women who have entirely outgrown the traditional church-faith and who are possessed of an urgent desire to learn what is to be thought, from the standpoint of modern science, concerning the origin of this faith and concerning the eternal and temporal in it. To go out toward such *truth-seekers* is a duty which the trained representative of science dare not shirk."

II.

The body of the work is divided into two sections, the first being concerned with the "Preparation and Foundation of Christianity," the second dealing with "The Evolution of Early-Christianity Into the Church." Professor Pfeiderer opens the discussion with a scholarly consideration of the "Preparation of Christianity in Greek Philosophy." He holds that "inasmuch as Greek philosophy influenced the Judaism of the last few centuries before Christ," it is well to make it the starting-point in the investigation. He shows that:

"As early as five hundred years before Christ, the Ionian philosophers Heraclitus and Xenophanes had subjected the mythical folk-faith of the Greeks to destructive criticism. Foolish it is, so they said, to conceive the deity after the image of man; blasphemous to ascribe human shortcomings and wickedness to it; useless to worship it with bloody animal-sacrifice. Over against a multiplicity of gods they set up *one* god; neither in figure nor in thought like the mortal, he is the vitalizing spirit and the governing reason which underlies all the change of phenomena. Soon Anaxagoras, the friend of the Athenian statesman Pericles, rose superior to this nature-panteism and achieved the thought of the supermundane spirit, the cause of order in the universe. But it was Socrates who called into being the decisive movement of a moral

world-view which resulted in the suppression of heathen naturalism; of him it is correctly said that he brought philosophy down from heaven to earth.

"Socrates held it to be his God-given mission to teach the recognition not of external nature, but of man as a moral being, and by the development of his insight to educate him to virtue."

Socrates' lofty philosophical ideals ran counter to the popular concepts of his age; hence this prophet of a nobler life became a martyr to the truth he proclaimed.

"He died the first blood-witness of 'philosophy,' that is, the individual spirit awakening to the consciousness of its own peculiar rights. In Plato's portrayal of this witness to truth who was loyal unto death to his profession, to his divine mission, of the moral education of men, who met his end with pious submission and joyous calm, we stand face to face with a greatness and moral spirit rising far above his teachings; it is the spirit of a new epoch in history, which reveals itself in the person of Socrates by his inner self-certainty and pious loyalty to conviction. Thus we may well look upon him as a forerunner and a prophet of Christianity."

Plato, the greatest of the pupils of Socrates, who developed his master's germinal teachings in many directions, held that:

"Man's task is to free himself from the hindrance of the body and elevate himself to the world of the ideal good whence he came. Being full of evil, man must attempt to fly this world of the senses as rapidly as possible and go thither; but this flight consists in the achievement of the closest likeness to God, and this is done by being righteous and pious with insight."

Thus through "ethical idealism" Plato gives to "spirit its power to break the chain of crude nature and become master of the world."

"Plato's teaching of God shows the same rising above nature" to the "divine spirit" which is "one with the 'idea of good.'" The creative spirit or God is the essence of good and free from envy. He wishes that all become like him. "Therefore he created the world in his own image—the most beautiful, perfect creature, his only-begotten son, who became a visible God. The presupposition

is that the world is a living being, an organism possessed of a soul; and, inasmuch as that all-permeating soul, the world-soul, is the most immediate image and emanation of the deity, Plato could describe the world as the second god and only-begotten Son of the Father and prime mover of the universe,—a thought in which we may recognize one of the germs of the subsequent doctrine of the Trinity.”

“That, however, is but one aspect of the Platonic view of the world, struggling with the other, that the world is only an imperfect, distorted image of the divine world of ideas divided in time and space,—obscuring real being more than revealing it, more shadow than reality. This latter aspect corresponds to the world-shunning, ascetic side of Plato’s ethics, while the former harmonizes with the world-shaping, practical-social side. . . . It is Plato’s conviction that freedom and responsibility for individual volition and action are not excluded by divine providence, but are presupposed thereby. He emphasizes this particularly by pointing out that a divine judgment will come upon the sinner, if not in the world here, with greater certainty in the world beyond.”

Plato further taught that only the upright should be regarded as the happy man, even “though shame and misery be his lot”; while “the wicked must be looked upon as unhappy, even though his sin remains hidden from the world.” He “rejects as immoral the popular principle that good should be done for friends and evil to enemies. It can never be the intention of the righteous to do anyone an injury, an enemy as little as a friend. How near the wise Greek approaches Gospel ethics in these thoughts.”

On the other hand, Plato’s teaching in *The Republic* favoring an aristocracy of culture and the rulership of philosophers and intellectuals, is in direct opposition to the teachings of the Gospel, which “proclaim the coming kingdom of God, in which all will be blessed, even the poor and the ignorant, the weary and the heavy-laden. Similar as they may be in all other respects, at this point behold the vast difference between Platonism and Christianity!”

“Next to Platonic philosophy,” our author holds, “Stoicism (founded by Zeno and Chrysippos in the third century B. C.) was

the most important preparation for Christianity in the Græco-Roman world. . . . They held the task of philosophy to be essentially practical; it should lead man to virtue and thus to happiness, by teaching him a proper insight into the value or valuelessness of things and thereby free him from the outer world and the unreasoning feelings which make him dependent upon it. Virtue is not merely a part or a condition of the highest good, but it is the highest good itself; for it is the practical wisdom of living, which guarantees inner freedom to men and equanimity in all the circumstances of life.”

Professor Pfeiderer discusses somewhat at length the concepts and teachings of the early and late Stoics and shows how their thought permeated the Græco-Roman world and prepared the thought-world for the gospel of the Nazarene. Of the philosophy of Stoicism he observes:

“This was an ethics which led men to look within and freed them from the allurements and the terrors of the world; it purified man’s soul by demanding control of the passions, particularly sensuality; it taught man to recognize in inner freedom and purity the dignity of the human personality, and it gave full force to the respect for man as such; in the divinely-related, reasoning nature of man, finally, it found the common bond of brotherhood of all men, irrespective of rank or nationality and from this conviction evolved the motive for a new and crowning virtue, love of human brothers, humanity.

“Stoicism grasped with remarkable clearness the fundamental religious problem of the connection of the moral freedom of man and his dependence on God; but it did not solve the problem, and it could not have done so, because the freedom of man was taken in the negative sense of the withdrawal from the external world into his own soul, and not in the positive sense of the self-submission of man to the absolute divine purpose of the world.”

The philosophic concepts of Socrates and Plato sifted down through the thought-world of many thinkers who followed them and influenced in a large way the scholarship of Alexandria and also that of Palestine. To this influence must be added the mystical concepts of Philo and other philosophers who

had imbibed much of the lore of Greece and Judaism and perhaps not a little of that of other great civilizations. These mystical thinkers had in the laboratory of their brains woven new thought-pictures destined to leave an indelible impress on the new religion that was to conquer the imagination of the Western world.

"Of greatest importance for the preparation of Christianity was the combination of Greek philosophy and Jewish religion, which happened among Hellenic cultured Jews of Alexandria under the rulership of the Ptolemys in the two centuries immediately preceding Christ. In the writings of the philosopher and theologian Philo, an Alexandrian Jew (born 20 B. C., died 54 A. D.), the ripest fruit of this combination has been preserved for us."

Our author dwells at length on the concepts of Philo:

"This Logos-conception, the pivotal point of Philo's system, combines the Jewish idea of the creative *word* of revelation with the Stoic thought of the active, divine *reason* in the world. As for the Stoics, so for Philo, the Logos is the world-forming and world-sustaining principle which acts by separating and uniting opposites, hence its names, the bond, the law, the necessity of all, or all-permeating, the all-ordering and all-guiding. But the Philonic Logos differs from the Stoic, in that he does not identify it with God or the world-substance but makes it something intermediate between them; his name is first-born son of God, oldest Angel, image and plainly-spoken, a 'second God'; since the creation, he has been the mediator of divine revelation, the model for all matter, and at the same time the power by which matter was shaped in the world.

"In such fashion, the Philonic Logos combines the philosophic thought of divine reason which dwells in the world and in men with the theological ideas of a personal mediator of revelation and messenger of God, like Hermes, the mythical messenger of the gods, whom Stoic theologians regarded as the personified Logos. Such mediary beings, half philosophical and half mythical, were favorite subjects of speculation in that period and met the need for something wherewith to fill in the great gap between God and the world.

"Philo's teaching about man combined Platonic and Stoic thought with biblical tra-

dition. Philo agreed with Plato in looking upon the earthly body as a prison for the soul descended from above; it was the root and seat of evil, error and wickedness. He sought to harmonize this theory with the biblical story of creation, by finding in the two narratives (Genesis 1 and 2) a two-fold creation: First, an incorporeal, celestial, ideal man, and then the man of earth, a mixture of angel and animal, resulting from the combination of a higher part with matter from earth. The salvation of man from the thrall of sensuality and his elevation to the divine model,—these are impossible to man's unaided powers, but can be achieved by the aid of divine powers; particularly, by aid of the Logos, descending into souls and sanctifying them as temples of God.

"Therefore, though Philo approaches the theology of John, he stands outside the threshold of Christianity; he knows nothing of an 'incarnation of the logos,' a historical and permanent realization of the divine principle in the personal and communal life of God's children. But Philo was a preparation for Christianity, in that he demanded of the hellenistic Judaism of the Dispersion the spirit of individualistic, inward-turned piety and a universally broadened morality; therewith he blazed the way for an ethical-spiritual religion, based on monotheism, but freed from the limitations of Judaism."

Again in the wisdom-books and the Psalms of Israel our author finds a positive preparation for Christianity:

"In the Judaism of the fourth and third centuries B. C. there still lived that deep and honest piety, classically expressed in the Psalms; there were thinkers who had kept in contact with Greek culture, and regardless of national and legal limitations solved the riddles of the universe according to their own ideas—these were the authors of the so-called 'wisdom-books.' While Pharisaic legalism is a negative preparation, we recognize the wisdom-books and the Psalms as a positive preparation of Christianity in Judaism.

"The individualization of the religious consciousness is common to the wisdom-books and the Psalms. Previously religion had been a common possession of the people of Israel, each one being part owner by virtue of birth; now, it became the personal attitude of the individual. Pious is he who fears

God and trusts in Him, who holds Him ever in his sight and in his heart, who is pure of heart and upright in action, and who even in misfortune clings hopefully and trustingly to God. This is the ideal of righteousness as found in the Psalms, in the Proverbs and in Sirach."

The chapter on Jesus is highly suggestive and deeply interesting, though it will make those who have accepted old theological teachings without question sit up and think; for Professor Pfleiderer is a fearless truth-seeker, a historian who insists on subordinating all else to the demands of verity.

"Like all heroes," he tells us, "Jesus was a child of his nation and his era and shared their messianic expectations; it was this which made him able to do the reformatory work of his time."

Jesus taught the fatherhood of God in its broad and universal signification, but in this he was not an innovator. Pagans and the authors of the wisdom-books of Israel had voiced the same idea:

"In the earliest stages of religion, the deity is named father, in the physical sense; thus Homer calls Zeus the father of gods and men. In a higher sense, Plato calls God the Father of the Universe, who is his unenvying goodness desired that all should be as much like him as possible; hence, it is man's task to become most like God through righteousness and piety. . . . In the Israelitish religion, God was the father of Israel from of old; the Israelites were his sons and the relation of father and son in the post-exilic wisdom-books is applied not only to the nation as a whole, but also to each pious individual. Sirach calls God 'Father and Lord of my life'; in the Wisdom of Solomon and in the Psalms of Solomon, the pious are 'God's sons,' and Philo speaks of the 'Heavenly Father' who sends the divine powers down into the soul as into his temple, to purify and sanctify it. From the Rabbinic writings, we gather that, at the time of Jesus, the expression 'Heavenly Father,' 'our Father in Heaven,' had become a popular substitute for the old name of God which had fallen into disuse. It cannot be said that Jesus taught a new God as though he had set up God the loving father as against the righteous God of the Jews: the Jews, too, knew the merciful God and the father in Heaven."

Jesus, however, brought God near to the people in their concepts, and he taught that men were "to become God's children by their increasing moral likeness to God."

"Jesus did not see evil only in action contrary to law as the Jews did, and not as the Greeks in material corporeity, conditioning our existence on earth, but in the unclean and selfish inclinations of the heart which conflict with our ideal being, and destroy body and soul."

The heart of Jesus' religion and that which holds present value for humanity our author finds impearled in two sayings:

"This kernel may be found in two sayings of Jesus which sum it up: 'For whosoever would save his life shall lose it: and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake shall find it. For what shall a man be profited, if he shall gain the whole world and forfeit his soul?' (Matthew 16, 25 *seq.*) and 'But whosoever would become great among you shall be your minister; and whosoever would be first among you, shall be servant of all.' (Mark 10, 43.) The first means that true salvation, the fulfilment of the life-purpose of the individual, depends upon a self-denying, unreserved surrender to the highest purpose of all, the realization of the divine will, of which Jesus knew himself to be the tool. The other means that the social value of each depends upon the measure of his service to the whole of society. Both reject that egoism which seeks its own object and in the selfish gain of temporal possessions loses its eternal object; both promise the richest life-content and permanent satisfaction to that self-forgetting love which seeks the fulfilment of God's will in the service of human society. 'Die and become!'—this is indeed an ethical truth for all time."

Our author closes his chapter on Jesus with these glowing words descriptive of the life and message of the great Nazarene:

"To this heart-rending tragedy as his life's close, one thought alone can reconcile us—that it was the inevitable, providential means of entrance into a higher life. The grain of wheat must fall to earth and die in order to bring forth rich fruit; the Jewish Messiah, the reformer of his people, had to disappear so that 'the Christ after the spirit' could live in the faith of his congregation to be—to make way for him who was in truth to become the

world redeemer and the king of the realm. His limitations of age and nation, the messianic-apocalyptic form of his thought and activity, they had to succumb in the unequal struggle with the powers of the earth; but the universal, spiritual kernel of his life work, the ideal of the kingdom of that God, who is the good will and redeeming love in the hearts of his children and in the life of his realm—that remained and marched triumphantly across the world, so that even to-day it is the saving and educating force which gives eternal content and value to human life in the individual and the race.”

In the chapter on “The Messianic Congregation,” which closes the first section of the work, Professor Pfeiderer deals at length with the various reports and the conflicting accounts of the resurrection and the appearances of Jesus after his crucifixion. He holds most positively that the appearances were not of the corporeal or bodily Jesus, but of one who could pass through solid substance, or rather appear to disciples in closed and locked rooms, appear and disappear at pleasure, and ascend into the air in their presence. In other words, he holds, and ably advances his reasons for the claim, that the appearances of Jesus to the disciples were not unlike the appearance witnessed by Paul on the way to Damascus. The closing passage descriptive of the Messianic Congregation gives us a fine illustration of the reverent yet broad and deeply sympathetic spirit that pervades the work:

“The most peculiar feature of the early-congregation, their so-called common ownership of property, reminds one of the Essenes; it was not so rigidly carried out as in the latter Order, for, according to the Acts, no one was in duty bound to turn over all his possessions to the congregation; probably, it extended so far as to care for the regular support of the poorer brethren out of a common treasury and especially for the common meal of the brothers. However, this solidarity of a brotherly service of love and this religiously-inspired socialism of the early-congregation were of greatest importance: to a certain extent, it was the beginning of the practical realization of the ideal of the redeeming kingdom of God, which the naïve faith expected would appear fully in the miraculous appearance of the Son of Man on the clouds of Heaven.

“In the small and quiet circle of the brotherhood, gathered about the name of Jesus, there were, indeed, present the living seeds of a religious and moral world regeneration. In order to develop freely and powerfully, they had to be released from the national and legal fetters of Judaism. For this accomplishment, the seeds needed to be transplanted out of the rigid Jewish soil of Palestine into the wide world of heathen religions and of Greek culture; in both of these elements were waiting and ready, by the acquisition of which the new spirit was to broaden out into a world religion and crystallize into the Christian Church.”

III.

“The Evolution of Early-Christianity Into the Church,” which engages the author’s attention in the last half of the volume, is the most lucid, frank and convincing treatise on this subject that it has been our fortune to read. For persons who are weary of the husks of formal Christianity, who in the light of present-day science and discovery find it no longer possible to subscribe to much that in less enlightened and more credulous ages was freely and unquestioningly accepted, and yet who recognize and prize as precious beyond value the great eternal moral and spiritual verities that stud and jewel the New Testament, these chapters will prove as helpful and suggestive as they are rational, illuminating and convincing. The discussion of “The Apostle Paul,” which opens the section, is one of the most masterly pieces of religious writing that has appeared in our wonderful age, and the story of the development of the New Testament and the growth of myths and wonder-stories, and finally of the incorporation of the gnostic religious philosophy in the last of the Gospels, written long after the others, reveals the modern historian and religious truth-seeker at his best.

To us, quite as enthralling and illuminating as the masterly paper on Paul is the paper devoted to “The Gospel of John,” while the pages devoted to “The Establishment of Church Authority” are also extremely valuable.

We close this study with two paragraphs in the concluding pages of Professor Pfeiderer’s work which are worthy of serious thought. That the Christian world is entering upon another religious reformation is indicated by many signs of the times. The new evangel

will concern itself with the spirit rather than the letter. Form, rite, ritual, creed and dogma will more and more fall away, while the immortal spiritual truth will take stronger possession of the heart and brain of man than ever before; and if this belief, so firmly held by many of the noblest thinkers in various churches and in many lands, is well founded, the days that are to come will hold Professor Pfleiderer as one of the noblest way-showers of truth that has arisen in the religious world.

"By setting up a collection of early-Christian writings with normative dignity, the Church erected a barrier against the unbounded license of fantastic notions and enthusiastic conceits; it preserved the possibility of a continuous historical development in direct relation with its origin. But by elevating these writings to the plane of supernatural, inspired oracles, so as to give them unconditional authority, superior to all the disputes of the present, the Church has made a natural historical

understanding of them impossible; it has wiped out the conditions imposed by the history of their period and the peculiar variety of each, and drawing the veil of myth over the actual origins of the Christian religion, it has bowed all sensible thinking beneath the yoke of a sanctified letter.

"When the Church authority had fulfilled its pedagogic mission for the peoples of the Middle Ages, and had become an unbearable yoke for the awakening spirit of German Christianity, the New Testament became the arsenal from which the Church of the Reformation took the weapons against the Priest-church of Rome. In its turn, the inspired Bible-letter soon became her new fetters. To tear loose from them and struggle through to the real freedom of a conscience bound to God only, that has been the problem of modern Protestantism since Lessing, and the solution of that problem engages our attention to-day."

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

Government Regulation of Railway Rates. By Hugo R. Meyer, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Chicago. Cloth. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company.

WITH the ablest and greatest legal talent in the country at the service of the railways, it still remained for a professor in the University of Chicago to produce the leading brief—the masterpiece of special-pleading—for the private-ownership side of the railway question. Mr. Meyer's book fully deserves first rank among the plentiful literature now appearing in behalf of the railway side of the rate-regulation controversy. The first half of it undertakes to portray the alleged mismanagement and general inefficiency of railways that are owned and operated by governments. The second half is divided between laudations of the private-ownership system of the United States, and condemnations of the work of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The writer undertakes to prove that government-own-

ership and operation of railways is unsatisfactory and should not be adopted in the United States, and his conclusion is based solely upon a consideration of the rate question and without reference to the other gigantic questions which enter into the great railway problem of the day giving it stupendous social significance. He indicts the railways of Germany and the rest of Europe for charging excessive rates and finds the source of untold industrial trouble in the fact of governmental ownership.

The great secret of the trouble in government management of railways, Mr. Meyer has discovered in the fact that governments cannot make discriminations. The state-owned railways have not been able to make discriminations and differentials. They are compelled to treat all persons alike. "A unified state cannot undertake to balance the interests of one section against those of another," says the writer. "In the American sense of the term, there is no personal discrimination—that is, discrimination effected by means of secret rebates." This fact is held to be the cause of industrial stagnation, the

* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

paralysis of commerce, the concentration of trade and population and numerous other evils. And the recital of evils that the equal treatment of all users of the railway is held by him responsible for is well calculated to call in question the very basis of ethics, and cast serious doubt upon the wisdom and possibility of justice.

When Mr. Meyer charges that government control has concentrated trade and population upon the water-ways, by refusing to discriminate in favor of interior points he surely must have forgotten that private control in the United States has not charged interior and port cities uniform rates but has always discriminated most excessively in favor of the port cities.

When he claims that the iron industry, the beet-sugar industry, and others languish for the lack of that stimulation which a policy of charging what the traffic will bear would give them, he is equally forgetful of that great host of American enterprises whose languishings have been quieted in death by the cruel operations of that very policy.

Mr. Meyer's insistence that the only possible system of rates, under government ownership is that of an unqualified distance tariff, would be taken somewhat more seriously by a certain class of his readers, at least had he anywhere in his book made recognition of the Zone System now so successfully and satisfactorily in operation. His complaint against the governments of Europe that they have failed to develop long-distance traffic on their railways from state to state and from sea to sea, such as has been done in the United States, is repeated in the case against Australia. It may be, however, that some of the readers of the book will consider the question of European trans-continental transportation not an interstate question nor even a railroad question but an international question; and it is hardly conceivable that many intelligent readers will be led into considering as a problem of railway management one that is purely and simply a question of international politics.

The greatest emphasis in Mr. Meyer's book is based upon the claim that excessively high railway tariffs have forced the great bulk of the traffic to seek the water-ways and compelled the government to build and the people to patronize a slow-going, inefficient, unsatisfactory canal system. To the canals, he would have us believe, such prosperity as the countries enjoy is chiefly due. Upon the canal

discriminations flourish quite as commonly as upon American railways, for transportation on these canals is privately conducted. "Were it not for the waterways modern Germany could not have come into existence—unless, indeed, the Railway Department had long since abandoned entirely its effort to adhere to an inflexible scheme of rates, and had gone over without reserve to the practice of charging what the traffic will bear."

Not only does Mr. Meyer attribute the large use of water transportation on the continent to the fact of state ownership of the railways, but he advances the whole story of the canals with much detail as conclusive proof of the inefficiency and unsatisfactoriness of the railway service.

It is interesting in this connection to notice that in England, where the railways are privately owned, a condition prevails so similar to that of Germany as to provoke curiosity as to why one who has studied the canal question so thoroughly and who gave it so much weight in his book should have entirely ignored these English facts unless, indeed, he saw that they would spoil his case against Germany.

Nearly 3,000 miles of canals owned by independent capital in England do a business of about thirty-three million tons a year, making a net profit of over \$1,000 a mile, and this business is on the increase. So great is the need felt for larger canal facilities in England that the development of inland waterways is recognized as one of the most important points for the new Liberal government. Many of the country's canals are in truth given over to weeds and fish, but this is because they have been bought up and suppressed by the private railway companies, and their business diverted to the tracks for the advantage of those companies. There are 1,138 miles of English canals owned by the railways and their net profits are less than one-tenth of those that are owned and operated independently of the railways.

Over and over again Mr. Meyer deplors the inability of European railways to shade rates, to make discriminations, and to practice all those other forms of favoritism which have built up the trusts and giant corporations of the United States.

Incidentally Mr. Meyer gives the railways of Germany credit for furnishing out of their earnings one hundred and eighty million marks a year as against one hundred and sixty million marks raised by direct taxation, for

the expenses of the government. "Were it not for the railway surpluses Prussia would need either to practically double its taxation or reduce expenditure by one-half."

The author complains bitterly that the railways are used as a revenue-making machine for the government, and in this he may be perfectly correct but he fails to tell us how if any better off, the German people would be if these one hundred and eighty million marks were put into private pockets for private purposes and used for strengthening a system of corporation-control of the government.

Turning to the United States Mr. Meyer dwells upon the industrial and agricultural development of the country in a way that is calculated to give not railways nor natural resources nor historic conditions, but the private-ownership of railways the credit for it. The discriminations and inequities of American railway management are referred to as "the growing pains of progress." Not only does he recognize no injustice whatever in the gross favoritism wherein powers as great as those of government are used by the railway managers to build up the business of certain favored ones by utterly destroying that of their competitors, but also opposes all regulation whatever, and advocates in explicit terms the let-alone policy, that would give to unscrupulous managers even greater power of industrial life and death over individuals, business and communities than they now enjoy.

His criticisms of the Interstate Commerce Commission are sharp even to acrimoniousness. That the commission in advocating an extension of its power is actuated by unworthy motives, that it is composed of persons habitually and morbidly distrustful, that the members are remarkably dense in their processes of economic reasoning, that they have resorted to appeals to popular prejudice, that they are intellectually on a level with the Russian bureaucrats, that they arrive at their decisions by ignoring the rights of all the parties to the controversy except the complainants, that they have espoused "theories of social progress" contrary to the spirit of American institutions, that they ignore the spirit of the law in order to follow the letter, that they are unwilling to take hold of troublesome problems, that they have been inconsistent and incompetent, and that they have discriminated against trans-Mississippi grain by refusing to let the railroads discriminate in favor of it, are samples of Mr. Meyer's mental impressions

of the Interstate Commerce Commission. On the other hand, in speaking of the managers of the private railways he declares that in the eighteen years since the passage of the Interstate Act there have been only two cases wherein the most suspicious could have held that the rate complained of had been made from sinister motives, and repeatedly he asserts that the carriers are the best judges of what the rates should be, and that the railway managers should be left alone in the making of the rates, and that even the unjust rates that have been made have not been made in bad faith.

Never in this remarkable book is the assumption out of the mind, that the only possible system of rates under government ownership or regulation is that of unqualified distance tariff. Allowing Mr. Meyer's premises much of his argument must be conceded, but his premises are wrong. The Interstate Commerce Commission has repeatedly recognized other principles of rate-making than that of distance, and the only clause in the Interstate Act that emphasized the distance principle, was so qualified that the Supreme Court's interpretation of it has virtually nullified the clause.

Another assumption which we cannot admit is that if the private railways have been a good thing in the past, the private system is necessarily the best under present circumstances. Even allowing Mr. Meyer's claim that the unification of the country and to a large extent the development of its resources are due to the system of private ownership of the railways, the inference is by no means certain that under the changed conditions of the present time that system is the most beneficial. It is quite possible to say many pleasant and complimentary things truthfully about the enterprise and genius that have gone into our private railway management along with the far greater mass of unpleasant facts of corruption, deceit, fraud, injustice and oppression. But there can be, fortunately, only a comparatively few minds capable of utterly ignoring the greater considerations of justice, honor, equal rights and a square deal. The private ownership of railways in this country is in great measure responsible for some of the most terrible social, political and industrial facts that challenge our conscience and threaten our very existence as a republic. Mr. Meyer's book ignores these facts and seeks to perpetuate their evil cause. RALPH ALBERTSON.

Selected Poems and Tales of Edgar Allan Poe. Illustrated. With Introductory and Critical Notes by Charles Marshall Graves. Cloth. Pp. 188. New York: Silver, Burdett & Company.

THIS is a very valuable little volume, not only for schools and colleges, for which it has been especially prepared, but also for the general reader who wishes to enjoy the best of Poe's writings without wading through all of his uneven work in search of that which is worth the while.

We are living in an age of rush and hurry—an age in which a vast amount of literature, ancient and modern, is brought within the reach of the ordinary reader. Much of it is very good, but even men of leisure find it impossible to enjoy more than a fraction of that which is really worth the while. Hence ours is a time that calls for eclecticism in regard to the writings even of our best thinkers, and he who does this work well, who possesses a fine literary, artistic and ethical discrimination, is a real benefactor.

In the present work the editor has, we think, wrought well, and the value of the volume is greatly increased by the excellent introduction, containing a discriminating biographical sketch of Poe, together with a careful estimate of the author both as a poet and a writer of prose. And the work is further enhanced in value by a complete bibliography and notes germane to the selections made. The book contains twenty-seven poems and five stories. The latter include "The Gold-Bug," "The Masque of the Red Death," "The Fall of the House of Usher," "Eleonora," and "Morella."

The Brothers' War. By John C. Reed. Cloth. \$2 net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

THIS book is what it claims to be,—“a dispassionate survey of the causes leading to the Civil war.” An officer in the Confederate army, later an organizer of the Ku Klux Klan, this author writes with a breadth, a charity and a discrimination which force us to revise some long-cherished opinions. For example, he helps us to recognize “that the forces which produced the Confederate States were just as all-powerful and opposeless as those which produced the United States; that in fact they were exactly the same in kind, that is, the forces of nationalization.”

He also compels a measure of assent to the proposition that:

“Whoever diligently studies the facts will be convinced that southern nationalization, with a power superior to human resistance, carried the southern people into secession, and that their so-called leaders were carried with them. He will discern that the parts of the latter were merely to serve as floats to mark the course of the current beneath.”

But whether we fully agree or not with all this author's conclusions, we should be grateful to him for the new light shed on many perplexing problems; for his candor, sincerity and discriminating analysis of the leading characters in the greatest drama of American history. He puts Jefferson Davis before the world in a new light and creates something of admiration and a great measure of sympathy for him. Speaking of Webster he says:

“He and Lincoln were the supereminent Americans who could never, never forget that the people of the other section were their own full-blood brothers and sisters.”

This book should have a large place in the thought of the future historian.

The Shadow of Life. By Anne Douglas Sedgwick. Cloth. Pp. 330. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Century Company.

MISS SEDGWICK, the talented author of *Paths of Judgment*, recently reviewed in these columns, has given us another novel even more compelling in its hold over the imagination of the reader and in its searching analysis of the hidden springs of human action than her previous work.

The Shadow of Life is a somber story, dealing with the deeper things of life—with its more tragic phases and profounder meanings. The interest centers about two characters, Eppie and Gavan, whom we first see as two children playing together in their beautiful Scottish country home at Kirklands. They are separated. Years pass before they meet again. Eppie has developed into a strong, capable, fascinating woman, imbued with a deep love of life and a high, fine conception of its meaning. To Gavan, on the contrary, life is an inexplicable riddle whose purpose he cannot fathom. Out of their differing points-of-view grows the supreme tragedy of the book which the author has worked out to its inevitable and bitter conclusion.

It is unfortunate that a woman of Miss Sedgwick's marked talent should choose to

devote herself to such depressing studies of character as we find in her two latest volumes. She is, however, peculiarly happy in her descriptions of country life and scenery, and we have few more charming pictures in present-day fiction than that of the two children, Gavan and Eppie, at Kirklands.

AMY C. RICH.

The Quickening. By Francis Lynde. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 406. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is an excellent story descriptive of Southern life in the presence of the transformation now going on through the railways, factories and the spirit of aggressive commercialism, directed by Northern enterprise. The hero is a Southern youth strongly under the compulsion of old-time religious ideals such as prevailed to a greater extent in the South than in any other part of our country. The heroine represents the blending of the Southern with French blood and is in many respects the opposite of her lover. There is some admirable character drawing and there are some very graphic and life-like scenes, but for the general novel reader perhaps the greatest charm will be found in the exciting and dramatic situations of the story. Clouds and sunshine follow each other in quick succession, but the general uncertainty that long prevails as to the outcome and the happy issue of a tale that seems for some time to be doomed to a gloomy ending will satisfy the reader in search of a spirited yet life-like story.

The Woman in the Alcove. By Anna Katherine Green. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 371. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

IF ONE cares only for an exciting mystery or detective story that cannot lay any special claim to literary merit, and which abounds in improbabilities if not impossibilities, he will enjoy *The Woman in the Alcove*. It is one of the best of Anna Katherine Green's detective novels and displays all the remarkable ingenuity that marks the best work of the famous author of *The Leavenworth Case*.

It deals with the robbery from an Englishman of noble family of a famous diamond, subsequently followed by the murder of the wife of the millionaire thief. Suspicion falls upon a young man who is held for the murder while his affianced strives to prove that the

rich Englishman is the criminal. Many clues point to his guilt, though the police long cling to the theory that the first man held is the murderer. Subsequent events, however, show all calculations to have been wrong, and after no end of exciting incidents the real villain is apprehended, the heroine is reunited to her lover, and all ends after the manner of the old-fashioned fairy-tale.

The Edge of Hazard. By George Horton. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 430. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

MR. HORTON's new novel, *The Edge of Hazard*, is even more exciting and entertaining than *The Monks' Treasure* which appeared last year. The hero of the story is a blue-blooded but impecunious young American who goes to Siberia to take charge of a large trading-post, just prior to the recent Russo-Japanese war. He goes to Russia by way of Japan, where he is made the victim of a plot by a Russian nobleman. Fortunately, however, he escapes and proceeds on his way in company with the beautiful cousin of this same nobleman. They are pursued by hostile Chinese and have many dangerous adventures in which the hero is able to render great service to the young woman, who is by no means unappreciative. After reaching the land of the Czar the young American again becomes the hero of numerous exciting happenings, among which are a Jew-baiting episode, an accidental encounter with a band of Nihilists and a duel with the same young Russian whom he met in Japan.

Perhaps the best drawn and most attractive character in the book is Aisome, the beautiful Japanese spy whose love for the hero leads her to adopt the dress of a Korean boy and follow him to Russia that she may become his servant and watch over his welfare. Her final act of devotion and self-sacrifice in the closing scenes of the romance lends the truest and most deeply human touch to the story.

The Edge of Hazard is a novel written frankly with no other purpose than to entertain, and as such it can be heartily recommended.

AMY C. RICH.

Maid of Athens. By Lafayette McLaws. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 286. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

LORD BYRON's fascinating but erratic personality and his many love affairs have of late

attracted the attention of numerous novel-writers, but the publishers of *Maid of Athens* assure us that Miss McLaws' novel was planned and practically entirely written previous to the appearance of the many Byronic romances which have been put upon the market during the last two or three years. In any event, the present story is one of the best of these novels, being exceptionally well written and giving delightful glimpses of Turkish and Greek life. As the title indicates, the romance deals with Lord Byron's infatuation for and imaginary wooing of the beautiful Greek maiden, Thyrsa, whom he immortalized in song, and with his devotion on her account to the cause of the Greek patriots. The author has undoubtedly glossed over the faults and idealized the virtues of the poet, but she has nevertheless given us a charming story of an impetuous and daring wooing and of a girl's deathless devotion to a man who, next to her country, represented all that made life worth living.

AMY C. RICH.

Choosing a Career. By Orison Swett Marden. Cloth. Pp. 482. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is a work written with a view to being of practical help to young people desiring to succeed in life. It contains much helpful matter presented in a pleasing manner that will be readily retained in the memory of the young, as the author has a happy faculty of fixing important lessons or truths in the imagination by the introduction of interesting and striking illustrations.

The volume is divided into two parts and contains fifty chapters. Part One is concerned with the elements that enter into the choice of a life-calling and impresses things which the wise and thoughtful must take cognizance of. Part Two contains twenty-eight chapters dealing with suggestions regarding how to make a success of different careers. The work is illustrated with a number of full-page portraits and will prove helpfully stimulating to ambitious young men and women.

Double Trouble; or, Every Hero His Own Villain. By Herbert Quick. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 320. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS novel has two legitimate claims to public interest. It is a pleasing love-story quite out of the ordinary beaten path of fiction,

and it is a popular study of one of the latest assured results of modern psychology—the subliminal self or double personality. A few years ago a most interesting case of this nature came to light in this country. A citizen of Rhode Island suddenly disappeared and no trace of him could be found for months. It was ascertained that he had taken a few hundred dollars of his own money from the bank where he kept his deposits and had left Rhode Island, but whither he had gone no one knew and all search proved unavailing. Months passed, and one day dispatches were received from a town in Pennsylvania at the old home of the missing man, asking if such a person was known to have lived there. In short, the man returned to his family. During the interim he had, as was later proved and as he described when hypnotized by Dr. Richard Hodgson and Professor William James, gone to Philadelphia, where he awakened with no memory of the past and possessed with the belief that his name was entirely different from his real cognomen. He felt that it was necessary for him to do something in order to make a living. He bought a paper, saw a store advertised for sale in a Pennsylvania town went there, bought the store, and for months conducted the business under his new name that he believed to be his own. One morning his true self awakened and all the interim from the time he left Rhode Island was a blank. The late Dr. Richard Hodgson, head of the American Branch of the English Society for Psychical Research, and Professor James, the eminent psychologist of Harvard, hypnotized him, when the subliminal self or other personality came to the surface and described in detail everything done in the period of absence. The account of this celebrated case was published at length in *The Proceedings of the English Society for Psychical Research*. Cases of a similar character have been examined by eminent French scientists.

Now it is with this strange phase of life, only in recent years made the subject of careful scientific investigation, that Mr. Quick deals in his novel bearing the unattractive title of *Double Trouble*. The hero is a western banker. He disappears. Six years later he awakens in a sleeping-car approaching New York City, his former self. He imagines he has just left his home and knows no name other than Amidon, which is his true name. The negro porter calls him Mr. Brassfield. At the hotel the clerk calls him Brass-

field and tells him his room is waiting for him, giving him at the same time letters and telegrams. In the package is a tender missive from his affianced bride, and other letters relating to extensive business enterprises in which Brassfield is engaged. A horrible impression seizes him that he has committed a murder and possessed himself of the murdered man's belongings. A hypnotist and her father, a German professor, succeed in untangling the mystery. A former friend and law counselor also aids in unravelling the tangles that follow when Amidon-Brassfield returns to the town of Bellevale, in Pennsylvania, where he has great oil interests and where his affianced lives. There is no end to the tangle and misunderstandings, however, before the truth is established and the clouds, mysteries and troubles vanish in the light of love triumphant and the complete restoration of the true Mr. Amidon to the possession of his mentality.

The author has made a faithful study of known cases of double personality and has followed the revelations in such cases with laudable fidelity.

Religion and Politics. By Algernon Sidney Crapsey. Cloth. Price, \$1.25 net. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

NOT SINCE *The Religion of Democracy* and *The Affirmative Intellect* came from the pen of Rev. Charles Ferguson, has any book been thrown into the camp of the Episcopal Church certain to create such interest and antagonism as this book of Dr. Crapsey's. No one who reads the book will be surprised for a moment that Dr. Crapsey is now on trial for heresy. The book is full of heresy, that is, it is full of truth. I started in to make a list of the heresies, but gave it up. The list was too long. The Immaculate Conception, the Resurrection, Plenary Inspiration, the Trinity, Apostolic Succession, and other items of orthodox creeds are referred to incidentally in this book in so free and clearly unorthodox a way as to be certain to rouse the ire of many a "defender of the faith." "Jesus is in no way responsible for that conception of the Bible which prevails in modern life," says Dr. Crapsey. "Jesus was what in these days we should call a higher critic," and he was "as little responsible for the modern conception of the church," as for that of the Bible. There is no argument in support of these heresies here. The heresies

are elevated to the plane of presumption, taken for granted as common belief. "A belief in the inerrancy of the Bible is no longer possible to an educated man, or for anyone in fact, who reads his Bible with reasonable intelligence and attention. It does not need profound scholarship; it only requires ordinary common-sense, to see that the Bible is not the miraculous book which orthodox theology claims it to be. It is not the higher critic; it is the ordinary modern reader, who has reverently placed his Bible among the great literatures of the world, and finds that both he, himself and his Bible have gained immensely by the operation. He can read his Bible now with pleasure and profit, since in reading, he does not have to outrage his intelligence."

The question of the divinity of Jesus is treated similarly:

"In the light of scientific research, the Founder of Christianity no longer stands apart from the common destiny of man in life and death, but He is in all things physical like as we are, born as we are born, dying as we die, and both in life and death in the keeping of that same Divine Power, that heavenly Fatherhood, which delivers us from the womb and carries us down to the grave. When we come to know Jesus in His historical relations, we see that miracle is not a help, it is a hindrance, to an intelligent comprehension of His person, His character, and His mission. We are not alarmed, we are relieved, when scientific history proves to us that the fact of His miraculous birth was unknown to Himself, unknown to his mother, and unknown to the whole Christian community of the first generation."

But these are by no means the most radical heresies in the book, nor can it be allowed that it is zeal for these particular doctrines that is prompting the heresy hunters in this particular quest. Dr. Crapsey has probed heresy hunters in many a tender place. The challenge of his book is a challenge to the men behind the doctrines, and they could not but attack him—or give up the heresy hunt. Speaking of archbishops, he says: "High office and high character are seldom found together in this world," and declares that "in our modern capitalistic churches" clergymen are rated according to the money they get, citing the English belief that if the bishops were to lose their palaces they would lose their power. The "higher officials are more apt

to reflect the mind of the powers that be, than they are to reflect the mind of Christ." Referring to unresented implications upon a certain body of ministers, he says:

"It was nothing to them whether the homes of the people of their city were wholesome or unwholesome; nothing to them whether the officers of their city were honest or corrupt; nothing to them whether the children of their city were being trained to wisdom or to folly; nothing to them whether the streets of their city were hideous or beautiful; nothing to them that the merchants of the city turned girls and women by the thousand out into the streets of the city in the middle of the night, these girls and women exhausted by sixteen hours of toil, left, so far as the merchants were concerned to become the prey of any passerby. All this was secular, and did not concern the minister. It was the opening of the saloon on Sunday that roused his interest, because Sunday is the little bit of time which he has tried to enclose in his sacred compartment, and claims as his own. The Sunday saloon encroaches upon the territory of the Sunday church, and if the Sunday saloon be opened the ministers fear that the Sunday church may have to be closed, and the occupation of the minister be gone. . . . If the minister, with God on his side, cannot win out against the barkeeper in a fair and open competition, then what is the use of the minister, and where is the power of his God. . . . The power that throttled the minister was 'money.' . . . The established churches of the world are everywhere in decay, and must soon pass away, and their disappearance will not be an un-mixed evil if with them goes that worldliness, which more even than grosser sin is the enemy of the religion of Jesus."

All this, however, is incidental. The book is an excellent popular treatment of the subject of the relation between church and state, going most originally into the profoundest questions as to the nature of each, and giving a most excellent historical *résumé* of their relations. The steady encroachment of the state upon provinces formerly reigned over by the Church is, however, but partly brought out by Dr. Crapsey. Concerning education, he says:

"During the last fifty years the province of education has passed from under the power of the clerical body into the possession of the laymen. The presidents of all our larger universities and colleges are laymen, and if

some of our smaller colleges are still required by their charters to have a clergyman as their head, then such clergyman is careful not to emphasize his clerical character; in dress, in manner, in thought, he is in accord with the lay, rather than with the ministerial, world. Our academic schools, following the lead of our universities and colleges, are seeking their teaching staff among laymen, and if by chance they do employ a clergyman they take care that he is not clergyman enough to hurt him. And as for the great public-school system which the people have created for the education of their children, that, as we too well know, is not only free from, but antagonistic to, clerical influence."

But Dr. Crapsey is truly constructive and sees new religious forces at work and a bright hope for the world's religious life:

"The truth is that religion is entering into life and spiritualizing every department thereof as it has not since the primitive days. It is not dying out; it is only changing its mode of operation. It refuses any longer to be shut up in churches, and is striving to make itself a home in the street, in the shop, in the market, in the common council chamber.

"The clerical order is losing influence, not because the world is growing less religious, but because it is more religious than it was sixty years ago. Religion has to-day a wider scope and a farther reach than the clerical interpretation permits it to have. . . . The man of science knows his God as God has never been known before. He is face to face with his God every moment of his life. . . . The life of the man of science is necessarily favorable to the development of the religious character. What can be more ennobling than an intense love of truth for truth's sake? There is not in all religious history a more saintly character than that of Charles Darwin. His patience, his self-restraint, his quiet, uncomplaining endurance of pain and calumny, are as indicative of spiritual power and of true religious character as are the mortifications of St. Bernard or the ecstasies of St. Teresa. It cannot be by accident that the breath of scandal has never soiled the name of any of the great leaders of science. . . . Science is not only a philosophy, it is a passionate religion, and a religion that is unifying the world. . . . Industrial commercialism is wiser in its day and generation than the churches of light. It is not afraid of the truth. . . . Hear, now, oh ye churches, the sum of the whole matter:

There are three great spirits at work creating the world that is and that is to be: The spirit of scientific investigation, that will know nothing but the truth; the spirit of democratic revolution, which will trust no one but the people; the spirit of social evolution, which will call no man common or unclean. If the churches wish for influence in the world that is and is to be, they must master these spirits and make them their own. The churches must become scientific, democratic, and socialistic. And, if they do so, then the churches will merge into the church and the church will no longer be separate from the state, nor the state from the church, but these two will be one flesh."

Here is the keynote to the really great message of Dr. Crapsey's book. He stands for the "American Church-State." It is here. It is coming. "Politics is religion."

"Politics is religion because it has to do with major morals, with the relations of men to each other in communities, with honesty in trade, with gentleness in action, with truth in speech. . . . When the people of the United States decreed by constitutional amendment that the government should never by law establish any religion, they did actually establish the only religion that could comprehend in its membership the whole American people. A religion having as its basis the principles of individual liberty and obedience to righteous law is really the religion of the golden rule. Nor has this religion been simply a theory powerless to work righteousness in the world. It has created a great and happy people. . . . We are told that the public schools have no religion. But if religion be love, and joy, and peace in the holy air of God, then the public schools have done more to promote true religion than all the churches in the land. What the churches and denominations are doing their utmost to prevent, the common schools are accomplishing. They are uniting the American people in a great common religion,—a religion based upon the scientific method which finds God in the present truth: a religion which is democratic, and finds the highest expression of law in the common judgment of the whole people; a religion which is socialistic in that it is controlled by the social organism, the state, and knows no distinction of rank or class, and looks only to the public welfare. . . . The two ministers of religion who are doing the most for the common salvation to-day are the mayor and the health officer. . . . The new age is upon

us; the age of industrial freedom and social equality; the age that is to deliver man at last from bondage to man. . . . The great mass of the people who do the world's work are pressing forward to claim an effective place for themselves in the social and political economy of the nations. . . . They are demanding decent homes to be born and to die in and sufficient leisure for thought and for prayer. The miner in the darkness of the mine is dreaming of light, and the girl in the noise and ugliness of the factory is thinking of beauty and quiet. The people are moving, and the old organizations must move with them or perish. Serve or die is the stern decree of fate. If the churches exist largely for the purpose of supporting the clergy, and the political parties for the purpose of providing places for the politicians, then both churches and parties are doomed. The church-state in America, which includes all parties and all churches, has done great things; but greater remain to be done. It has given political power to the people. But the people must now use that power to secure industrial opportunity and social betterment. We have learned how to produce, but not how to distribute. We have vast fabulous wealth at one end of the social scale, and bare subsistence at the other. . . . To correct these abuses and to call the nation back to its high and holy calling as a church-state whose duty it is to promote the general welfare, to secure domestic tranquility, and above all to establish justice,—is the task to which the American people must set itself without delay."

This splendid conception of the one-ness of church and state is a most valuable contribution to the new religious thought. If in the future the church and state are to be one as Dr. Crapsey says they are, there can be no question as to which will be that one. It will be the State. The state has been dominated by the church. The state has been divorced from the church, but the state of the future will absorb the church—by doing the church's work, by better performing all her true functions, and by ministering in the things of a scientific and democratic religion to the whole life of the world. The last two chapters of the book introduce this theme of a truly great state that shall embody and express a civic religion, and it is to be hoped that Dr. Crapsey will have more to say upon this most important subject.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

ASPECTS OF CONTEMPORARY FICTION: We wish to call the special attention of our readers to *Aspects of Contemporary Fiction*, by Professor ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, Ph.D., in this issue of THE ARENA. It is in our judgment one of the most thoughtful and discriminating recent contributions to literary criticism.

A Republican Leader Who Has Antagonized the Plutocracy: Last month we published an admirable sketch of Senator LA FOLLETTE, who is to-day probably the most conspicuous and able defender of popular interests against the aggressions of a corrupt plutocracy in the Republican party. This month we publish a discriminating and admirable pen-picture of another prominent Republican leader who is loved by the people for the enemies he has made. Governor CUMMINS was one of the first of the Western Republicans to come out fearlessly in the interests of the people against the great monopoly-fed and fattened trusts that through an exorbitant tariff are acquiring untold millions of money that but for this iniquitous tariff would be enjoyed by America's millions. In the same manner he has championed the cause of the people against the great railway interests, and for this reason is being bitterly antagonized by the public carriers and other commercial cormorants that are fattening off of the wealth-producers and consumers of America.

Governor Garvin on the Solution of the Labor Problem: Last month we published an excellent contribution giving the Socialist programme or an outline of the aims, desires and purposes of the Socialists the world over. This month we publish a paper from the pen of ex-Governor GARVIN of Rhode Island advocating the Single Tax as a solution to the labor problems.

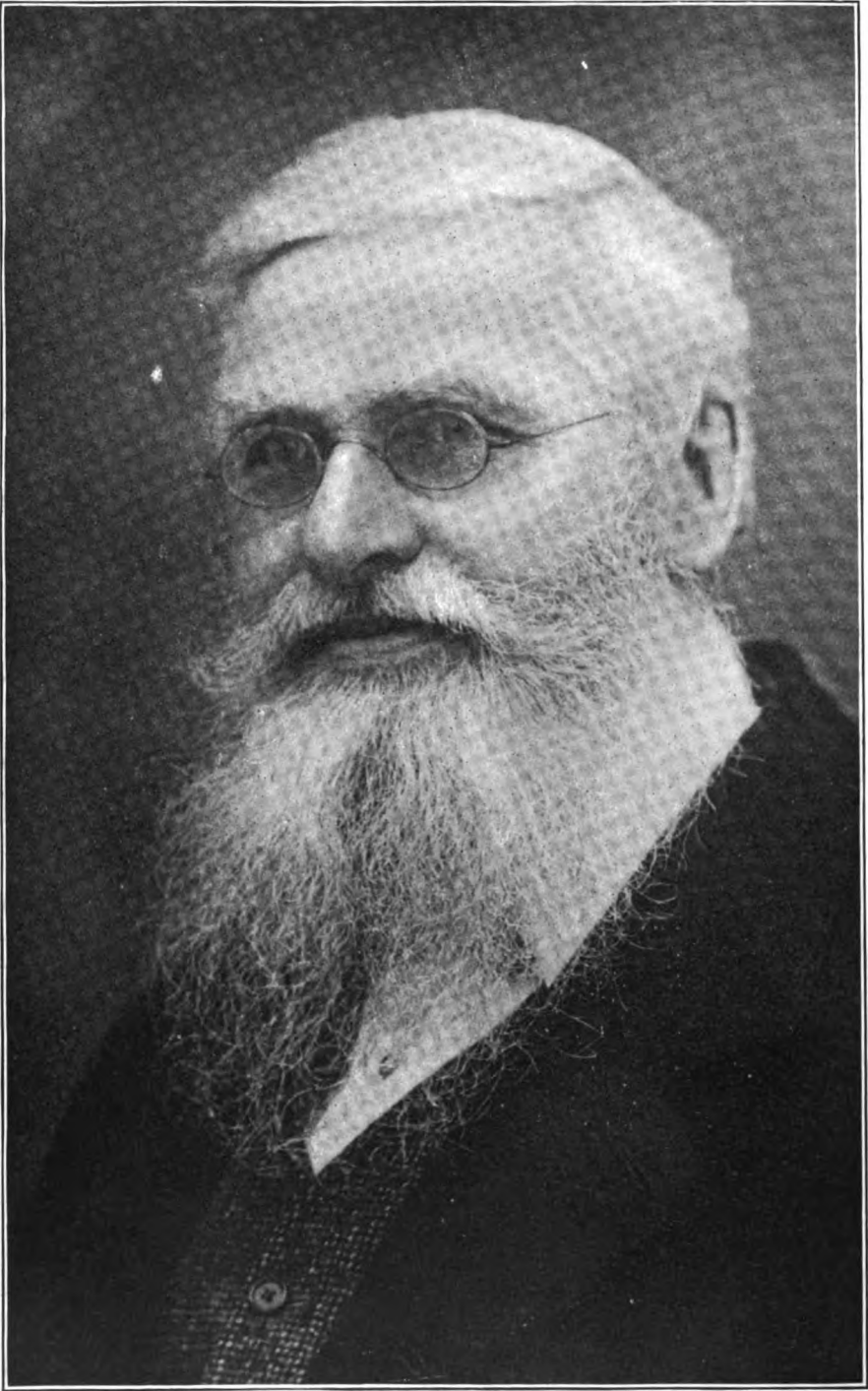
Rambles in Switzerland: Our readers will enjoy the pleasing sketch of travels in Switzerland by Mr. CARL VROOMAN, formerly regent of the Agricultural College of Kansas. Mr. VROOMAN has spent the past year in Italy, Switzerland, Germany, France and Belgium, making extensive social studies. He is one of the rapidly increasing coterie of earnest, conscientious and thoughtful students of social, economic and political progress whose work during the past few years has been making its impress on the nation—an impress which is being made more and more clearly visible with each succeeding municipal and state election.

We shall shortly publish the concluding papers in Mr. FRANK VROOMAN's series of articles. These deal with *Spills and the Civil Service* and the Congressional Library at Washington.

Child-Labor, Compulsory Education and Race-Suicide: A very interesting, original and thought-stimulating contribution is presented in this issue from the pen of Mr. WILLARD FRENCH, of Washington, D. C. There are few questions before the American people of greater importance than that of properly safeguarding childhood. The children of this Republic must be emancipated from toil; they must be guaranteed a good common-school education; and they must be protected in the enjoyment of that large degree of freedom which is all-important for their physical and mental growth during the early formative period of life. And it is the supreme duty of the State to devise means whereby the blight of childhood, resulting to-day from the compelling of children of tender years to work in factories, mills and mines, shall be rendered impossible.

Character Sketches of Twentieth-Century Leaders: This month we present two character sketches, one of Judge POLLARD, the practical idealist who is doing such admirable work in reforming drunkards; the other of EDWARD W. REDFIELD, the famous artist. This latter paper is the second contribution in our series on Americans who are contributing in a substantial way to the building up of a great art in the New World.

An Important Series of Papers on Social, Industrial, Economic and Political Conditions in Germany: By Our Special Correspondent: We take great pleasure in announcing that in an early issue of THE ARENA we shall begin the publication of a series of brief papers prepared expressly for THE ARENA by the well-known author and journalist, MAYNARD BUTLER of Berlin. The first of these papers will appear in our August or September issue and will be devoted to the condition of the laborers who do piece-work, known as the home workers, throughout the German Empire. Following this will be brief articles appearing monthly dealing with general social, economic and political conditions in Germany and also to some extent in England, prepared by this gifted writer who is one of the contributors to *The Contemporary Review*, *The Fortnightly Review*, *The St. James Gazette*, and who was also *The Outlook's* special correspondent at the coronation of the present Czar at Moscow. MAYNARD BUTLER is the author of two important works, one of which, *The First Year of Responsibility*, carries an introduction, by the Master of Trinity, Cambridge University, England. Through long residence in Berlin and having entrée to various political, social and educational circles, this writer is peculiarly well fitted to present vital facts in which intelligent American readers will be deeply interested.



DR. ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them,
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.*

The Arena

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SAN FRANCISCO AND HER GREAT OPPORTUNITY.

BY GEORGE WHARTON JAMES,

Author of In and Out of the Old Missions of California, etc., etc.

THE SAN FRANCISCO we all knew and loved, in visible form, has gone out of existence. Most of the landmarks made by man that we cherished and revered because of hallowed and dear associations have been swept away by what is, perhaps, the most disastrous fire of all history.

As I stood on Nob Hill looking over the vast area, north, south, east and west, swept by the devastating fire, I felt that, though here was desolation and destruction, I was looking over that which stood for three miracles already wrought, and a fourth one, which I prayed might be wrought. The first miracle was the calm, controlled, self-contained patience with which the people of San Francisco saw their beloved city, with all their precious personal belongings, their sacred memorials, their hallowed associations, swallowed up by the all-consuming fire. The second miracle was the immediate and loving response of the whole world to the needs of the stricken citizens. Never before has such an uprising been possible, for never before have means of communication been so complete and extensive. Everybody responded with a heartiness, a sympathy, a brotherliness

that has brought the world nearer together than it ever was before. Carloads, trainloads, shiploads, wagonloads of food, cooked and uncooked, bedding and clothes were whirled towards the Golden Gate with a speed that transcended all ordinary records. Trains for San Francisco laden with food had the right of way over even passenger trains, save those which were bearing physicians, nurses and helpers.

And the third miracle is equal to the other two. When I reached the City of the Sun-Down Sea I found not a whiner, a whimperer among all that remained. With a brave, hopeful courage that knows no disaster, no defeat save cowardice and vain regret, these men and women of San Francisco have started to rebuild their city.

Personally I wish it were possible to move slowly. Haste is waste. It took six fires in the earliest days of San Francisco to teach its people ordinary caution in building. The first fire occurred on the day before Christmas in that year of old, that year of gold, 1849. The houses were built with improvident haste and were as inflammable, says one writer, Bancroft, as the temper of the inhabitants.

Wild revelry and dissolute pleasure at this festive time were doubtless responsible for the disaster, for fully three-fourths of the citizens (there were few women there then) were drinking and carousing at the time. A million and a quarter dollars went up in smoke in a few hours.

May 4, 1850, was the date of the second fire which swallowed up about four million dollars; while the third great fire came on the 14th of June, at eight A. M., while the rebuilding was in progress, and ate up another four million to five million dollars' worth of property, including three hundred houses.

This led to an improvement in the buildings, stone and brick being used where frame construction had satisfied before. Yet that same year, September 17th, a fourth fire came and burned up half a million dollars' worth of property, mostly in low, one-story buildings of wood that had escaped the former fires. Then came two or three smaller fires which, though destructive, are allowed to go by without count, because of the terrible fifth fire, which came May 3, 1851, and destroyed the great total of upwards of twelve million dollars. As if this were not enough, a sixth great fire burst out among the flimsy temporary buildings and its ravages were not stayed until another three millions of dollars had gone up in smoke.

These fires taught the people the need of fire restrictions,—a district was organized in which none but fire-proof buildings could be erected, and thus future fire-fighting was made much more easy.

Other lessons learned were that haste is waste, that better buildings paid for themselves in the insurance against fires they offered, and still another that it paid to have a well-equipped fire department. The result was seen in the organization of the San Francisco fire department which for years has been noted as one of the most thorough and efficient in the world.

But the fire of April, 1906, came under peculiar circumstances and conditions.

The earthquake which preceded it played into the hands of the Fire Fiend by killing Fire Chief Sullivan practically before the fire began, and second, by so shattering the water-mains that the fire-fighters found themselves without water.

There are lessons, therefore, to be learned from both earthquake and fire, which I wish to comment upon, as these and the practical application of them are some of San Francisco's great present opportunities.

1. It is generally conceded that had the city had an abundant supply of water available the fire would have been checked much earlier than it was, even had it not been almost entirely prevented. Imagine the horror of the situation. Fires bursting out simultaneously in every direction and *no water*. It was enough to drive men to insanity at the start. For fifty years or so San Francisco has been at the mercy of a corporation, no worse perhaps than other corporations, and yet as soulless as most of them, which has practically done as it would about water matters. A city's water-supply should be absolutely under the control of that city. How, I do not here say. But there should be no question as to the fact. If it cannot own the supply it should require proper construction in the system of distribution, the regular supervision of the conduits and pipes and proper renewal of them as soon as needed, this work to be done by efficient and well-paid officials who will care more for the well-being of the city that employs them than for the piling up of money in the coffers of any corporation. What care I that a few rich bond-holders lose a dividend now and then when I see again that picture of the herded poor, driven from their doomed homes south of Market street; when I see some of them rush back, regardless of their own safety, rather than leave to the power of the ruthless flames something they treasured? Ah, my masters of the greedy soul, not simply owners of stocks and bonds in water companies, but of other stocks

and bonds that do not take the preciousness of human life into consideration, though the people have been long-suffering a day of reckoning is coming when your selfishness and greed, like swine, will turn again and rend you.

The proper control of the water-supply also demands that there be an adequate number of reservoirs perched well on the tops of the highest hills, or other suitable sites, kept perpetually full of seawater, with a system of pipes, owned by the city, for fire purposes only. No city in the world is more favored in this regard than San Francisco. God has placed all around it, and within its borders, a sufficiency of high hills, whereupon adequate reservoirs can be excavated. The bay is close by. A pumping-plant can be installed and a system of large conduits laid from which the fire department can secure abundant supply of water at high pressure at a moment's notice. The cost will be comparatively small compared with the security afforded. It will be the cheapest civic insurance that can be devised.

2. The buildings worth building at all should be well built. While it would not be either good law or good morals to place undue hardships in the way of builders, it should be possible for every community to protect itself against the parsimony of some, the wilful, miserly carelessness of others, and the ignorance of those who would erect dangerous, unstable or easily inflammable structures within their boundaries. Why should ten houses or business blocks be imperilled because the owner of an adjoining lot is too poor, too careless, too miserly or too ignorant to erect a building that is properly safeguarded against any ordinary calamity? In San Francisco it was clearly shown that every building, old or new, no matter of what material constructed—wood, brick, stone, cement or steel,—if properly constructed withstood even the shocks of the earthquake that are possibly the severest that have visited the state in the whole of its historic

period. This assertion cannot be too strongly emphasized. While many buildings, of a variety of materials, were injured by the earthquake,—and I have no desire to minimize the terror of it and loss caused by it—I yet affirm, after nearly three weeks of as careful and thorough study of the buildings as I was able to give, that no well-constructed building was materially injured. President Jordan states practically the same thing about Stanford, namely, that the older and better built structures withstood the shock, and that if the later buildings had been hooked together with bands of steel they also would be standing to-day. At Santa Rosa the Secretary of the Board of Trade in writing to me says: "Properly constructed buildings withstood the shake, while those that fell revealed a method of construction bordering upon criminal carelessness. On investigation it was found, in many instances, that the bricks were entirely void of mortar, and on those where mortar had been used the quality was hardly better than plain sand and water. In no instance was cement noticeable. These facts prove conclusively that these buildings were put up more for outward appearance than for durability, and were never constructed with a thought to withstanding earthquake shocks, no matter of what weakness or power."

Archbishop Montgomery of the Roman Catholic Church says practically the same thing in a personal letter. Here are his words in speaking of the various churches, etc., that his communion lost in and around San Francisco: "We knew well *before the fire reached them*, the nature of the damage done by the earthquake, and I think I can say conservatively that *in no single instance was the damage such as it could not have been repaired with little expense.*"

I have come to the conclusion, therefore, both as regards earthquake and fire, that building restrictions are wise and necessary, and that that city is criminally careless which does not make such

restrictions and then impose upon its officials heavy penalties when they fail to see that they are enforced.

A moral issue is also involved in this question of construction. And that is based upon the axiom that "falsity never pays." I might add to that another, which applies to esthetic considerations, namely, "falsity is never beautiful." Of late years, and even to-day, it is the fashion to put up churches and other buildings (but especially churches) of brick and then veneer them with a thin layer of stone, or, worse still, artificial stone. The First Presbyterian Church of Pasadena (my own home) is now engaged in this reprehensible and immoral business. Why veneer the building if is not to give the impression that it is built throughout of solid stone,—a falsity, a pretense, a sham, a humbug. I am a Christian minister, and yet when I see these false buildings erected as churches for the worship of all that is pure and true and beautiful, I lament at the blindness of the builders, at their inconsistency. Of what use are words when the building itself proclaims in a voice that drowns the most eloquent words of preacher and people, "I am a sham, a fraud, a pretense. When you look at me you think I am solid stone. I was made to look so. And yet I am nothing but veneer,—I'm of common brick of which my builders are ashamed, and so they put a false front on me to deceive you and all the world into believing I am a well-built, solid building."

In San Francisco I saw several such buildings. One was a church on Van Ness Avenue. I cannot say I was sorry to see that it tumbled to the ground. It ought to have tumbled. All such buildings should tumble before they are erected; or, at least, their builders should. Better be of rude lumber, of brick, of cobble-stones, honest and open, frank and undisguised, than a pretense, a sham, a falsity. For is it not axiomatic that a falsity can never be beautiful? Even the beauty aimed at is missed. A lie,

whether expressed by words or in a building, can never be beautiful. God desires truth in the inward parts, and if I have read the lessons of life aright I would rather believe that God would prefer to be worshiped in the rude lumber-shack of a mining-camp than in the veneered, false, imposing, sham church edifice of a thriving city congregation, which pretends on the outside to be what it is not.

I do not suppose any city council would ever presume to teach a church board the principles of honesty in construction, but they could at least insist upon fire-proof construction. And this leads me to Point Three.

3. As far as fire is concerned this would imply the making of fire-proof buildings really fire-proof. A score of "fire-proof buildings" in San Francisco were destroyed by fire, because they were not made fire-proof in all particulars. Where is the ordinary business acumen of men who will spend extra thousands on making a building fire-proof inside, and yet leave nothing but a sheet of glass between the fire-proof interior and the flames outside? A chain is no stronger than its weakest link. Every link in a fire-proof building must be strong, and equally strong. We have hotels and business blocks in Los Angeles now advertising themselves as "fire-proof," and yet, as I have said, were a fire to break out around them there is nothing save a sheet of glass between these buildings and destruction. Fire-proof, forsooth? I am indignant at such short-sighted, parsimonious imbecility. With all the protection in the interior that architectural knowledge can devise there must be some decisive protection against fire from the outside, such as asbestos-lined shutters. In the lower stories these should be of solid iron or steel, double sheets, with a thick layer of asbestos between the layers, the shutters overlapping enough to prevent even the least possibility of fire going through them. Had the *Call* building in San Francisco been

equipped with such shutters the damage to it by both earthquake and fire would be nominal. Careful observers who were present and saw it destroyed have informed me that the slightest of protection would have sufficed. And yet for want of that trivial expense the interior of a noble building was wrecked and all its valuable contents destroyed. In the lower stories the watchman should close the shutters every night, and should any big fire occur, there would generally be time for the upper shutters to be closed. Or, with such adaptations of electric power witnessed on every hand it surely is not unreasonable to suppose that the closing of the shutters of the whole building could be accomplished simultaneously by electricity.

4. My fourth point, equally important with those that have gone before, and possibly far more so, deals with the proper laying out of the city. Mr. M. H. De Young, the proprietor of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, is opposing the so-called "Burnham plans." Mr. D. W. Burnham, the famous architect and director of civic improvements, has been studying San Francisco for some time with the avowed object of formulating plans for the city's greater beautification. The fire has swept a large part of the city away. The fact, however, that many large buildings still stand will have some influence in determining what changes are to be made in the laying out of the city. And here is where some of the most important work is to be done. The decisions now arrived at are not alone for to-day, they are for all time, or, at least, for a long time, as when a city is once built it is nothing less than a revolution or destruction that can change its arrangement. Plans like Mr. Burnham's are far-reaching. All they demand now is that the city begins aright; that it lays a broad and wide foundation for the future. This is the fourth miracle which I pray I may have the joy of witnessing.

If men would but take hold of a few axiomatic and simple principles, how

much easier certain problems would become. I have long learned to rely upon Morris' axiom about art: "Art is the expression of man's joy in his work," when I wish to estimate the real value of a thing. Keeping this in sight I am saved from many a false estimate, many a false step.

So I would urge the citizens of San Francisco to learn the full truth of this equally axiomatic proposition: "The useful is the beautiful," or "the highest beauty must be based, at least, upon the highest utility." Primary things must be considered first in dealing with this question. It is not: What are the wishes of the owners of the standing buildings, or of the owners of the lots, but, What are the needs of the populace in regard to this street? If it is to be a "whole-sale" street, it must be adapted to the rapid ingress and egress of wagons and other modes of conveyance. A "retail" street, where goods are to be displayed in windows must have wide sidewalks whereupon prospective purchasers may walk to and fro with ease and comfort.

Consider the *needs*, first, and if these are met the first consideration of beauty, upon which all others are built, is assured. Let no petty whinings or whimperings of property-owners stand in the way of bravely meeting needs, and of doing the work on a broad plan. Where wide streets are necessary let the city widen them. A wise and adequate provision must be made for the easy access of all the population to all the centers,—the railway depots, the ferries, the theater district. Now that the space is cleared it will be comparatively easy to enlarge the boulevard and park system. These are not luxuries. They are necessities. A wide boulevard and a park will often act as a fire-break. Breathing places are as necessary for a city as lungs for a man.

Beginning with the axiom I have laid down, "Utility, in needful things, is the highest beauty," San Francisco will lay a proper foundation of civic beauty. As the years go by and wealth increases

adornment will come, but, without usefulness, all the adornment of earth can never make San Francisco or any other city beautiful. First use, adaptation to purpose and need, then adornment. The world waits to see what San Francisco will do. The world needs its lessons. Alive to its opportunities, as some of the citizens of San Francisco are, it is fervently to be hoped that these will suc-

ceed in so advising and controlling that the larger, wiser, more far-reaching plans will be accepted. Then, indeed, will San Francisco rise from its ashes the peerless queen of the Golden Gate, the City of Destiny, the Eye of the Occident, looking towards the Orient, and the pride not of California alone, but of the whole world. **GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.**

Pasadena, California.

THE COURT IS KING.

BY **THOMAS SPEED MOSBY.**

IN HIS recent criticism of the decision of Judge Humphrey of Chicago, President Roosevelt showed himself to be the first president since Lincoln to publicly criticise the judiciary. But for this single intimation of the present chief magistrate, it may be said that the executive department has entirely yielded to the new doctrine of "Judicial Supremacy."

Mr. Lincoln said, in his first inaugural address:

"The candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government upon the vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by the decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made, as in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own masters, unless having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal."

Since that utterance the thing which Lincoln feared has come upon us, and it has come so quietly, so stealthily, that it is even now scarcely noticed. To-day "the candid citizen," to alter but slightly the language above quoted, "must confess that the policy of the government upon the vital questions affecting the people is irrevocably fixed by the de-

cisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made." An apt illustration is afforded by the Income-Tax Decision (157 U. S., 429, and 158 U. S., 601), which, though exciting momentary comment, has long since ceased to be a topic of discussion, although the court in that decision "laid its hand upon Congress and the Executive, and undertook to superintend them in the mode of raising revenue—a matter vital to the existence of the government—and said to them, overruling two of its previous decisions, you shall not raise revenue in a mode which, in time of war, with our ports blockaded, might become absolutely necessary to the national existence."

Under the simple constitutional power to "declare the law" the courts have drawn to themselves powers which render the judiciary the paramount force in the government of the United States. The President and Congress ostensibly swear to support the Constitution of the United States, but in its practical effect their oath is not to support the Constitution, but to support the decisions of the Supreme Court; for the meaning and requirements of the Constitution are determinable by the Supreme Court alone. The law-making power is vastly inferior to any power whose function is to ulti-

mately say whether or not a given legislative act shall be the law, and in such condition it must necessarily follow that the executive power in its last analysis is but a perfunctory agency for carrying into effect the mandate of the law-declaring power and not that of the law-making power.

The judicial power to declare statutes void for unconstitutionality is a veto power far greater than that of the executive, whose veto may be overcome by a two-thirds vote. Even the unanimous concurrence of the executive and both houses of the legislature, in either State or National government, cannot make a law in opposition to the will of the Supreme Court. Nor can the people of a whole State even amend their Constitution by an overwhelming majority, without the concurrence of the Supreme Court, for amendments to the constitutions of the various states have been frequently declared unconstitutional by the local supreme courts. But the hackneyed ground of unconstitutionality is no longer the only means of overturning a statute. Statutes are nowadays vitiated by the courts because they appear to the courts "unreasonable," or upon the ground that the statute conflicts with some implied reservation or limitation upon the legislative power, etc. (*Loan Association versus Topeka*, 20 Wall. U. S. 655.)

The Tudors pretended to annul acts of parliament by virtue of a "dispensing power." Such a power is exercised by no earthly sovereign of the civilized world to-day, outside of the American courts. Nor was this power confided in their courts by the American people. The courts have simply seized the power, notwithstanding the opposition of men like Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln.

Jefferson said in a letter to Judge Roane (*Jefferson's Letters*, Randolph's ed., vol. 4, pp. 317, 318):

"My construction of the constitution is that each department is thoroughly

independent of the others, and has an equal right to decide for itself what is the meaning of the Constitution in the cases submitted to its action; and especially where it is to act ultimately and without appeal."

And then, illustrating his position, he stated that he had pardoned persons convicted under the Sedition law, on the ground that the law was "unauthorized by the Constitution, and therefore null." "These," he added, "are examples of my position that each of the three departments is equally to decide for itself what is its duty under the Constitution, without any regard to what the others have decided for themselves under a similar question."

President Jackson's views upon this subject are in his message vetoing the United States Bank charter, as follows:

"If the Supreme Court of the United States covered the whole ground of this act, it ought not to control the coördinate authorities of this government. The Congress, the Executive, and the court, must each for itself be guided by its own opinion of the Constitution. Each public officer, who takes an oath to support the Constitution, swears that he will support it as he understands it, and not as it is understood by others. It is as much the duty of the House of Representatives, of the Senate, and of the President, to decide upon the constitutionality of any bill or resolution which may be presented to them for passage or approval, as it is of the Supreme Judges when it may be brought before them for judicial decision. The opinion of the judges has no more authority over Congress than the opinion of Congress over the judges, and on that point the President is independent of both. The authority of the Supreme Court must not, therefore, be permitted to control the Congress or the Executive, when acting in their legislative capacities, but to have only such influence as the force of their reasoning may deserve."

Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln each in turn adhered in the course of administration to the views they had so forcibly expressed regarding the distinct and independent nature of the three departments of government; the first in resisting the mandamus in *Marbury versus Madison*, the second in refusing to aid in the execution of the mandate of the Supreme Court in the case of *Worcester versus State of Georgia*, and the third in resisting a *habeas corpus* by Chief Justice Taney to enlarge a military prisoner in Fort McHenry. But since Lincoln's time there has been no indication of executive resistance to the encroachments of the judiciary.

Meanwhile the legislative departments of the various states, and of the nation, have been powerless to resist the steady march of judicial legislation. No legislative body in this country can create a retroactive or an *ex post facto* law, but every day the courts are rendering decisions that are in effect both retroactive and *ex post facto*. This is the effect of every court decision changing a rule of law or affecting property rights which have become vested under previous decisions. No legislative body can bastardize a child. The recent decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Haddock divorce case has bastardized many children.

Whether by coincidence or design, it is a singular fact that "judge-made law" is rarely or never in the public interest. We did not get freedom of the press, free speech, trial by jury or religious toleration or the *habeas corpus* from the courts, but the judiciary has given us the summary process of contempt, and "government by injunction." Formerly it was universally held that injunction would not lie to prevent the commission of a crime, the penal statutes being enacted for that purpose, and those accused of

crime being accorded the right of trial by jury. But now the universal trend of judicial decisions is to grant injunctions to restrain anticipated injury to "property rights," and violators of the injunction are triable, not by jury, but by the summary process of contempt, wherein no jury is allowed to judge of the facts, and wherein the executive branch of the government has no power to pardon. The ascendancy of the judiciary is thus complete.

To quiet the fears of those who oppose the supremacy of the judiciary over the two "coördinate" branches of government, it has been customary to urge that the power of the court is only a moral power, and that it must necessarily rest upon the popular consent. But, in every case where tyranny exists or absolutism holds sway, the structure rests upon the passive consent of the populace. Government, whatever its form, is largely a matter of free will. No government can exist in opposition to the will of the overwhelming majority of its subjects. And yet tyrannical governments have always existed. Judicial supremacy may be a benevolent despotism, but it is despotism for all that, and in realizing it we approach the condition which Alexander Hamilton conceived in the following words:

"The accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive and judiciary, in the same hands, whether of one, or a few, or many, and whether hereditary, self-appointed, or elective, may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny. . . . The preservation of liberty requires that the three great departments of power should be separate and distinct."

And Alexander Hamilton was the incarnation of American Federalism!

THOMAS SPEED MOSBY.

Jefferson, Mo.

THE SPIRIT OF AMERICAN LITERATURE.

BY WINIFRED WEBB.

SEVERAL months ago there appeared in the pages of a leading magazine a brilliant essay cast in the mold of large critical survey, wherein, accompanied by the tone and gesture of denunciation, the term "*bourgeois*" was applied to American literature. The writer was an American of note,—an American woman. This was in itself singular enough to arrest attention. But when from month to month our critics have flamed out, like beacon-fires on a chain of hills, answering not the essay (wherein much else was also said), but this single term, the situation assumes an aspect, in my judgment, hardly less than startling. Are we then so easily touched? Above all, is it possible that this is our tender spot? I cannot believe it. The gravity seems to me far graver in significance than its cause. I cannot think that these strident voices indicate the highest or even the general level of our critical acumen.

A contributor to the *Boston Transcript* has gone so far toward the position I am about to take, as to say: "The mistake made by the opponents of Mrs. Atherton has been in attempting to disprove the fact that American literature is *bourgeois*, instead of admitting it and giving the best excuses they could." "Admitting it?" I assert it. "Giving the best excuses they could?" To me there is nothing about American literature concerning which one would more gladly or more properly assure himself than this very fact.

Josephine Daskam Bacon, writing shortly after, declares that neither Mrs. Atherton, nor anyone else, knows what she meant by her assertion. This may then have been the case. The keen common-sense of Mrs. Bacon seldom leads her into error. One might wish that it

were still the case. But it has become apparent, even to the point of definition, that the people who have gathered so solemnly about this little foreign word, believe that they know what she meant. Snobs may seem to walk in darkness, but to them the darkness is as light. It is worth while, sometimes, to take even a snob in detail. It may tend toward checking the propagation of the species.

What, then, is this highly inflammable word? In the first place it is not an English word. There is not so much as the twist of an Anglo-Saxon root to recommend its transplanting to our Anglo-Saxon earth uses. I question the taste of the American who admits it to his vocabulary. One might,—were he nice,—go so far as to challenge his scholarship who would venture to apply it to American institutions. If belongs to another element. It is French, body and soul. It adheres to the soil that has nourished class-distinctions. It smacks of feudal aristocracy, of medieval solemnity on the subject of "caste." To us,—American-born and bred,—these distinctions are supposed to seem trivial. We acknowledge their significance in history,—looking up from the pages of classic drama, and studying the developments of dead centuries,—but we laugh, and long may we laugh at any misled scion of this honest republic who affects their use! Nor are we the only ones who find him ludicrous. Will he be less so in the eyes of those to the manner born?

The Nobility, the Clergy, and the Third Estate. How little history one needs know to see that only an arrogant and corrupt aristocracy finds an anticlimax in this familiar arrangement of terms. "What is the Third Estate?" asked Abbé Siéyès. And his answer rang back in no uncertain tone: "It is

everything!" Guizot, writing many years later, upholds this dramatic utterance with the calm assertion of the historian's study. "The Third Estate has been the most active and determining element in the process of French civilization." With whom, pray, should an American citizen sympathize if not with those who for centuries offered strong resistance to the encroachments of an absolute monarchy, and wrought for constitutional government; whose very name has become synonymous with the prosperity that crowns honesty and thrift, with appreciation for the grandeur of law, with reverence for the dignity of moral order? If in that land that has been called the pestle for grinding up the problems of European civilization, the land whose sons could follow a Napoleon "across the night, across the day," the land that has ever been prone to love glory not wisely and too well, these homely and stalwart virtues have failed sometimes of due recognition, who can forget that the land itself has paid the price in its own blood and tears? If I read aright the minds of our fathers and the spirit of this republic, nothing is clearer than that we have sought to avoid the error of glory-loving France. The stone they once rejected to their cost, we have made the chief cornerstone of the building. We have taken that leaven and prayed that it might leaven the whole mass. We have looked upon this rugged and despised word without condescension. Its inherent nobility is apparent to us. We call only those ignoble who repudiate it. Can it be possible that one of us should wince under this "charge" from the lips of a sensational and reckless woman? Yet these words have been written:

"The majority of American writers, both men and women, have been strictly *bourgeois*. They have gone with the tide. They have worshiped at the shrine of convention, and have been sticklers for form and respectability. They have rebelled at nothing, always

upholding church and state. They have been fairly comfortable in the way of worldly goods, and not above the mania of wanting to own things. They have been placid, passionless and eminently respectable. . . . They are as harmless as pap and about as virile. They have never sinned, suffered, and repented. . . . Let them be taken hence to the abyss of eternal oblivion, and may God have mercy on their souls!"

Who is this who has arisen among us with such a pallor on his phrases? What would he have of American men or of American writers? When an American citizen can set the prosperity, the energy, the stamina, the poise and moral integrity of his own people in so hostile, so sickly a light as this, it is time that he should be reminded of the significance of his own wild words.

I foresee the objection that I am writing of politics, not literature. I am writing of the spirit of this republic. I hold that no criticism can flourish outside the bars of its own cult, that no literature can endure beyond the paltry span of a day, which has not in its body the spirit of its own people. Do we read Homer for those glorious words, those matchless cadences and meters? Yes, as a man passes tender hands over the face of the woman he loves, lingering on the beauty because of the loved life in the woman. Were even the words and cadences of Homer isolate, stagnant, dead charms he could not so hold the ages spellbound. Life to that beautiful body, even its very soul, is the spirit of the Greek who lives in its lines,—his passions, his fears, his faith and his wisdom drawn so near that it is as if one felt his breath on one's face. This is creation. This is living art.

We are a *bourgeois* nation,—if you like the term,—a nation founded and built on the middle classes. What then shall be our literature? As well Homer other than barbaric, other than pagan, other than Greek, as for us to lust after the songs of other ages and of other lands.

Would we sing their songs if we could? Individually,—as you will. Henry James and the Hawthorne of *The Marble Faun* doubtless will have their successors, and it is to be hoped, will always find an American audience. We would limit in no way the clean curiosity, the broad culture of our readers. And of whom can we learn with more pleasure of that which is alien to our instincts, than from one whose instincts are related to ours while he is informing us of the alien? But let our writers continue to go abroad when with Hawthorne, their genius “rebels at the difficulty of writing romance about a country where there is no shadow, no antiquity, no mystery, no picturesque and gloomy wrong, nor anything but a commonplace prosperity in broad and simple daylight, as is happily the case with our native land.” Let them show the sanity and patriotism of the wish which immediately succeeds these words: “May it be long before romance writers find congenial and easily handled themes either in the annals of our stalwart republic or in any characteristic and probable events of our individual life. Romance and poetry, lichens and wallflowers need ruins to make them grow.” As a nation we desire that American literature shall be American. I do not affirm that in such a condition we shall harmonize antagonistic advantages. I would not attempt to support the assertion that we can cover such honors in art as Turgèneff, Tolstoi, Ibsen, Sudermann, D’Annunzio or many others who might be named. But I do venture to believe that we would not sell our birthright for the mess of pottage that nourishes their hungry art. Does it take a Hawthorne to see that the yearning for a liberty we already possess gives the sting of a lash to their art; that it is a sensuousness against which we have not to contend which leads their tragedies to such utter depths of gloom? Those are their questions. With these forms their spirits wrestle. What is that to thee, oh son of this young republic?

Perhaps they are thinking of the past—of the brilliancy of Dumas *père* or of Duman *fils*; of the historical significance of Balzac; of the glories of classic French drama. I have heard, and I have loved to hear the proud Frenchman boast of his firmament. As for Italy, as for Rome, as for the Greeks and the Hebrews, who would not claim their stars for his native land if he could! But who, even for this would barter the youth of a republic? Who would shorten by one day the time when a nation is in her first strength—able to cope with the corruption that has ever assailed a state; free from morbid selfconsciousness; free from lasciviousness, free from doubt and fear and all the “ruins” which Hawthorne knew to be but too often the setting for the supreme, the swan song.

But did Hawthorne forget for the moment that there are songs of youth as well as of age? Youth may learn of age; learn devotion to the vital in its own time; learn to scorn the trivial distinctions made by the condescending, the superficial, the fanatical tribe of “short-haired women and long-haired men” who too often assume to rally under the banner of “Art.” Chaucer sang in the morning and he sang of the morning, to the adornment of the literature of his own land, and the joy of all time. Or perhaps by “virility” it is implied that we need gravity more than mirth, rebuke rather than the caress of humor. Surely there is no dearth of inspiration for such a message. Because we have made our serfs farmers; because our women’s eyes are open and more nearly on a level with those of their brothers than other lands allow; because no czar stands before us in bewilderment between a crumbling past and a future he dares not trust; because our shoulders have not to bear the weight of dead empires, nor our feet to travel through the devastation of the armies of past centuries; because we are not Russia, nor Italy, nor Greece, have we then no dangers, no problems, no temptations? I believe that a stream

flows through these years whose waters might be for the refreshing of the nation, and the cleansing of the hearts of the people, if men would but dip in their hands and hold them for us to drink. There are ferns along the banks of this stream,—delicate and beautiful. They have been picked by fastidious hands and given to us in the abundance of our finished short story, and the fresh coolness of our minor verse. But we thirst for the waters themselves. Their spring is in the depth of the nation's life,—it is the depth of the nation's life. Is there no one to find the pools on whose clear surface is mirrored the face of this people? No one to help us see where tends the main stream that is widening so rapidly; no one to warn us of its impurities; no one to make us valiant for the defence of its borders?

Such I believe there are. I think of Frank Norris with his unfinished Trilogy; of Robert Herrick in *The Common Lot*, of such short stories as one published in the October number of the *Atlantic*, "The Light-Hearted," by Will Payne. "We have never sinned, suffered, and repented?" Has Mr. McGaffey lingered on the Boulevard San Michele till he has forgotten Wall Street? Was there no day in his travels for the uplift of Dove Cottage, no week for the inspiration that thrills through the memories of Weimar, no winter for the glorious intellectual rebuke of Athens? Is he unaware of the American danger of vulgarity and snobbishness toward an art it will not bother to understand, and a culture it grudges the people time to acquire; of the American tendency to a materialism as sodden if more keen, than that of the peasant; of the American vice,—a dissipation like Jadwins, as disastrous and only a little less coarse than that of the boulevards; of the American susceptibility to the temptations of personal and political corruption for the pitiful price of gold? Let these things and their like be painted out to us in their native hues, with the sincerity and directness they demand, with the breadth and moral

force they need, with the art whose framework is the ability to see life steadily and to see it whole—then shall our art become the sane and noble art of a strong republic; not only its pleasure, its child, its toy, but worthy to be its friend, its philosopher, its guide.

Were I to assume the judge's robe which has changed shoulders so often in this discussion, I should vary the key of the denunciation, I should alter the direction of the gesture. The past? The past has been true to the past. My eye detects no shade of insincerity, no twist of indirection, no stain of moral obliquity in the great American writers who have been so summarily called to the bar of medieval justice. Hawthorne, Longfellow, Lowell, Emerson and their peers were men wise in their generation, and good for the growth of this young people. Nor have they been without issue. It may be that we are only just coming to a national self-consciousness; that our national history and our national literature alike have been more a group of provincial stories than a singly developed large and national theme. Am I wrong in believing that the past generation has altered this; that our problems stand to-day among the problems of the nations, as individual, as quickly recognized as an American traveler Unter den Linden or on the Corso? If I am right, then our novelists, our poets, our dramatists must meet this newly-awakened self-consciousness with art grounded in the vital issues of which it begins to take cognizance or voluntarily step one side to make room for other forms of expression at once more profound in insight and more prophetic in vision.

Is any significance to be attached to the fact that such themes are being treated—as yet—more frequently by the writers of our magazine articles and the editors of our great dailies than by our so-called artists? I hope not, and I believe that it is nothing more than the interval between the "passion" and the "remembering in calm." The lyric, the farce, the light romance undoubtedly have their

place. A healthy people loves laughter and it loves love. But a people great in its health, a wise and a strong people knows that epic grandeur, that deathless art have been sired always by the terrible earnestness of a Dante, the vast sanity of a Shakespeare and a Homer, the vision and profundity of a Job. Our religious faith and fervor have been sung; our love of nature and our domestic happiness lightens many a page; our glorious love of life,—grown up from the dark soil of strange bigotry, superstition and mental gloom, stimulated rather than stunted by two vital wars, level-headed, humorous, fearless, splendid,—this, too, is in our literature. I believe that the morning and the evening of this first day have seemed good to the American people. I believe also that as our life deepens our literature will deepen with it. But for one, I would not hasten that day. It is not as though we stood alone on this planet, nor as if other races had not lived before us. Does the spirit call out for the ennobling sight of bitter grandeur? Here is Dante. For the chastening touch of awful pathos? Sophocles still lives. Would it meet the eyes of sublime vision? Milton is just at hand. How can there be death for the immortals? And the cultivated man reaps where he has not sown. These spirits who came as avenging angels to gardens

despoiled of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, come to him now in gentler guise. Guelph and Ghibiline are no more; the rotting of Greece, the corrupting of Rome, the boundless assumption of a theology that dared to be literal, that stooped—however sublimely—to be definite,—these things have passed away. They are the sowing of other ages; they are the soil for the flowers we gather to-day. Beside the years of the nations that sowed them, our years are as but a day. Who can be so blind as to fear that there shall be no second and no third day in our creation; that we shall not go on to the central, the crowning figures in our new world,—figures vital and immortal? Who would be so childish as to forget that each day in its turn seemeth good. Deep calleth unto deep, and in the call is suffering as well as song. The morning and the evening of the first day come but once. Let us love it while it is yet ours. Let us, as is the manner of a republic, concern ourselves more with its message than with its gesture, with its character than with its raiment, with its spirit than with its form. Finally, let us remember that if our work lives at all, it will live by virtue of having sprung from our own loins. Who will not give bone of her bone, and blood of her blood walks childless among men.

Long Beach, Cal. WINIFRED WEBB.

THE RIGHT OF THE CHILD NOT TO BE BORN.

BY LOUISE MARKSCHEFFEL.

THE RACE-SUICIDE talk has held the center of the stage for a long time. Now let us see about the right of the child not to be born!

That sounds a bit startling, perhaps, but let us look into it and see what we think of it as a working-basis for the twentieth century.

The period in which we live differs from all other periods of history. We

have an infinitude of new problems which never presented themselves to those who lived in any other period of the world's history.

Women, for instance, have never before been bread-winners in such large numbers. Hundreds of thousands of women are now not only unfair competitors of men, but greater numbers of them are thinking; greater numbers of them are

traveling; greater numbers of them have high ideals regarding the other self, than ever before.

And man, too, is changing. In fact he has already changed. He is growing dependent upon woman. The situation is reversed. The oak has become the vine. Man is glad to let the woman become an independent financial factor; he is looking for a woman with wealth, or a woman with a capacity for wage-earning.

It is only necessary to read the newspapers to see that men are deserting their families and leaving wife and children to struggle on and solve the economic problem as best they may.

It is a fact asserted by those who have studied the question, that the desertion of the husband is in the ratio of the responsibility. The greater the number of children, the more apt the man of the lower class to run from this unwelcome burden.

The man of to-day shrinks from permanent obligation, as well as from responsibility and physical discomfort.

If he belongs on the fashionable social plane, his income is apt to be only sufficient for his ever-increasing needs, and the requirements of a complex and luxurious age. This, of course, does not include man alone. It is fundamental. It is the curse of a period in which the measure of all things is material prosperity. It is the penalty we pay, who live in a commercial age.

Futile to say that we should have the moral courage to live simply, when all about us are living luxuriously. It is the sharp and painful contrast between vast wealth and its power to gratify nearly all human vagaries; the careless, selfish use of wealth that makes for unhappiness.

To be out of one's class, may simply mean that one has the education and the tastes to associate with the rich, but owing to the fact that one is poor, one must choose other companionship,—those who have not the same sums to expend. Poor Lily Bart was out of her class in the twentieth-century sense of the term,

according to American standards. That fact was the cause of all of her troubles and of her ultimate downfall. Her income was inadequate to the requirements of the class with which she moved.

Now let us consider what this condition has to do with the child of to-day.

When the pioneer lived in the newly-settled states, there were vast spaces uninhabited. There was plenty of room for the large number of children which blessed the home of the old-fashioned family. And not only plenty of room, but enough of simple food and of the clothing made by the thrifty mother.

There were no social requirements, no created needs. There were no painful contrasts, no me and mine, we are more elegant than thou and thine. The life was as near equality as human life with its unequal gifts is possible to be. There was a living for all who wished to earn one. And unless the child was tainted and burdened with inherited mental, physical or moral disease, he had a fair chance to lead a reasonably happy life, always barring unhappy temperament.

What are the conditions to-day? Is there the same opportunity for the child to achieve liberty, a livelihood and peace of mind?

Is it a virtue to put into the world children who will be handicapped by pinching poverty or by disease? Is it selfish or unselfish to be the progenitor of a child who will be a perpetual sufferer because of epilepsy, vitiated blood, dire poverty or insanity?

Is it noble or ignoble to produce progeny for whom we have no food, no shelter, no welcome?

It may be true or untrue that the chances of getting reemployment decrease all the time. That, too, has something to do with the right of the child *not* to be born.

Suppose there were no children born for three years. Would it not rather be a benefit than a misfortune? Suppose we devote some time to the child-problems pressing at this moment.

This is written in the full recognition

of the joy and glory of motherhood and the sweetness and light brought into the atmosphere of the home by the presence of a child.

So we will consider it a sacrifice and still ask if there is not a right of the child.

The city's congested life, the small space for the up-bringing of children, the sharp contrast between wealth and poverty, the new educational standards which make college almost as much a necessity as bread, the exciting competitive struggle and many other twentieth-century conditions would seem to be reasons for the right of the child *not* to be born into such an unfair race.

The argument will be made that the people should desert the crushed and crowded cities and go into God's beautiful country; that this would give room

for children and remove many of the painful conditions.

Then let us wait until the people are willing to do this, until the congestion is relieved; until the inflammation goes down. There are homes where children not only bless, but are blest. In such homes the child has a fair chance of growing into manhood and womanhood without the eternal gnawing of despair and fear, that hangs like a pall over the days of those who open their eyes into a daily world of crime, sickness, poverty and drudgery, such as makes life a nightmare to those tiny child-laborers in the South.

Is parenthood, under such conditions, heroism or selfishness?

What of the right of the child *not* to be born?

LOUISE MARKSCHEFFEL.

Toledo, Ohio.

A CRITICISM OF MR. GRIMKE'S PAPER.

BY ARTHUR M. ALLEN.

THE ARENA during the past few years has published many articles in favor of negro education and race equality; hence it would seem time for some articles on the other side to appear.

The article by Professor Grimke on "The Heart of the Race Problem," reads like Theodore Tilton's *Miscegenation* published during the war and so offensive to the public that it has been practically suppressed. All these articles are based on the old idea of one race, and that all men being children of Adam were brothers and therefore equal.

The progress of science has put Adam among the allegories of the past and left us to solve the race problem by the scientific laws of natural history and zoölogy alone.

Jefferson, although an Abolitionist, believed in deportation only. He had such a horror of race equality that he considered it *impossible*, and lamented

that there had at that time been no scientific examination of the negro in the line of natural history.

In 1850 Professor Agassiz, after long research, said that Caucasians and Negroes never could have been descended from the same stock, and although men, could never have been brothers.

This is the new doctrine of diversity of race, and when glamor and emotional conditions produced by the one-race theory have subsided, this will prevail, and solve this and other race problems.

In 1901 Professor McGee of the Smithsonian Institute at Washington confirmed Professor Agassiz by saying that if there was any Garden of Eden there must have been many original couples, for no two of the present races could have been descended from the same stock.

The same evil English Tory influences which originated and engineered the whole *negro equality* movement (mis-called Anti-Slavery) even though they

succeeded so well that it is embodied in our Constitutional Amendments, have yet, ever since now almost forty years, in spite of every kind of failure of negro freedom when *unsupported* by white proximity, constantly suppressed and destroyed all free thought, speech and action on this subject, and the one-race theory is being burned into the public mind as one of the unchangeable results of the Civil war.

This is their *object*, for they *know* that if real race equality is a settled matter, democracy is destroyed and monarchy justified. This is the bed-rock of the whole matter.

There is now a great spirit of discontent abroad due to the great amount of graft and corruption so universal at the

present time, and when this spirit applies common-sense and the *new* doctrine of diversity of races to our conditions, the problem will be quickly solved. Under this new doctrine all *mixed* races are *criminal* and should be prevented by law, and the three Tory amendments to the Constitution (13, 14 and 15) should be at once repealed. Professor Grimke's assertions (unproved) about the sexual evils of negro slavery seem trifling compared to the worse conditions since, and any of our large Northern cities are far worse to-day, and when he winds up with segregation and equality, he is the *antithesis* of Jefferson, our best-known Democrat.

ARTHUR M. ALLEN.

New Brighton, N. Y.

PICTURESQUE ROTHENBURG.

BY WILLIAMSON BUCKMAN.

WITH PHOTOGRAPHS BY THE AUTHOR.

I TOOK the cars at Nuremburg, going by the way of Ansbach, for Steinach, and there changing to a small train which stood alongside the sleepy little station, I was soon being borne to Rothenburg on the Tauber. It was a delightful ride of an hour and a half, the day being bright and sunny and on both sides of the train were fields of cornflowers mixed with gorgeous poppies of scarlet hue; while far off in the distance rose the sleepy, smoke-colored hills which one so often sees when traveling through these parts of Bavaria and which, if he is something of a dreamer, may easily unlock long-closed chambers in memory's hall and call forth half-forgotten but once cherished scenes of other days.

The station at Rothenburg and its immediate surroundings are quite modern, suggesting, indeed, a western town; but after taking my seat in an omnibus belonging to the Hotel "Zum Eisenhut"

I soon found myself speeding toward a more medieval-looking place. On the way, as I was about to fix my handbag from falling off the seat, I caught a glimpse on my left of one of the prettiest little graveyards it has ever been my fortune to behold.

On we passed, through the old-fashioned so-called "Röder Tor." So low is it that really I felt myself dodging my head as I sat there. Soon the double moat was passed, with its numerous trees and flowers, its various interesting nooks full of mosses or small bushes, and carpeted with rich green, velvet-like sod, far more attractive and beautiful than in the earlier day when it was full of water; for this scene spoke of peace and security as the other suggested the storm and stress of hate-darkened strife and lust for blood. While these thoughts were in my mind we passed inside the inner set of walls, where all was quaint, ancient and strange



THE OLD WOMAN AND HER WHEELBARROW

PHOTOGRAPHED FROM LIFE BY WILLIAMSON BUCKMAN

"I could not help feeling that she was a fitting symbol of a vast multitude of burden-bearing human beings who are ill requited for their patient toil. . . . Here was a type of humanity, the mother of nations and races, condemned by environment and social conditions to live the life of a beast of burden—a life of endless drudgery."



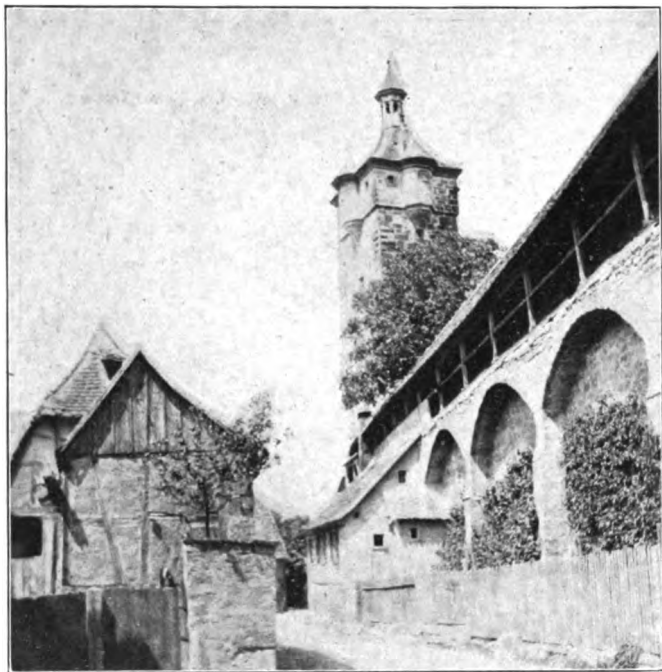
THE "DOPPELBRÜCKE" IN THE "TAUBER TAL"—ROTHENBURG IN THE DISTANCE.

to the western eye. On every side were the picturesque old cottages with their ends to the street, their pointed roofs and old signs of various shapes, colors and meanings.

After passing the ancient town-square so characteristic of old European countries, and noting the old fountain of Saint George around which were gathered small groups of towns-people indulging in the exchange of news and in gossip so relished in all small communities, I soon arrived at my destination, the Hotel "Zum Eisenhut," one of the quaintest of places. It is situated about the center of the town on the "Herren Gasse," one of the oldest streets of the town. I was led through a side stable to my room, a symphony in white, scrupulously neat and clean. The service at this hotel is simple but good.

The servants are always willing and seem ever fearful lest they have failed to do all in their power for the comfort of the guest.

Being refreshed, I walked down the old easy stair and was shown to the front yard, a terrace where the guests generally sit and take their meals or aught else they like. I sat here for some time, looking now up, now down the street, watching the ever-changing shadows of the irregular buildings. The old Rathaus or town-hall especially attracted my attention. It is a magnificent old house, really in two parts, the older having been built about 1230. My mind naturally went back in imagination to the stirring days of the long ago and I thought of the hopes, the fears, the struggles and the dreams of the many generations that have trod the streets of Rothenburg under the



THE "KLINGEN TOR"—SHOWING PART OF THE TOWN WALLS.

shadow of this old Rathaus for more than six hundred years.

Suddenly I was aroused from my reverie by the sound of the bell striking in the bell cupola, a tower about 180 feet high attached to the hall. It was rustic-looking but charming in the evening light. The bell is tolled by hand every hour, there being two men who serve alternately for a definite length of time. They are stationed there as time-keepers and general guards overlooking the town, for in case of fire they immediately hang out a red light by night or a red flag by day in the direction of the fire. The bell, that is struck by hand, is an old-fashioned clapper-bell, and the guard or

watch always take great pride in striking the hour to the exact minute. Between the hours these guardians of the bell and the town, who are old men, sometimes indulge in reading, but generally one sees them hanging from one of the four windows, smoking. "We are not allowed to smoke," explained one of these old watchmen, "but we have to do something up here all alone."

Legends differ as to the origin of the name of this town. One story, which is probably correct, states that it was derived from the red color of the earth in the vicinity; but according to another tale the number of red tiles on the roofs gave the final name



A GENUINE MEDIEVAL TOWN UNSPOILED BY MODERN BUILDINGS.

to the burg. Its origin dates back almost to the ninth century, when some Franks founded a burg on the banks of the Tauber. Since then it has grown, but not without stress and storm, as it chanced to stand in the pathway of the hurricane of war and has many times been a victim of siege and sack. About the fifteenth century the town suffered greatly, but it was during the Thirty Years' War that all the horrors of siege, storming, capture and recapture were known to its people, for it was one of the coveted prizes during the generation-long storm of human hate and fanatical fury. The Protestant hosts, embracing men of many



LOOKING FROM THE RATHAUS TOWER.



THE RATHAUS (OR TOWN HALL).

nations, under Gustavus Adolphus, the "Lion of the North," stormed and carried it, but it was not destined to remain in the hands of the victors, as on October 30, 1631, it was forced to surrender to Count Tilly, who, as the reader knows, was one of the most daring and successful of the soldiers of the Roman Church during this memorable war. Tilly was also ruthless when his passions were aroused, and when Rothenburg could no longer resist him he was in an ugly mood, refusing all proposals for surrender favorable to the unfortunate town. It was practically unconditional surrender that the victorious besieger demanded; and when the burgomaster



FOUNTAIN OF ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON.

and other officials of the town and some nobles assembled at the council hall, Tilly announced that though a certain number should go free, the others were condemned to death. During the parley, however, the Count was indulging freely in the famous wine of this district, and happily for the condemned, its effects made his heart glad. The intended victims were conversing with their friends when the eye of the Count fell on an immense beaker holding three and one-half quarts. His face brightened as a humorous conceit flitted over his wine-touched brain. He ordered the glass brought to him.

"If any man among you," he shouted, "can

drink the entire contents of that glass filled to the brim with this wine, I will let all go free."

Promptly Herr Nusch, famed for his love of the fruit of the vine, stepped forward. The great beaker was filled to the brim and Herr Nusch with one long, deep draught drained it to the last drop, to the utter amazement of the victor. A few moments later he sank to the floor and for three days his life was despaired of. He got well, however, and lived to be eighty odd years old.

Count Tilly fulfilled his promise and freed the condemned. The beaker which held the wine with which Herr Nusch saved the condemned is still preserved



THE PLAY—MAIDENS BEARING THE TOWN-KEYS TO COUNT TILLY.

as an heirloom in one of the private families of Rothenburg.

Gone forever are those days of religious fanatical strife, in which men and nations indulged the basest passions in the supposed interest of God, torturing and slaying the children of the All-Father, vainly imagining they were doing the service of the Prince of Peace who was the incarnation of love. But though the night-time of religious bigotry has waned, and for the most part men of all faiths to-day would forget the atrocities of the darker ages committed in the name of the Christ, the citizens of Rothenburg do not intend that their children shall forget "Der Meister-



THE PLAY—TILLY'S TROOPERS MARCHING INTO THE TOWN.



THE PLAY—THE WINE-CASK.

trunk" by which the lives of their most honored citizens were saved, and every Whitsuntide a great *fête* is held in commemoration of the event, the crowning feature of which is the production by the towns-people of a play in which this memorable passage in the history of Rothenburg is enacted with becoming ceremony and solemnity, to the great delight of the citizens and the people from the country and villages near the town.

It was my good fortune to be present at this great gala event of the year and to witness the play. The day before the anniversary the town assumed a holiday attire. Flags and bright streamers were hung from almost every avail-



THE PLAY—RESTING AT THE HOTEL "ZUM EISENHUT."

able place, and especially were the large end-windows under the long slanting roofs utilized for the display of flags. Indeed, there was a very riot of gay color everywhere.

On the morning of the great event the first intimation that the play is about to be enacted is the booming of cannon and the distant sound of drums, which come nearer and nearer, announcing the fact that Count Tilly has entered the town and is even then approaching the Rathaus.

Having bought my ticket the day before, I repaired to the great council hall, an immense room which, had it a tongue, could tell a thrilling story of exciting episodes in the march of succeeding generations. In this hall in the old days the Ratsherren used to meet on the first of May every year to choose new members. It is in this great hall that the play is to be given. At one end a platform has been reared for the actors. There is little or no attempt at scenic effects, and in due time the performance

is opened by the appearance of Burgomeister Bezold, who in a monologue tells of the condition of the besieged town and how, early that morning when the gray of dawn was only beginning to dispel the darkness of night and the town was wrapped in profound silence, her people for the most part slumbering soundly, though here and there lights were to be seen in the homes of the early risers, suddenly the silence was rudely broken by the ominous pealing of the great bell in the tower calling the people to arms. He describes the commotion that followed, the fear and perplexity of the good people, who seemed to waver for a

time, doubtful whether it was best to give up or to make another desperate stand for their homes. Then they go forth, trusting in God and bearing arms of various kinds for the defence of the town.

The play is acted with great earnestness, simplicity and real art—that art that is found in imaginative minds that vividly feel the moving sentiments they are describing and for whom acting has not become a thing of habit rather than the out-picturing of an imagination under the compulsion of scenes too rarely enacted to become stale and unstimulating.

One little scene in the opening act impressed me deeply. It was the hurried leave-taking of a father from his family, every member of which seemed fully alive to the dire possibilities that lay before the soldier, husband and father.

From the spoken text we are made to feel that joyous spring is in her glow and glory. The woods are beautiful in new green; the Tauber Tal is covered with fruit trees in the splendor of full bloom. Whitsuntide is at hand—the great feast-

day of the year, the time for peace, joy and gladness. Why should war and the threat of death intrude? Some of the people are inclined to make light of the peril. They doubt the danger being as great as others believe. Suddenly the door of the church is thrown open; the minister steps forth and engages in silent prayer. The effect upon the multitude is magical. Instantly all clamor ceases and the people likewise engage in silent supplication to God. Then comes the harsh danger-cry from the bell of old Saint Jacob's church. Danger, great danger, is at the door. The wild tumult quickly changes into panic as news flies that Count Tilly has entered the town and is advancing toward the council-house. This act closes with a slow curtain just as the victorious Tilly arrives before the Ratsherren.

In the second act the scene of the saving of the condemned by "*Der Meistertrunk*," which I have described, is enacted with great spirit and sincerity by the thirty or more people who form the cast. The play requires two hours for its performance and is a representation that one can never forget.

After the play was ended I strolled forth through the town, pausing now and again before quaint signs, inscriptions and coats-of-arms. One coat-of-arms, over a bakery, was interesting as suggesting the story of how the bakers came to enjoy the right to use a coat-of-arms. Long, long ago, so runs the story as told to me, Vienna, if I remember rightly, was besieged. The enemy was busily at work sapping and mining, thus hoping to effect an entrance before the watch suspected the peril of the city. The work

was being pushed forward in the dead of night, but the bakers, being up and at work baking the bread for the morrow's consumption, heard the besiegers and gave timely alarm. Thus the city was saved, and as a reward for this service the bakers throughout the empire were accorded the right to carry a coat-of-arms.

Some of the streets of Rothenburg run almost their whole length between convent-like walls, but others are very charming and interesting. Then there are little by-streets where the very poor dwell. I happened to drift into one of these, the name of which I have forgotten, and there I met an old peasant woman wheeling her barrow. She eked out a wretched living as a beast of burden, her wheelbarrow being her sole source of livelihood. She presented a picture of grinding poverty such as the traveler meets from time to time all over the world. Perhaps I should not have been so strongly impressed as I was, had it not been for the striking contrast she presented



ST. WOLFGANG'S CHURCH—THE OLD WOMAN BRINGING IN HER BARROW-LOAD OF GRASS.

to the brilliant and rich raiment of the Burgomeister and other officials whom I had seen a short time before at the Rathaus. Seeing me, she stopped before her wretched little home, and I spoke to her, asking if I might take her picture. She seemed pleased, as for a moment her face lighted up with the ghost of a smile; her little black eyes seemed to dance as she acquiesced, and as I took her picture while she stood beside her wheelbarrow with her little home as the background, I could not help feeling that she was a fitting symbol of a vast multitude of burden-bearing human beings who are ill requited for their patient toil. If a poet of the genius and imagination of our own Edwin Markham had been present, he would, I think, have gotten inspiration for an immortal poem; for surely she presented a scene that would have appealed to a prophet-poet of democracy. More even than "the man with the hoe,"

this face and form appealed to the sympathies of the enlightened twentieth-century manhood of the New World. Here was a type of humanity, the mother of nations and races, condemned by environment and social conditions to live the life of a beast of burden—a life of endless drudgery. In youth she doubtless cherished dreams and bright visions, in a narrow way, of happy days to come. That was when those little black eyes were dancing with the light born of expectant hope, ere excessive toil, grief and endless disappointments had set their stamp upon her features. Now the weariness of age was on her face and the dullness of a life of drudgery dimmed her brain. You may see her in the picture as I saw her on that memorable afternoon, after I had witnessed "Der Meistertrunk" at the old town-hall of Rothenburg. WILLIAMSON BUCKMAN.

Trenton, N. J.

AN AUSTRALIAN ARTIST WHO BELIEVES IN ART FOR MORAL PROGRESS.

By B O FLOWER.

I.

AS OUR special art feature this month we present four original pictures by Mr. George Taylor of Sydney, Australia. They are taken from a series of drawings sent to THE ARENA by the artist, dealing with various phases of human life and the lessons and suggestions which they awaken. In a note accompanying the series of pictures Mr. Taylor says:

"In these pictures has been kept in view the nobility of man, irrespective of the physical autocracy of kings and earthly rulers, or the mental autocracy of dogmatic ecclesiasticism. Beneath each golden crown or fustian cap there dwells

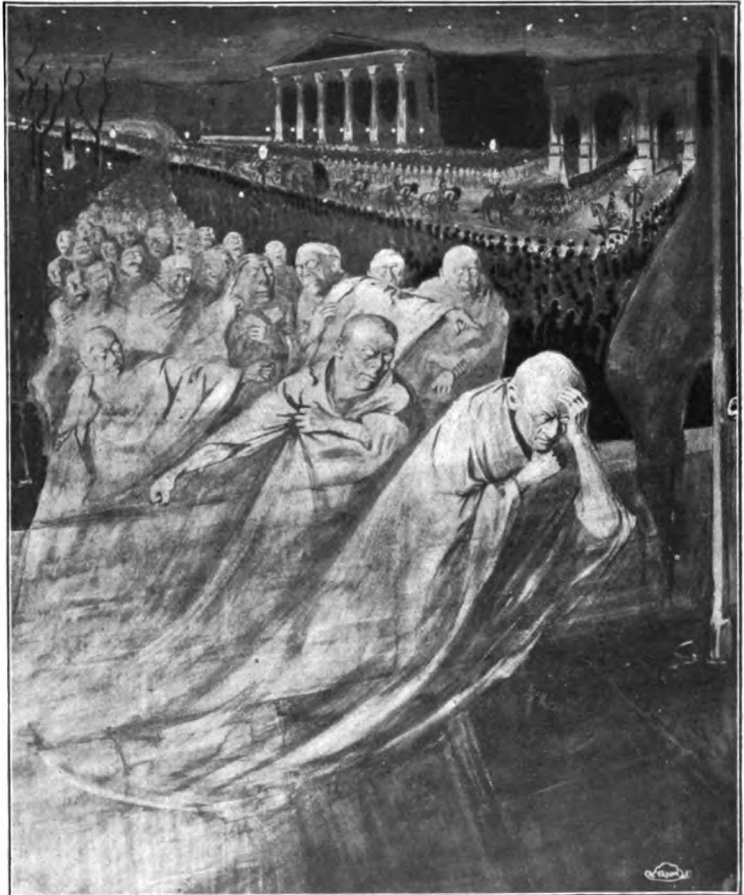
a soul only great in proportion to its striving for good ideals. The search for truth in science extends beyond the farthest star and knows no dominance. So man's striving for a nobler idea of his destiny should not be curtailed or dominated by dogmatic conservatism."

It is our purpose to present other of these pictures from time to time. All of them are highly suggestive and calculated to arrest the attention and awaken thought in a way that will prove of more practical value than many essays or sermons; for unhappily in our age a large proportion of the hurrying multitude

either flit through life as butterflies, sipping and tasting this and that, but seriously and purposefully dwelling on no noble theme, or they are so driven by the cares, perplexities, troubles and toil of the present-day fierce struggle for bread that their brains are so dulled and deadened that they have little inclination, even when they have the power, to deliberately digest serious literature which deals with the deeper things of life. For this reason the strong and purposeful picture is a great aid to moral advance, as it frequently serves as a signal warning lifted before a train that would otherwise rush heedless to destruction; or it presents a truth so forcefully that it flashes its image indelibly on the mental retina where in after days it haunts the mind till its lesson is learned and its purpose secured.

The pictures by Mr. Taylor which we publish this month admirably illustrate this fact. Take, for example, "The Funeral March of a Conqueror." Here the antithesis is so striking and the grim reality so apparent to the imagination that even the slow-thinking will instinctively feel its spell. He will note the splendid pomp of the funeral procession of the conqueror. The magnificent cortège is approaching the arch of triumph, preceded and followed by the imposing military and civil escorts and gazed upon by the gaping multitude,

while at the same time the miserable soul of the man whose lust for power had occasioned the death of thousands, the devastation of once peaceful, happy lands, and the ruin of tens of thousands of innocent people, finds itself alone, unarmed and confronted by the unfortunate multitude he has ruthlessly sent into



George Taylor, Del.

THE FUNERAL MARCH OF A CONQUEROR.

the world of shades. Alone! Never before did he know the full meaning or the potentially tragic significance of the term as when he beheld the vast array of those for whose untimely death he was responsible bearing down upon him with fury and hatred not unminged with scorn and derision as they note his in-



George Taylor, Del.

THE DEMOCRACY OF DEATH.

significance and helplessness. He turns to fly from the sea of hate, only to find a mighty army of victims in full pursuit, stretching as an endless river behind him.

Again, take "The Democracy of Death." The king of an hour before, bearing scepter and wearing crown and being obeyed as though he were a god or some superior person for whom such reverence should be rightly shown, is suddenly stricken with death and awakes to find himself helpless and stripped of power. All that is external and accidental has vanished. Only that which is inherently his remains. He is seated on the bench where the beggar and the wayfarer are equally at home. He sur-

veys the past and reflects on the splendid work that he might have wrought for humanity—work which would have enriched, glorified and ennobled his own soul, lifting it to the peerage of eternity's spiritual aristocracy. But instead of improving the splendid opportunities that were vouchsafed to him, he permitted himself to become the bond-servant of his vanity, the slave of the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh and the pride of life, only to awaken to the splendid opportunities that had been given to him when he no longer has the chance to improve them.

In a different way the other two pictures are quite as suggestive. Here, in the first place, we

see the out-of-work, haunted by dread, pursued by hunger and that which bites deeper than physical pain—the awful knowledge that loved ones dependent on him are even now suffering for life's necessities. He has searched far and near for any honest work, but every door of opportunity is closed. It is a period of business stagnation, he is told, and there is nothing being done. Yet by his side, almost jostling him a score or more of times a day, he passes the one-time captains of industry, public-service magnates and great gamblers of the trade-centers, whose wealth has been largely and often chiefly acquired and not earned by the persons possessing it—acquired

through monopoly rights in land, in transportation, in money, in trade, or through laws framed to place the multitude at the mercy of the privileged few, or yet by gambling with loaded dice, through being able in conjunction with other favored individuals of their class to form secret pools and "gentlemen's agreements" by which the market is

first and last chapter in the story of ruin through strong drink, which might stand for the life story of tens of thousands of persons in all Christian lands to-day.

II.

Mr. Taylor, who is a young man of but thirty-four years of age, is however



George Taylor, Del.

THE UNEMPLOYED.

absolutely controlled and the results as certain to go favorably for the gamblers as if they were playing with stacked cards. In this way, through special privileges, monopoly rights or speculation, these men have acquired vast fortunes, so large indeed that they are no longer under the necessity to labor.

In "As It Was in the Beginning" we have a temperance sermon in black and white,—the beginning and the end, the

one of a group of versatile young workers of Australia who are guided by conscience and high ideals, who believe in art for progress rather than art for art's sake. He is a painter of marked ability, some of his pictures having won high praise in the best exhibitions that have been held in Australia. For several years he has also been recognized as one of the leading art critics of the Southern Continent, and he has served in this capacity



George Taylor, Del.

AS IT WAS IN THE BEGINNING.

for the leading journals of Australia as well as art correspondent for *The Studio* of London. His best-known work, however, has been in black and white and has been contributed to various Australian journals.

As a humorous artist and cartoonist he is probably without a superior in Australasia, his work having appeared in the leading papers of his commonwealth, in such journals as the *Sydney Mail*, *The Sunday Times*, *Town and Country Journal*, *The Bulletin*, *The Star*, *The Melbourne Punch*, *The Field*, and *The Adelaide Critic*.

As has been observed, he is a man of

high ideals, under the compulsion of the noble ethical and reformative spirit of our time. He realizes as do few popular illustrators and artists the great opportunity of the present day and the duty that it involves. In a recent letter to us he says:

"I often think, dear Mr. Flower, that the modern artist holds a responsibility of great import. With the advantage of cheap and rapid reproduction he possesses a power the Old Masters would have envied. Think of the glorious masterpieces that have been painted on the walls of edifices that have since crumbled to dust! It would be well for us to keep in recollection the striving of these Old Masters who have

won the heritage we enjoy to-day, and armed as we are with the results of their struggle, think of the great results the ages expect of us. Shall we moderns be worthy of our heritage? And when we lay aside our pencils and brush and step across into the land of shades, what a record will be expected of us, having the opportunities of the ages! May our work be worthy!"

A man of natural ability thus early touched by the spirit of enlightened civilization cannot fail to prove a positive factor for progress and human advancement in our great on-coming age, and

we shall be much surprised, and disappointed if Mr. Taylor does not become more and more a power for human emancipation and progress. The artist of to-day bears much the same relation to the

great reform movements of our day that the popular singer and poet bore to the earlier epochs of social and moral awakening.

Boston, Mass.

B. O. FLOWER.

THE VIRGIN BIRTH.

BY KATRINA TRASK,
(MRS. SPENCER TRASK.)

THE CHRISTIAN Church seems to be more concerned, at present, with the Virgin Birth of Christ than it is with the Virgin Life of Christ—that life which, in its serene, lofty beauty, has shone through the centuries bearing an inward evidence of its divinity.

The world is buzzing with discussions on the subject of the Virgin Birth of Christ—and the war of words is waged between Alternatives.

A well-known Priest said to me, the other day: "The question resolves itself into one of two positions: either you must admit that Christ was born, by a miracle, *without human father*; or He was like other men, in which case you deny His divinity—the glorious basis of our faith."

This priest expressed the voice of the discussion: *i. e.*, the Alternatives between the position of the orthodox Churchman—who claims the miracle of the physical birth of Christ as a basis for His divinity—and the position that there is nothing miraculous about the birth of Christ, that He was a man like unto other men—merely with more spirituality.

Let us have done with Alternatives.

The Creed may stand on its historic rock. The words—"Conceived by the Holy Ghost, Born of the Virgin Mary"—may be believed as a positive fact, and yet the facts of the fact may be held to be quite different from the traditional acceptance of them. These words may be taken literally and yet, at the same time, the Virgin Birth, *as it is now held*,

may be doubted. One may believe in the miraculous wonder of Christ's birth and yet deny the physical limitation of that miracle.

It is not a question of the *miraculous* or the *non-miraculous* birth of Christ. The question is, *wherein lies the miracle?* Was the miracle accomplished in the Dust with which the Incarnate God was clothed upon—or was it a more stupendous miracle?

There is no stumbling-block in miracles. It is merely the swinging of the pendulum from the disproportionate importance given to the miraculous in the scheme of Christianity which makes the present skeptical outcry against them. No profound scholar finds it difficult to believe in miracles.

What is a miracle?

To give a dictionary definition: "It is an effect in Nature not attributable to any of the *recognized* operations of Nature." The *recognized* operations!! The term is as much an admission of our limitation and ignorance as a claim or proof of the supernatural.

The X-ray of To-day would have been the miracle of Yesterday; the Telephone of Yesterday would have been the miracle of the Day Before; the Electrical Manifestations of our generation would have been the supernatural terror of our forefathers, if each of these discoveries of Science had been used by some prophetic Scientist in advance of his time, who used, without explaining or defining, the

phenomena of which he and he alone was master. To one who has a large view and a comprehensive interpretation there can be no difficulty in accepting a so-called miracle. Therefore we ask—*not* was there a miracle,—but *what was the miracle?*

Each child that is born of woman from the seed of man has a mortal body, and into that cup of clay a Something is breathed at birth which has been the enigma of the ages: Science has not solved it. Where does it come from? What is it?

Is it—as some have thought—an influence from the stars, or from the vast world-force? Or is it—as theologians have said—the breath of God? Surely, it is not of the seed, nor is it subject to physical limitations.

Whatever it is, we recognize it as a human manifestation and call it the Soul, the Spirit of man. We know that when the Soul comes, the little bundle of clay is alive, and when it goes out, the body is but dust to return to dust. That Soul, therefore, is Man; the body is but the tabernacle of man—a tabernacle of clay.

We recognize the Soul, from generation to generation, as the Soul of Man, quite independent of the body that it inhabits—it is a distinct human manifestation; since the time of Adam and Eve, until to-day, there is a general similarity between the Souls, the Natures of men. Wherever it comes from, however it comes, we can count upon the species, so to speak.

Now, when Jesus the Son of Mary was born, there came not alone a mortal Body and a human Soul (which reproduction is so familiar that we do not call it a miracle), but there came, also, the Almighty God, Who for our sakes came down from Heaven to be incarnate in the flesh.

Did not this require the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, and a conception *beyond* the ordinary rather than *instead* of the ordinary?

Christ said: "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born

of the spirit is spirit." And, surely, if flesh is born of flesh and spirit of spirit, flesh must be conceived by flesh and spirit by spirit. That which was conceived by the Holy Ghost must have been spirit. It lessens the spiritual significance of the whole miracle to make the result of the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost a *physical* result. God—putting Himself within the Cup of Clay was the miracle!—the fleshly cloak was a mere overgarment. That cloak was governed by the laws of the flesh,—digestion, circulation, all the functions of the flesh; and for it to have been governed by the laws of the flesh also, in reproduction, would have been but one thing more. But it took the miracle of the Universe to differentiate the psychological reproduction of the human soul into which God came to be incarnate in the body created for that Soul. This was indeed a far vaster miracle than a mere physical differentiation could be. In truth the psychological differentiation is the only differentiation that can be strictly called a miracle.

Parthenogenesis is admitted as a scientific fact in the physical world. It is true that it is only a phenomenon of the very lowest order of animal life. But, once open the door to a scientific *possibility*, and it ceases to be a miracle—even to those who define miracles with the more limited definition. And in every scientific discovery on the *lowest plane* there is the foreshadowed suggestion of a *possible* evolution to the highest plane.

If Agamogenesis is a possible phenomenon in any animal life, the Agamogenetic reproduction of flesh is within the *realm of the possible*, and, therefore, is not one stupendous exception in Nature on which to base a religion. Whereas the overshadowing by the Holy Ghost to incarnate the Divine in human flesh must be a supernal miracle, the basis for a divine religion.

This interpretation of the Virgin Birth would in no sense touch the historic position of the Church, *viz.*, the belief in

the Incarnation. What is the meaning of Incarnation? It is the being clothed upon with flesh.

If the flesh was *not* flesh like unto all flesh, subject to all the laws of flesh, surely the miracle is lessened. But if, with that body of flesh, born and conceived by flesh, subject to all the laws of flesh, if into *that* there is breathed not only the human soul which comes (from we know not where) to every baby at its birth, but also, by the marvelous drawing near of the Holy Ghost, the Godhood—which was to be incarnate for our sakes—that, then, is the miracle of all the ages and of all the histories of the earth.

And this would bring a reconciliation of the prophecies. The Messiah was to be born of a Virgin, but He was also to come of the seed of David and of the seed of Abraham: "For verily He took not on him the nature of angels; but He took on him the seed of Abraham. Wherefore *in all things* it behooved Him to be made like unto His brethren." This is direct and explicit in its meaning, whereas the Hebrew word for Virgin has many shades of meaning; among them, "a young married woman newly wedded"—also, "a bride, a youthful spouse" (as in Joel, 1:8, where a virgin mourns for the husband of her youth); in fact, by some of our foremost scholars, the very shading of the words used in the pro-

phetic passage in Isaiah (7:14) is claimed to have the inclusive meaning of "a newly married woman." Certainly, it is used metaphorically from Genesis to Revelation as a Symbol of purity and chastity.

This, then, would be the reconciliation. The flesh, born of flesh, subject to the laws of flesh, was of the seed of Abraham,—which enabled Christ to be a man like unto other men. The miracle of the Incarnation was the overshadowing by the Holy Ghost of a pure virgin, who was physically with child, which put into that Child the "very God of very God," Who came to be "incarnate for us and for our salvation." Behold the miracle of miracles!

That the birth of the Child she bore was subject to natural laws could in no sense touch the virtue or the sinlessness of the Child or the Mother. It would contradict every word and every lesson of Christ to make sinlessness an external thing—a thing of the flesh. The birth was sinless because the Kingdom of Heaven was within the Mother.

The woman chosen to be the medium of this miracle of the Incarnation must have had a virgin soul, a pure heart—which could see God.

KATRINA TRASK.

Yaddo, Saratoga, N. Y.

MR. G. H. WELLS: THE PROPHET OF THE NEW ORDER.

BY REV. CHAUNCEY J. HAWKINS.

MAN HAS discovered his place in the world. It is the greatest discovery of all history. Until recent times, man has never known his place in the world-process. He has had no interest in the past because it is past; he has had no interest in the distant future because he never expected to see it. He

has been an egotist, absorbed in the present, interested alone in the present. The future may have had interest to him religiously, and the dream of the happy hunting ground or the mysterious abode of the spirits may have led him to offer sacrifice to get the good will of his divinity. But in the future of this breeding,

toiling, loving, sorrowing, race of men, living in these same smoke-baptized cities where we have lived, men have had little interest. Absorbed in the present, the past and the future have been forgotten.

The Christian doctrine of salvation has been concerned chiefly with the individual. The theology, the literature and the art of Christendom have been egoistic. Dante saw the mills of God grinding for the purification of the individual, while Michael Angelo saw the entire world-process in the light of individuals who were to escape this wicked world to find safety in some dimly strange and curious region. Calvinist and Arminian, Romanist and Protestant have never discovered anything greater than an individual absorbed in the present, never thoughtful of projecting his life into the future of mankind, but feverishly anxious to escape mankind to save his own soul.

Man's political economy was the fruit of the same egoism. His doctrine of the individual found expression in the old theory of uncontrolled competition. It was the cruel doctrine which produced industrial despots who kept women and children working in factories from twelve to fifteen hours a day, conditions under which, it is said, half of the infants of Manchester, England, died under three years, the mere story of which still haunts England like an awful nightmare. The horizon of life was no larger than the immediate needs and desire of the individual, and his attitude toward the body politic was determined by these facts.

Under this old theology and this old economy, the future of mankind was not considered. Why should men build houses for others to live in? Why should men sacrifice to plant trees whose fruit they would never taste? It was this individualism which made pessimistic Schopenhauer rebelliously ask: "Why must we be forever tortured by this passion and desire to reproduce our kind, why are all our pursuits tainted with this

application, all our needs referred to the needs of the new generation that tramples on our heels?" To the old thought this ruthless passion hurled man on before it as the wave hurls the swimmer. He might rebel, still he was hurled on.

We are, however, beginning to see that the individual lives for the future, that he gets his meaning from his relation to the future of the race. He has significance in the present only because the present is productive of the future. He has meaning for to-day only because to-morrow grows out of to-day.

One of the greatest prophets of this gospel, a pagan and a visionist, yet a prophet who has seen more clearly man's relation to the development of the race than many who scoff at the pagans, is G. H. Wells. He has seen clearly that man gains his meaning for the world-process in the production and development of the next generation of men.

Life, as Mr. Wells sees it, is "essentially a matter of reproduction; first a growth and training to that end, then commonly mating and actual physical reproduction, and finally the consummation of these things in parental nurture and education." This is the chief end of man as it is of all life. The world is a "great birth-place, an incessant renewal, an undying fresh beginning and unfolding of life." Take away this fact and we have nothing but stagnation and death,—no springtime, no sweet-smelling flowers, no laughing children, no waving harvests, no singing birds, but cold, monotonous death. It is the promise of the springtime that makes winter endurable and it is not the amount of beer and cheese, or beef and rolls that man can eat and drink that gives interest to mankind. The most interesting thing about the present race of men is that the next generation of men is dependent upon them for their production and nurture. This is the real wonder in comparison with which all others dwindle into insignificance.

This being true, the chief business of

mankind is to create those conditions under which offspring can reach the highest point of efficiency. "The serious aspect of our private lives, the general aspect of all our social and coöperative undertakings, is to prepare as well as we possibly can a succeeding generation, which shall prepare still more capably for still better generations to follow." This must be the test of any human institution. In the future, social systems must stand or fall by their ability to produce conditions in which a new-born child may realize the strongest and best life. All that fail to contribute to this end are either superficial and hence useless, or wrong and hence to be abolished.

There has been an immense amount of social quackery which has turned man away from an intelligent pursuit of this primal object of his existence. In his earlier life, Mr. Wells, himself, was entrapped by one of these shams, that of scientific marriage for the production of a better race of men. The chief objection to this idea is that it will not work. Shaw may advocate the mating of a duke and a charwoman, but there is one insuperable barrier to the proposition, namely, that the duke does not care for the charwoman nor does she care for him. Though the state should forbid the marriage of diseased persons, it could not prevent people "falling in love" and living together in free union, and though the state offered large pensions to young men six feet in height and strong of muscle and sound in every organ who would marry women with large chests and broad hips and rosy cheeks, approved by the health officer, they would spurn the pension and marry the first invalid for whom they had a passion.

Another objection to this scientific marriage is a lack of knowledge of how to breed to secure the things desired. "We are not a bit clear what points to breed for and what points to breed out." The breeding of cattle is a simple matter because the breeder knows what he wants, — a certain grade of milk or good beef.

It is easy to breed for these simple qualities, but man is not used for beef and, in these days of endless foods, even woman is dispensable as a giver of milk. In man we must breed for beauty and health, ability, genius and energy, all so complex that it is impossible to define one of them, much less to breed for them. The varieties of beauty are endless. There is the delicate beauty of the English woman, and the homely beauty of the Dutch, the tropic beauty of the tambourine girl following the organ-grinder, and the quaint beauty of the Japanese. For what type of beauty shall we breed? We are as unable to breed for "perfect health" as for beauty, for what is health in one person may not be health in another. "Health is a balance, a balance of blood against nerve, of digestion against secretion, of heart against brain. A heart of perfect health and vigor put into the body of a perfectly healthy man who is built upon a slighter scale than that heart, will swiftly disorganize the entire fabric, and burst its way to a hemorrhage in lungs perhaps, or brain, or whenever the slightest relative weakness permits." The perfect health of an American Indian is not the same as the perfect health of a New Yorker, nor the health of the Negro in the plantation cabin the same as that of the Duke of Wales. All of this talk of breeding for better men breaks down because we do not know enough. Whether men will ever know enough remains to be seen, but this much is certain, if men ever do know enough, the novelist will not be deprived of material for his books, for youth and maiden will still love, still elope, still make their own choice while the scientist goes on spinning his theories.

The particular social quackery which just now is blinding men to the real issue of life is the delusion of "race-suicide," a sham which has never been better exposed than by Mr. Wells. The alarmist is crying that long before old Sol has a chance to burn up his carbon and leave the earth in darkness, man will have

been extinguished by the fall of the birth-rate. Skepticism and materialism, love of ease and luxury, are all blamed by this alarmist for this decline. They have resulted in the loss of seriousness, and with the loss of this Puritan virtue women are losing their courage and men are wasting themselves in their selfish pleasures. But this is not true. It is because the race is becoming more religious and our women more courageous that the birth-rate is declining. It is the fundamental religious conviction that is taking possession of the race, that if governments will serve the highest interests of mankind, it will not be necessary to produce so many children. When a government permits conditions to exist where one half of the infants die before they reach maturity; when wars drain the population every generation of its strongest men; when governments spend millions for the maintenance of armies and navies which ought to be spent in improving the homes of the poor and in creating an environment where the mortality will decrease, spending it upon instruments for the murder of the poor creatures who happen to survive the unsanitary conditions; then women have to be turned into perennial breeding animals to furnish the supply for wasteful governments. The religious consciousness of the race will not permit it to continue in this ungodly business. The conscience of the race has not become flabby. The instinct of motherhood has not been lost. There are sterile women and giddy women who will not bear children and there always have been but in the race the conscience is becoming stronger as it is becoming more enlightened and the instinct of motherhood centers upon a few children that can be well cared for and nurtured to reproduce in the future a better race of men. The maternal instinct refuses to bear sons to be shot or daughters to die in the poisonous air of cheap tenements before they reach their teens.

The little that governments have done

only serves to strengthen these convictions. The slight improvements made in the conditions has increased the population in spite of the decrease of birth-rate. In England and Wales between 1846-1850, there were 33.8 births per 1,000; between 1896-1900 there were 28.0 per 1,000, a decrease in the birth-rate of 5.8. But between 1846-1850 the death-rate was 23.3 per 1,000; between 1896-1900 it was 17.7 per 1,000, a decrease of 5.6, leaving only .2 decrease in population. Now comes another fact, discouraging to the alarmist, who sees all of the good in the past. The illegitimate births between 1846-1850 numbered 2.2 per 1,000; between 1896-1900 they numbered 1.2 per 1,000. Had it not been for the fall in these illegitimate births the population would have increased 8. The increase in the morality of the people was the cause in the slight decrease in population. The prolongation of the average time of life almost overcame the decrease in birth-rate. Considering the little that has been done to better the conditions of the poor, this is a marvelous record. When governments spend less upon champagne and the millinery of state, upon instruments of destruction, and turn their millions to the preservation of life, then it will not be necessary to produce so many children.

Mr. Wells has clearly demonstrated the possibility of further reducing the mortality of infants in England, and what is true in England is also true in America. In Rutlandshire, in 1900, 103 children out of 1,000 died under five years of age; in Dorsetshire 133 out of every 1,000, and in Lancashire 274 out of every 1,000. "Unless we are going to assume that the children born in Lancashire are inherently weaker than the children born in Rutland or Dorset—and there is not the shadow of reason why we should believe that—we must suppose that at least 171 children out of every 1,000 in Lancashire were killed by the conditions into which they were born." The government absorbed in its imperialism, surrounding

itself with guns and dynamite, and the politicians busy with measures that will get them votes, permit this "perennial massacre of the innocents."

There is no reason why the 103 deaths out of each 1,000 in Rutland might not be considerably reduced. Grant that some are born who are not fit to live because of inherent defects. "It leaves untouched the fact that a vast multitude of children of untainted blood and good mental and moral possibilities, as many, perhaps, as 100 in each 1,000 born, die yearly through insufficient food, insufficient good air, and insufficient attention. The plain and simple truth is that they are born needlessly. There are still too many births for our civilization to look after, we are still unfit to be trusted with a rising birth-rate." Until governments can deal more wisely with the children already produced, they would do well to urge less upon parents the production of innocents for the slaughter.

Every child born into the world is entitled to the best food, good air, and a bright and cheerful house, where it can grow to the best advantage, and it should be the business of government to see that every mother is supplied with these things, both for herself and for her child. The institutions of charity founded for this purpose are not successful. They not only lessen parental responsibility, and give the child a mechanical rather than a sympathetic environment, but they encourage births among the class where they are least desirable. At best charity is an imperfect makeshift and cannot solve the great problem.

There are several things which touch the problem directly and, if enforced, would produce a better race. First, reckless parentage should be discouraged. This can be done, Mr. Wells thinks, by making "the parent the debtor to society on account of the child for adequate food, clothing, and care for at least the first twelve or thirteen years of life, and in the event of parental default to invest the local authority with exceptional powers

of recovery in this matter. It would be quite easy to set up a minimum standard of clothing, cleanliness, growth, nutrition and education, and provide, that if that standard was not maintained by a child, or if the child was found to be bruised or maimed without the parents being able to account for these injuries, the child should be at once removed from the parental care, and the parents charged with the cost of a suitable maintenance—which need not be excessively cheap. If the parents fail in the payments they could be put into celibate labor establishments to work off as much of the debt as they could, and they would not be released until their debt was fully discharged. Legislation of this type would not only secure all and more of the advantages children of the least desirable sort now get from charities and public institutions, but it would certainly invest parentage with a quite unprecedented gravity for the reckless, and it would enormously reduce the number of births of the least desirable sort."

The government could establish a minimum standard of sanitary conditions in houses and make it illegal for any man to inhabit a house which falls below this standard. A certain size of rooms, necessary ventilating appliances, plenty of light and good air, are things which should be a part of every house. These houses should be kept in good repair and, in no case, should they be crowded. "The minimum permissible tenement for a maximum of two adults and a very young child is one properly ventilated room capable of being heated, with close and easy access to sanitary conveniences, a constant supply of water and easy means of getting warm water. More than one child should mean another room, and it seems only reasonable if we go so far as this, to go further and require a minimum of furniture and equipment, a fire-guard, for instance, and a separate bed or cot for the child. In a civilized community, children should not sleep with adults, and the killing of children

by 'accidental' overlaying should be a punishable offence. If a woman does not wish to be dealt with as a half-hearted murderess she should not behave like one."

It may be objected that these demands are unreasonable, that it would make it impossible for the poor to have children as they could not meet these conditions. Under present conditions it might be impossible but if this standard is right then the government should correct the conditions which make the ideal impossible. It could be corrected by establishing a minimum wage. No man ought to be permitted to labor for a wage which would not allow him to live a wholesome, healthy, and reasonably happy life. The industry which cannot afford to pay such a wage is a positive curse to civilization. Rather than being a source of wealth to the nation it is a "disease and a parasite upon the public body." Hence all such industries should be abolished, only such being permitted to exist that can pay a wage large enough to permit a man to rent a tenement in the best condition and large enough for three or four children, "to maintain himself and wife and children above the minimum standard of comfort, his insurance against premature and accidental death or temporary economic or physical disablement, some minimum provision for old age and a certain margin for the exercise of his individual freedom."

Men scoff at this as a meager material-

istic interpretation of life, and stamp Wells as a pagan. If, however, these scoffers could be placed in the home of the poor man, compelled to live on his wage, bear children and support them under such meager surroundings, he might discover in the doctrine a sublime idealism, with a spiritual dynamic for the redeeming of souls which has not been attached to more pretentious doctrines of salvation. Others scornfully brush Wells aside as a visionist. And so he is, but the curse of the world, is that there are so few who see visions. Men are so concerned with tariff and ship-subsidy bills, with the building of canals, and the regulation of their beer and whiskey, that they never consider the real problem of life, the making of men. It is to the credit of Mr. Wells that he has seen that this is the business of mankind, that all other business should center about this great undertaking, that the business of the man of to-day is to work for the man of to-morrow.

It is objected that Wells is scornful of religion and contemptuous of religious instruction. Here he may be weak. The heart must not be left cheerless and cold. Neither must the body be left hungry, nor the development of the physical sacrificed to the spiritual. In emphasizing the former Wells has done a work neglected by the enthusiasts of religion.

CHAUNCEY J. HAWKINS.

Jamaica Plain, Mass.

OUR NEXT ICE-AGE.

BY JOHN C. ELLIOT.

IN EARLIER periods of the history of men the more civilized nations were wont to set aside priesthoods whose sphere of activities ranged from commendable and oft-times fruitful interrogations of Nature, to mastery of signs,

omens, horoscopes, and royal dreams. Failure to supply solutions on demand was a capital offence and the criminals were all too frequently blotted from the things that be.

Fortunately for the men of science of

modern times we have grown more humane and charitable toward the limitations of the human intellect. Hence, for instance, we are not even impatient or querulous under repeated failures of our savants to formulate an adequate hypothesis of the great Ice-Age of Pleistocene times. Why did such an awful catastrophe overwhelm the present proud seats of empire of the great nations of the earth? Is its recurrence probable or imminent? Is it in the womb of Time and the decree of Fate that the ranks of poor humanity are to be scourged and decimated by another glacial deluge? The attitude of the average "man in the street" toward such conjectures is one of serene indifference as yet. His undisturbed equanimity is only rivaled by that of the gods who were wont to recline on the heights of Mount Olympus and doze as they dreamily gazed at the far-spreading panorama of "flaming towns, and clanging fights, and sinking ships, and praying hands" that marked the history of suffering mankind. But the attention of an increasing number of thoughtful minds is being directed to this question. Articles recur with striking persistency in papers and magazines speculating upon the probability of a duplication in a time to come of the icy besom of destruction that swept over Europe and America in Pleistocene times, laying 2,000,000 square miles of the one continent and 4,000,000 square miles of the other under an impenetrable shroud of ice and snow. Geologists believe that it is only about 7,000 years since these conditions came to an end, and, if they should prevail again to a like extent, the city of Cincinnati will mark the southernmost edge of the ice-sheet in America but the Southern states will lie in the grasp of an Arctic climate. London and New York, Berlin and St. Petersburg will be no more. The Irish question and other mistakes will be buried forever beneath an icy pall. Sunny France will be a Siberia knowing no summer, and Paris a frozen solitude of snow-filled streets.

It is a curious and well-known fact that in their gropings after Truth the representative minds of buried ages have in many instances anticipated, with a greater or lesser measure of precision, the epoch-marking discoveries of later times. Minds differ in receptivity so that while this or that genius may be said to have caught the inspiration of his age, to have absorbed the unspoken ideals and aspirations of the great body of his fellowmen, and given them commanding utterance in music or art or literature, there are still others so delicately attuned to the voice of Nature that they seem to catch the faintest inflection of some cosmic truth. And, if their concept in crystallized form fell upon unheeding ears among their contemporaries, some later age with greater resources and fruits of research at hand has recognized the gleaming filament of Truth in the speculations of the dead philosopher, and extended to his memory the meed of praise. Thus Anaximander 2,500 years before Darwin's time, Goethe, Browning, and others, did all dimly adumbrate upon the now generally recognized theory of evolution. These men saw, as it were "through a glass darkly" but they nevertheless caught a brief inspiration of a great immanent truth which finally crystallized into a grand and broad generalization in the mind of Charles Darwin.

In the field of research under review, then, it would at least seem possible that the halting and interrogative prophecies of a coming glacial devastation, that appear in various quarters from time to time, are, in their last analysis, a cosmic truth apparent to the subconsciousness of investigators and seeking articulate expression and development into tangible, argumentative form. And it is certain that there is no field of endeavor more worthy of the best efforts of the best minds, for a Glacial Period stands out as the most stupendous revolution recorded in the otherwise orderly sequence of events in the procession of geologic ages, and as one preëminently calculated

to entirely subvert the status of nations and civilizations, to blot out a world and recast the affairs of men at a stroke.

There is a high degree of probability that the much sought after solution is one of the very simplest with which the mind of man could be engaged, notwithstanding the many ponderous and elaborate theories adduced by ingenious philosophers in the past. Speaking in this connection Professor Bonney says:* "It is therefore probable that some factor, which is essential for the complete solution of the problem, is as yet undiscovered, or, at any rate, the importance of one which is already known has not been duly recognized." It will develop in the sequel that these are prophetic words, for it would seem that there really is a factor "already known," but whose importance has in the most curious manner been persistently overlooked by all of our glacial philosophers, thereby delaying the solution of a problem fraught with the direst consequences to the family of nations. Tyndall, the great physicist, showed that the prime essentials were a "boiler" and "condenser." In his opinion we needed perhaps more vapor, but we also needed a "condenser" so powerful that the precipitation should fall as snow and not as rain. None can take exception to so simple and manifestly adequate epitome of the conditions necessary to the genesis of an Ice Age. Through the labors of this investigator we are launched upon a course leading directly to the solution of the problem. Many trans-Atlantic passengers have had an opportunity of observing the power and efficiency as condensers of the fleets of icebergs floating in the sea. It is evident to the most casual observer that if these formidable armadas were even slightly increased in size or number a marked deterioration in the climate of Europe and America must ensue. It is well known that our present favorable meteorological conditions are only maintained in a delicate equipoise, and any

**Ice-Work*, p. 260.

disturbance of the nature indicated, would infallibly subject us to another glacial visitation. This is the crucial point and it only remains for us to consider, apart from unnecessary technicalities, how the sources or reservoirs of these masses of ice being discharged into the North Atlantic are and long have been in process of augmentation and are at last, perhaps, in a state of rapid and more pronounced enlargement.

The cessation of the great Ice-Age resulted, it is believed by geologists, from the subsidence of the northern ice-burdened lands beneath the sea, so that no important land-nuclei remained for the formation of ice-caps, and no marked accumulation of ice-fields was possible in the Arctic ocean owing to the wide avenue of escape leading into the Atlantic. Since then, however, a gradual reëlevation of these regions has been in progress so that certain lands west of Greenland have now an elevation almost 2,000 feet higher than that at which they formerly stood, as determined by Feilden, Greeley and Bessels. Some writers have pointed out that at the present rate of progress "perhaps a few centuries" will suffice to convert Hudson's Bay into salt marsh or dry land. But in a still shorter time, if these secular movements of the earth's crust are persistent, the present avenues of communication west of Greenland between the Arctic and Atlantic oceans will, for all practical purposes of discharge have ceased to exist. The first fruits of this blockade are evident in the formation of the so-called palæocrystic sea, or masses of hoary old ice, which has been unable to escape from the labyrinthine channels of the Parry islands and goes on increasing from year to year. It was the presence of this ice in McClintock channel that baffled so many of the stout-hearted explorers of the Northwest Passage. The net result of these developments will be that sooner or later the entire drainage of the Polar basin will be diverted into the remaining exit between Europe and Greenland—that of

Behring straits being negligible. This is the portentous feature and key to the whole situation. The subsidence beneath the sea of the land areas of the far north, which induced the cessation of the Pleistocene Ice-Age, left an unobstructed highway for the outflowing Polar currents down the American coast, throughout their entire course, their natural "set" being west then as now, owing to the revolution of the earth on its axis. There was thus left a wide expanse of neutral waters between the south-flowing Polar currents and the north-flowing Gulf Stream bathing the shores of western Europe. In the 7,000 or 8,000 years that have since elapsed, however, this beneficent arrangement has been changed for the worse. The Polar currents have crossed the neutral zone and are thrusting their icy burdens athwart the right of way of the Gulf Stream. The inevitable result must be not only a steady lowering of the mean annual temperature of the adjoining regions but what is more important, a steady increase in the amount of snowfall. Thus Tyndall's postulate of a "boiler" and "condenser" is in process of realization through the growing intimacy of contact of these two extremes of heat and cold. It would seem to be a natural corroboration of the correctness of the line of reasoning being followed to find that, according to the disinterested investigations of Whitney, the glaciers of Iceland are rapidly advancing. Another highly sensitive danger-point exists in the vast snowfields of the mountain-chains of Norway, whence several glaciers come down almost to sea-level and at least one actually discharges small bergs into a northern fiord. When the enormous glaciers of Iceland commence to litter the sea, but more probably before that culmination, the Scandinavian systems will respond to the increasing snowfall and send forth their ships of ice to join the fleets already assembling on the high seas from other sources, so that we may then consider the last chap-

ters in the history of our civilization to have been written. As each new contribution of icebergs arrives from successive quarters in descending scale of latitude the conflagration will proceed apace until the later stages will be marked with a terrible rapidity—a sort of geometrical progression as it were. It is significant that the geological records of the great Ice-Age of the past show a gradual accession of cold during the earlier developments which were followed by a swift consummation at the last.

It will be seen, therefore, that it is not necessary to be versed in the profundities of astronomy, or steeped in geological lore, in order to grasp and appreciate the simple equation of natural factors whence is evolved such tremendous results as attend upon a glacial epoch. It is probably in consequence of the majesty and grandeur of the phenomenon associated therewith, which have been likened by Professor Wright to the stately progression of the celestial movements, that so many elaborate and abstruse and ingenious theories have in turn been erected upon the ruins of their predecessors. The maximum of penetration required, however, is only that sufficient to discern the inevitable sequence of events that must develop from the growing intimacy of the contact between the moist influences of the Gulf Stream and the frigid products of the perennial winter of the Polar regions. Allusion is frequently made in geological works to the fact that the immense ice-sheets of the Spitzbergen are due directly to the influence of the Gulf Stream. That is to say the latter furnishes the aqueous vapor whence is derived the snowfall requisite to feed the glacier systems of the interior. Precisely the same relation is in an advanced stage of development further to the south between the warm Atlantic drift and the snow-fields of Greenland and Iceland, and will soon extend to those of Scandinavia. With the material results of these conjunctions before them perplexity may arise in the minds of some readers

by the recollection that certain philosophers would conduct the Gulf Stream across a submerged isthmus of Panama, or shunt it off in some other direction, in order to induce glacial conditions in Europe and America. This is perhaps the least tenable theory of all. Tyndall has likened it to taking "the fire from under the boiler"; Professor Bonney does not entertain it, and reason will have none of it. We need plenty of moisture, we need the Gulf Stream to convey it, and we need an ice-strewn ocean to precipitate it in the form of snow. Speaking of the growth of glacial systems Sir John Lubbock* says:

"The extension of the glaciers does not, however, necessarily imply any very severe climate.

"Paradoxical as it may appear glaciers require heat as well as cold; heat to create the vapor, which again condenses as snow. A succession of damp summers would do more to enlarge the glaciers than a series of cold seasons. Leblanc estimated that the glacial period need not have had an average temperature of more than 7 degrees centigrade below the present, and other great authorities consider that at any rate a fall of even 5 degrees would suffice."

So frail a margin, then, saves from us glacial extinction. It is utterly inexplicable that the significance of the long-continued secular movements in the far North contributing by imperceptible degrees to a greater and greater prevalence both of "damp summers" and "cold seasons"—the results of which are now apparent, not alone in the swelling ice-cap of Greenland and the advancing glaciers of Iceland—should have hitherto so completely escaped the recognition of investigators. If they ever drew a mental picture of the North Atlantic as a vast, heaving *mer de glace*, fed by the streaming glaciers of two continents, it must have been only to regard it as the

**Scenery of Switzerland*, p. 100.

result, instead of the primary and sustaining cause, of the Ice-Age. In short, they inverted the simple cause and effect—so potent when rightly applied, so futile when confused. The ocean ice would, however, be sustaining only up to a certain limit which would be reached as soon as the cold of the Northern hemisphere exceeded that of the Southern, enabling the northeast trade-winds to drive the heated waters of the equatorial zones south of Cape St. Roque and so into the South Atlantic. The consequent absence of the vapor-conveying Gulf Stream from the North Atlantic would induce calm weather and clear skies over the seaboard of Europe and America, banishing precipitation and enabling the sun to speedily reduce the citadels of the starving snowfields. It is well known to geologists that the various retreats of the ice-sheet were quite rapid while they were in progress. The vanishing snowfields, however, would be followed by a rising temperature until the natural predominance of the cold of the southern hemisphere over that of the northern being restored, the southeast trades would again force the warm equatorial waters north of Cape St. Roque, recreating the Gulf Stream, and so hurrying up fresh munitions of war for the decimated and fast-melting ranks of the glacial army of invasion. Then the entire process would commence anew. It is therefore conceivable that the cycles of alternate advance and retreat of the continental ice-sheets might have continued indefinitely had not the steady subsidence of the northern ice-burdened lands, never wholly relieved, finally cut off the icebergs at their source. No fewer than eleven of these oscillations have been distinguished in America, and Professor Chamberlin confidently correlates the more marked instances with those tabulated by Geikie and others for Europe. Doubtless these were contemporaneous as claimed, answering, as they did, to the common impulse on the ocean, because "things that

are equal to the same thing are equal to one another."

Parenthetically it may be here pointed out that the problem of the Permian Ice-Age in the Southern hemisphere, traces of which are found in South Africa, lends itself to precisely the same mode of treatment as that being pursued in these pages in reference to the Pleistocene Ice-Age and its approaching recrudescence in the Northern hemisphere. It is believed by geologists that in pre-Permian times there was a greater extension of land areas in the higher latitudes of the Southern hemisphere than now obtains. But it must be patent to all that any appreciable extension of the Antarctic continent, whether now or in the past, would enable that tremendous polar ice-field—in our day 4,500,000 square miles in area—to send its icebergs far north past the southern extremities of South America and Africa, distributing their chilling influences far and wide, and concentrated particularly, perhaps, near the latter continent by the north-flowing current along its west coast. The contact of these "condensers" with the warmer waters of the South Atlantic would create an area of low pressure, and being an anti-cyclonic area, would sweep the aqueous vapor in an easterly direction and deposit it as snow upon the high and cold interior plateau of South Africa whence the ice-sheet would stream southward, as the glacial striæ in the Karroo would seem to indicate did actually occur. An Ice-Age is therefore, merely the product of certain favorable local conditions.

Professor Wright reminds us that when the proposal was made a few years ago by some French engineers to flood the Sahara from the Mediterranean the scheme was viewed with alarm and dismay by the people of Switzerland who dreaded any increased supply of aqueous vapor for their vast glacier systems. The same authority adds that any such denouement would be attended with fatal results to the republic and perhaps to

central Europe. In speculating upon the latent powers of destruction of the small glacier in Tucker's ravine, Mount Washington, Professor Shaler points out that a very slight dislocation of present meteorological conditions would suffice to once more urge the glaciers forth on their career of devastation, and that once started, there is no telling where they would stop. Owing to the heavy precipitation prevalent, the glaciers on the western slope of the New Zealand Alps descend as low as within 1,000 feet of sea-level despite the high mean temperature of the ocean at that point. For the same reason the snow-line on the Himalayas is much lower on the warm southern side than on the cold northern side. But it is unnecessary to multiply instances. The vision is plain and true and the interpretation thereof is sure.

The intuitive subconsciousness of men, to which earlier allusion has been made, that the initial developments of another Ice-Age may be imminent to the point of easy discernment did we but know where to look for their presence, may be responsible in part for the frequency with which occasional writers detail for us a few of the undoubtedly significant symptoms of prospective continental glaciation. The following excerpt is from *The Cause of the Glacial Epoch*, by H. L. True:

"For the present I will affirm that the Glacial Period is still going on. The ice is rapidly accumulating in the polar regions and slowly creeping downwards toward the temperate zones. The *Chicago Evening Post* quotes the following from a leading German meteorologist and astronomer: 'Places visited by Kotzebue, Ross, Franklin, Parry and others during the first quarter of the nineteenth century and pronounced by them to be free from ice during June, July and August, are now covered with several feet of solid ice which is capped with snow throughout the year.' This certainly proves that the earth's glacial zones are rapidly and permanently enlarging.

Flammarion, the great French astronomer, has shown that every country in Europe, as well as those in Asia, has, during the last fifty years, lost from six to fourteen degrees in its mean annual temperature. In France, Germany and Italy the northern limit of the growth of the vine is steadily being pushed southward."

This is sufficiently startling, but, like so many or rather all others who have essayed the glacial problem our author does not identify his notable data with any instant theory or prediction of immediate import. It is precisely this note of indecision as regards the time of fulfilment that deprives such prophecies of the great *débacle* to come of the dynamic quality of challenging imminence for the citizens of a day infested with other cares. Only an academic interest is manifested in the decrees of fate supposed to concern our descendants of the remote future. But a rude disillusioning would seem to be at hand. Our complacency is that of the improvident, for the day of disaster already looms on the horizon. Although systematic researches conducted by competent men along the lines indicated, on the northern confines of the Atlantic, would, in all likelihood, determine with a very considerable degree of precision just what portion still remains of the allotted span of our present civilization, it is perhaps permissible to say now that untoward climatic conditions along the more northerly portions of the Atlantic seaboard are in a fair way to reach a climacteric in a few centuries—remembering that the agencies at work whose achievements, as already detailed, are now perceptible in several quarters, will move with a constantly accelerating pace as time goes on.

On the grounds of simplicity, sufficiency and tangible delineation of a sequence of events unfolding under our very nose, the foregoing portrayal of the combination of factors prolific of Glacial developments may well prove to be the

Rosetta stone, or key, to the hitherto indecipherable hieroglyphics of glacial geology. In such an event there must ensue a sudden stiffening of the foreign policies of the world's chancelleries. If it is conceived that the fiat is: Only a few hundred years and then the deluge, we may look for a kaleidoscopic procession of political events. Armageddon begins to assume a threatening reality. The instinct of self-preservation is as strong in nations as in individuals, and it is an irresistible temptation to briefly speculate upon the possible moves of the great empires looking to the perpetuation of their national identity in the order of the new world already dawning on the disintegrating fabric of the old.

Obviously the United States must carve out a refuge for her people in South America against the time when they will be driven out of the Northern continent by the irresistible advance of the all-effacing ice-sheet. It is devoutly to be wished that the Latin republics will cheerfully acquiesce in any scheme looking to their incorporation in a South American hegemony animated solely by North American institutions, otherwise—might must decide. The beneficent power and proved vitality of Anglo-Saxon laws, language and institutions, habits, traditions and ideals must not be impaired by inoculations alien to their genius. It took centuries of travail by men and women to bring these to their present stage of perfection which we, their descendants, enjoy or abuse as the case may be. It is not expedient for the safety of the one, nor for the welfare of the world in general, that either of the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon family, or, which is the same thing, the two great peoples actuated solely by the Anglo-Saxon spirit, should be blotted from the map. In the time of stress about to try all nations, it will become more and more evident that each is the complement of the other. The continent of South America comprises about 7,000,000 square miles of surpassing

wealth and most varied resources. If unified and dominated by one central progressive sovereignty, she will rank as one of the two or three mighty political units or empires into which the human race will be resolved under the approaching new dispensation.

For several of the British members of the blood partnership the situation is more complicated and diffuse. The proverbial "British luck," however, has established the empire in nearly all the desirable strategic positions in southern latitudes, whence her citizens may round out a dominion commensurate with the dignity of their place in the vanguard of nations in the past, and in keeping with the larger future opening before their eyes. It does not seem that this dominion can be realized in anything less than control of the African continent and maintenance of a frontier extending from the Nile to the Euphrates and on to the Ganges. Against this latter "thin red line" some European combination will undoubtedly be hurled, and then will be determined the issue whether the English language and ideals of government are to survive and dominate the new world, or—but the alternative cannot be entertained.

The colonies of Germany are impossible as a future "fatherland." She may therefore elect to fasten on some portion of South America, but the prospective masters of that continent cannot acquiesce in any scheme of divided sovereignty. Or she may resolve to hurl France prostrate, and exact the cession of her colonial empire as a war indemnity. To insure herself against such a repetition of the *débat* of 1870, France would be driven into an alliance with England who would require in return certain desirable portions of French territory in Africa, which France really does not need because of her stationary population. In fact the animating impulse of French colonial ambition lies largely in the term "*la gloire*." But the supremacy of the British navy is an awk-

ward fact, and Germany may seek to make use of her splendid army and to lead an European coalition into the shambles of the Near East. Here again, however, the intense rivalries and conflicting ambitions of the different peoples of southeastern Europe, each having a national identity to maintain, may block the way to Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf to every one unable to cleave a passage single-handed. It will be a happy culmination when German imperial ambitions beat themselves out, and that virile people absorbed, along with their Scandinavian and Danish kinsmen, into the dominions under the Anglo-Saxon ægis. However unpalatable, to a patriotic German, such an arrangement might be, it is plain that if, at the approaching regrouping of the nations under other skies, the great Gothic family could be reunited, its genius would enrich the world in another Renaissance.

Canadians may at first view the situation with feelings akin to dismay since their commercial routes on the Atlantic will be among the first to be cut off by an ice-infested sea and inclement conditions on the seaboard. But there is no occasion for disquietude for Canada. In the term of centuries that may be expected to elapse before glacial stringencies become insistent she will have attained an imposing stature of national growth, and her then population of 100,000,000 or more of vigorous and self-reliant men and women will be eagerly welcomed in the wide spaces of the African continent and other quarters of the British Empire. And in what is now the Dark Continent they will find a congenial habitat for it must not be forgotten that, while utterly destroying the present proud foci of our modern civilization, an Ice-Age will at the same time rejuvenate the seats of empire of the mighty nations of old. It will be a time of unending clouds, fogs, mists and banks of vapor. The climate of the torrid zones will be radically modified. The plains

of ancient Assyria, Babylonia and Egypt will once again reëcho the tread of thronging peoples, the murmuring of running streams and the music of multitudinous life. And Palestine, desolate Palestine, barren, parched and empty of her former glory, will be revived—"a place of rivers and streams of water."

When Europe and America were held in the grip of the Glacial Epoch huge independent systems of glaciers were nourished by the various mountain ranges bordering on the Mediterranean whence they have in some instances entirely disappeared and in others are greatly restricted. Thus the Atlas mountains in North Africa, the Pyrenees, Alps, Caucasus, Ararat, Lebanon and even Mount Hermon only about 100 miles from Jerusalem. This infallibly indicates the former prevalence of a moist climate in the regions mentioned. Speaking to this point that standard authority, James Geikie, in his *Great Ice-Age*, says:

"I am not aware that traces of glacial action have been observed in any other part of North Africa. We cannot doubt, however, that during the Glacial Period the climate of that region must have been markedly affected, and evidence of this is furnished by alluvial accumulations of Pleistocene age. These show that North Africa was formerly in possession of a more humid climate. (Page 708.)

"It used formerly to be maintained that the desert of the Sahara was occupied by the sea in Pleistocene times, but later observations have shown this view to be unfounded. (Page 709.) In a word it is the general opinion of those who have studied the desert regions of North Africa that these were formerly better watered than now—traversed by streams and rivers, and diversified here and there by lakes.

"The evidence of such a climatic change is not confined to North Africa. In Palestine and Syria similar proof of former rainy conditions are forthcoming. Professor Hull has shown that every-

where the facts seem to point to a 'pluvial period' which he thinks was most probably contemporaneous with the glacial conditions of Lebanon and Hermon. . . . In short there is no doubt that the border lands of the Mediterranean were formerly well-watered—that they have experienced more humid conditions than now obtain. This is quite in keeping with what we have learned as to the former great abundance of lakes in Central and Northern Asia. All those regions are drier now than they were in Pleistocene times. More than this, it seems most probable that the humid conditions of the Mediterranean lands extended even into tropical Africa." (Pages 710-711.)

Thus it will be seen that, though the British dominions are to be radically remodeled in geography, the Empire will suffer no impairment in resources. It is a pleasing anticipation to see rise anew Old England's might in a restored Old Egypt, to seat her kings on the throne of the mighty Pharaohs, to restore London in Cairo, and to rebuild the Mother of Parliaments in precincts where, with more than Napoleon's forty centuries looking down on them, her legislators could surely do no wrong or ignoble act. Perhaps it is to this end that, under the hand of Destiny, her children have unconsciously been engaged in laying the foundations of their future home by the Red Sea. And hers shall be the task—certainly not from any idea of establishing a theocratic government of the world, but partly as a concession to sentiment, and partly from motives of policy—of repatriating the Jews to their rejuvenated Palestine. There, at last, this long-suffering race, inspired by the literal fulfilment of the Promise, may be confidently expected to shake off that alien furtive temperament begotten of centuries of servitude, to recover the full measure of their Maccabean valor, and to stand forth, clad in the full glory of Mosaic nobility, before a welcoming world.

So that, seated securely, flanked on the one hand by a continent of kinsmen in South America, and on the other by the dominions of Australia, New Zealand, India, and her wards and provinces of the Near East, the mistress of Africa can serenely await the unrolling of the Map of Time until, in the long course of

ages, the northern ice-sheets finally retire once more into their Arctic fastnesses, and the proverbial New Zealander of Macaulay actually sails away to view in reminiscent mood the place where once had stood Old London Bridge.

JOHN C. ELLIOT.

Butte, Montana.

COMMON GROUND FOR SOCIALIST AND INDIVIDUALIST.

BY JOHN W. BENNETT.

SOME weeks ago three well-known representatives of different schools of sociological thought, socialistic and individualistic, met in New York and had a talk. At the end of the interview they seemed to feel that there were essential differences between them, so essential that they could not work together for social and economic reform.

This is typical. Writers on sociology and economics almost universally take the same view. Socialism and individualism are taken ordinarily as the opposite poles of economic thought. Is such the fact? This is a question of most vital interest as bearing upon the attitude of reformers and their followers toward the practical pressing issues of to-day.

So far as extreme socialists and extreme individualists are concerned, there may be essential antagonism. Certainly they think themselves irreconcilably opposed to one another. But a common-sense view of the situation discloses no good reason why social reformers who are socialists and social reformers who are individualists may not work shoulder to shoulder for the advancement of a common cause.

No individualist is so extreme as to deny that each human being has a social as well as an individual existence. All individual liberty, each individual right,

is qualified by the individual rights and liberties of others with whom the very nature of things compels the individual to live in social contact. Each individual cannot have a planet of his own. If he had he would contend with the inhabitants of other planets about the light of the sun and moon. It is doubtful whether the human individual with a world to himself, could such a thing be conceived, would find himself as happy as we other mortals who are packed upon this planet with another billion and one-half of beings more or less like ourselves.

Man is a social animal. The individualist who carries his theories to the veriest length of anarchy cannot conceive of any other kind of human. As social animals it is necessary that men should live together. The only question is whether they shall live in harmony coöperating with one another and helping one another; or live in strife, crowding one another aside, tramping one another down, rending one another.

It is not necessary, however, to carry this discussion along upon theoretical lines. Practically the things which call most loudly for reform have been taken out of the sphere of contention between socialist and individualist. It would be as much to the point to argue for an absolute monarchy in a controversy over popu-

lar or legislative election of United States Senators as to contend for individualism in the regulation of corporate activities. Our government in all its branches has passed beyond the stage of absolute monarchy. In fields of corporate activity, we have passed the individualistic stage of industrial organization. The question of individualism, as a practical question, cannot enter at all into the problem of dealing with the corporation. It has but the most remote theoretical bearing.

Corporations are socialistic organizations. In them individuals associate in order to unite their forces to carry out in harmonious coöperation industrial enterprises. Where more than two hands are necessary to an enterprise, there must inevitably be social coöperation. Certain industrial activities have been found monopolistic in their very essence. For great enterprises requiring union of intellect, union of fortune, union of skill, the corporation has been found the most fitting instrument. For monopolistic enterprises, the corporation has been found the only fit instrument. Imagine a railway, or an insurance enterprise, a great steamship line, an express service, a telegraph or a postal service conducted by one individual or many individuals acting competitively.

It is needless to bring forward proof of the corporation's advantages in certain lines of business. The fact that it has absorbed the mightiest industrial activities and is growing daily in power and comparative importance, proves fully that it has in it something essential in meeting present conditions of social and industrial evolution.

Yet the corporation is merely a socialistic association of individuals for common benefit. They associate because they can do better by association than by individual effort the things which they have set out to do. This is fully recognized and acted upon by a large and growing percentage of our industrial population.

Each free and independent citizen of this great nation, for instance, cannot conduct his own railway. He finds it necessary to give the task over to a corporation and in order to make that corporation efficient in the task it has undertaken he gives the corporation governmental functions—eminent domain, the taxing power, etc. Now in practice we have found that this arrangement gives the railway power to oppress the citizen who gives it being. It also discriminates between citizens whom it was instituted to serve equally and ends by corrupting and controlling their government.

Broadly speaking there is but one way that citizens individually or collectively can defend themselves against the railway which they have created. They must control it. Obviously they cannot control it while its management is in the hands of officers and directors responsible only to stockholders and not so very responsible to them. This is especially true since the material interests of the men who fill the offices and directorate of the railway and own its stock are in conflict with the material interests of the citizens whom they serve. Control, if it come at all to the citizen, must come through his government. Leaving the organization of the railway as it now is, it has been proven to a demonstration that the railway controls the government rather than the government the railway.

What is true of the railway in this regard is true also of the telegraph, the telephone, the gas company, the electric, light company, the water company, the postal service and a great number of services of like character, monopolistic in their nature and requiring in their most efficient administration quasi-governmental powers. In this vast industrial field individual effort is totally inadequate to meet requirements. Organization of individuals into service and industrial corporations—socialism in its broad and non-technical sense is an absolute essential.

Assuming then that the industrial ac-

tivities, especially the public-service activities, which are now being carried on by corporations, cannot be carried on successfully upon the individualistic plan, there is nothing left in connection with corporations for the socialist and the individualist to fight about upon principle. At least they cannot fight over the main bone of contention—individualistic effort *versus* social or coöperative effort. For them then as for the rest of us the dividing problem narrows to what sort of corporation or association shall do the work. Shall it be done by a private irresponsible corporation or a public corporation responsible to those it serves?

For railways and such services the people in their social capacity furnish the right-of-way. Also the capital, the business and the employés. The question at issue narrows down to whether the managing officers and directors shall be responsible to the people whom they serve or irresponsible—whether they shall be autocrats ruling the people or officers serving the people.

The decision of this problem, again, brings up no question of principle between the socialist and the individualist, if they be both democratic and look at the problem from the standpoint of the great industrial masses. Individualism cannot be applied except as to the autocrat who under private control rules the public-service corporation and through it the government and the people. The private corporation is no more individualistic in the sense of giving play to individual freedom or initiative than is the public corporation. Each is socialistic within its sphere. The individual must decide between irresponsible socialism exploited for the benefit of an autocracy of wealth and responsible socialism controlled by the masses and conducted for their benefit. The question and the only question for socialist or individualist is one of control, of government, of administration. Shall the corporation be conducted upon autocratic lines, or shall its government be democratic? Shall an

autocracy of wealth rule industry and through industry rule politics? Shall it make the idea of popular government a fraud and a pretense, or shall our democracy extend both to industry and politics? Are we to insure continued political and industrial liberty or submit to political and industrial autocracy? Are we to lose the freedom we have or gain more freedom? These are the important questions to be decided and it is very evident that the democratic individualist and the democratic socialist are necessarily of one mind as to what is desirable.

Fortunately upon this point nobody can take neutral ground. The public-service or industrial corporation is not in fact merely its officers and stockholders but also its employés. Less directly but none the less certainly are the persons who furnish the business part of this corporation. All these must submit to autocratic socialism so far as they are touched by the industry or corporation involved, or have democratic responsible socialism in this service or industry. Individualism in this matter is not within their reach. All must support public-ownership of monopolistic activities or corporate private-ownership which is autocratic socialism.

I repeat, democratic socialists and democratic individualists do not disagree as to the desirableness of having these monopolistic industrial activities controlled by all for the benefit of all. Their quarrel is as to how it shall be done. Here again it is not a quarrel on principle.

Narrowly viewed, the theories of the democratic individualist are most damaged by the adoption of public-ownership of public utilities and monopolistic industrial activities, yet he is inclined to favor the plan. The democratic socialist whose theories would be accepted *pro tanto* by adoption of public-ownership, seems most inclined to object. It would not be doing things his way. Socialism to be the real thing must come through a revolution inspired by class-conscious-

ness of the proletariat. The socialistic rose would not be so sweet by any other name. Indeed, it seems that the manner of plucking it alone gives perfume to this socialistic rose.

To us of the great masses who have labeled ourselves neither individualist nor socialist and who are not so particular about supporting theories as we are about getting results, all this seems absurd, almost grotesque. Is the mere method—the way—of bringing the change about more important than the change itself? Is class-conscious uprising an indispensable part of socialism? Will not the socialist accept the same results arrived at in some other way? Would not socialism be as much socialism under the name of public-ownership? Would it not be as much the real thing brought about by proper use of the ballot as by class-conscious uprising of the proletariat? If it would, the socialist and the individualist have no quarrel here, certainly none on principle.

There is but one way of bringing about democratic socialism. We must convince the majority of our citizens that it is a desirable thing and get them to vote it in. An autocracy might establish socialism by some other method, a democracy cannot. In democracy the getting of the majority and the favorable expression of that majority are absolute essentials, revolution or no revolution. If that majority and that expression can be had in favor of that portion of socialism known as public-ownership, without class-conscious uprising and revolution, then revolution is unnecessary. If not the majority and the expression must still come after revolution. They at least are indispensable.

There is now ready to our hands a work which would mean a long step in making socialistic industrial organizations servants of the whole people, responsible to the whole people. Democratic socialists can secure the votes of democratic individualists in doing that work. Public-ownership of public util-

ities, now corporation exploited, is a thing upon which both can unite without yielding an inch of principle. Why do they not unite? In that way they might sooner than by any other method turn the individualistic democratic and the socialistic democratic minorities, each by itself hopeless, into that essential majority having power to act. The alternative is long-continued waiting while industrial autocrats exploit both. Why wait?

The whole history of mankind has shown that social amelioration is a gradual process. Human intelligence, whether it be individual or mass intelligence, moves only from the well-known to the less well-known. Like infants learning to walk, they push the go-cart experience from point to point, holding to it in the mean time as their indispensable support. True, there have been revolutions, as in France. But when the pendulum of social organization came to rest after extreme oscillations the dial marked no further progress than in countries where social amelioration moved gradually along. In fact anything apart from gradual social change is almost unthinkable. The social organism must learn proficiency in its new ventures before undertaking others. Just as the child is incapable of covering the whole range of human knowledge from alphabet to calculus without taking the intermediate steps in education, so the social organism cannot progress from cave-dwelling to the millennium skipping intermediate points. The very nature of the human animal prevents that sort of progress, and so far as we can now see, nothing can change that nature radically.

Surely there is pure gain for the democratic socialist in taking the proffered help of the democratic individualist and with it wresting from autocratic capitalists the vast industrial activities now exploited through irresponsible although socialistic corporations. He would in this manner establish a school of socialism which would necessarily educate

more followers for him in a year than his present preaching of class-conscious uprising would in a life-time.

As for the individualist, he, too, can only gain. When his individualistic ancestors struck for political freedom they did not strike for anarchy or pure individualism in government. They knew that in any state of society short of ideal, government was necessary. The question before them and the only question was who should control that government. Should it be an autocratic government irresponsible to the governed, or should it be a democratic government controlled by those who supported it? By political liberty, in other words, our ancestors did not mean that every man should have a government of his own—did not mean anarchy, but only the equal right of all to participate in and control the government. And the only thing the democratic individualist can mean by freedom in industry, is the equal right of every worker to participate in and control industry. According to our present lights this can be brought about in the fields corporation-ruled, only by establishing the democratic order in industry, which in the language of the day means public-ownership.

To put the situation more tersely, the great vital issue confronting the masses to-day is industrial liberty. This liberty is absolutely necessary not only to protect the masses from the exploitation of an autocracy of wealth which takes from them the fruits of their toil, but also to preserve for them that political liberty painfully won through centuries of bloody conflict. The immediate form of that issue is public-ownership, including municipal-ownership, and in this form it must first be met.

Is it not utter folly for democratic individualists and democratic socialists, both believing implicitly in the necessity of industrial liberty, to divide upon academic questions of remote application, dissipate their strength and let the great immediate, vital issue go by default? Should they persist in doing so they will

miss a golden opportunity for doing something worth while for the cause of human progress.

When democratic socialists and democratic individualists have established public ownership of corporation-exploited industry, when they have made this field of industry democratic and responsible, then if they find they can agree no longer, let them separate. Let there be a new alignment of forces. But they should not as now continue to travel the same road in the same direction bickering about non-essentials while important work is left undone. Reform forces are now inclined to act like firemen who would quarrel over next year's water famine and refuse for that reason to tap the hydrant lest they deplete the supply while the house burned about their ears.

After all, it is not so certain that when we arrive at something like a sane social order democratic socialists and democratic individualists will find themselves so far apart. In my judgment their paths of theory even are convergent not divergent. To a great extent they look at different sides of the shield. The veriest anarchist will not deny the right of human beings to associate themselves voluntarily for mutual help. Once admit this and there is little to quarrel about between democratic socialists and democratic individualists tending toward the same goal of ideal social organization.

In any real political democracy the association is practically voluntary. Men support the order because they deem it best for themselves as well as for others. They associate to help one another. In any real democracy, the government is not a thing apart. It is but one aspect of the whole people, the people performing the governmental function which in sane social organization means the function of general service. Neither the democratic socialist nor the democratic individualist denies the right of the people to do this nor their wisdom in doing it. Where then is the objection to applying democracy to industry? If the peo-

ple find it wise, why not a voluntary industrial association of the whole people for the purpose of serving one another in industry? Why should not the whole people perform the social function which is the industrial function, if the whole people deem it wise? If it be proper and right and wise that the people organize a voluntary association for industrial purposes, where is the treason to individual liberty in using the democratic voluntary organization called government in the performing of industrial service functions? Where is the ground for difference of opinion here between the socialist and the individualist who are both democrats? No question of principle is involved. Only a question of expediency. What is best to do? If democracy finds it best to coöperate in industry using its governmental organization as an instrument, who shall say it nay? Who would say it nay any more than in the field of politics?

Should democracy find that it can best perform an industrial function through social organization, let it perform such function in that way. When it becomes sufficiently intelligent, it will do this. If it is finally found that some industrial functions can best be left to individual effort, intelligent democracy will leave them to individual effort.

Should we produce a social order in which every worker was able to use his natural capacities and acquirements in the most effective way and receive in return an equivalent of what this activity produced with the right to spend it as he pleased, it is difficult to see how the fact that he had used his talents in association with others could injure him in any way or hamper his individuality. Social assistance in any event is absolutely necessary to production among civilized men. Individuality has full scope only in consumption, in the regulation of one's pleasures and impulses, in the regulation of his household, in ordering the life he leads. No coöperative social order would or could interfere with such things as these. There is no reason founded upon individualism, why an intelligent democracy should not do anything it finds wise to do and in any manner it chooses.

In fact the more closely one analyzes the general principles which divide the democratic individualists and the democratic socialists, the more visionary they appear, but these intangible, unsubstantial things serve to dissipate the strength of forces making for righteous progress and to prolong the rule of oppression and greed in politics and industry.

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Minneapolis, Minn.

BRITISH EGYPT.

BY ERNEST CROSBY,

Late Judge of the Mixed Tribunal at Alexandria.

PART III.

WE HAVE now followed the course of history until both risings against the consequences of Ismail's extravagance have been put down, in the Soudan as well as in Egypt, and the Khedive now rules over both countries in name, and the Diplomatic Agent of

Great Britain in fact. That Agent, formerly Sir Evelyn Baring and now Lord Cromer, is a born administrator, and his greatest talent, as might be inferred from his family-name, is finance. For over twenty years he has had a definite task to perform, and that is to bring Egypt to a point of solvency and keep her there, and he has performed this

task with the greatest ability and success. Beyond that, he would like to see the country prosperous and happy, but all such aims are subordinate to the main one of paying the interest on the debt and covering running expenses. I was told by a British resident of the Delta, very high in the official circle that the position of England in Egypt was that of a "bailiff in possession," and the situation could not be hit off more succinctly or correctly. We have fully considered the character of the Egyptian national debt. If any legal obligation was ever thoroughly rotten in its inception, it was this one. Is the rôle of a deputy-sheriff executing a putrescent pawnbroking debt against a ruined debtor a noble one for a nation to fill? Is there indeed any obligation whatever upon nations to collect foreign debts? The enormous rates of interest which prevailed in Egypt, the immense "rake-offs" which were deducted from the loans beforehand, were all based upon the dubious security which the country could offer. Is it right, is it just, then, for a foreign-power to step in and make that security sound, and then enforce the payment of the full principal and extortionate interest together? As we have seen, on any just computation of the debt, it has been paid off, capital and interest, already, and yet the fellahs are laboring hard to-day to pay taxes with the full burden of that undiminished debt still upon their shoulders, and it is England that is holding it there. If there was to be any foreign interference at all, it should have been in the nature of an equitable examination into the debt and its character. The risk having proved no risk at all,—as soon as England's navy and army intervened,—all the extortionate charges based on the possibility of total loss should have been discounted, and the debt which remained would have been a comparatively small matter which would now have completely disappeared. There was something great in the old idea of foreign conquest, based simply upon strength

and man's instincts as a fighting animal. It was barbarous but it was not mean. I maintain, however, that such a conquest as that of Egypt, founded upon usurious notes and worm-eaten bonds is a disgrace to those who engaged in it. Nations who indulge in such business deserve, I will not say the title of shopkeepers, but rather that of pawn-brokers. We give our boys Plutarch's *Lives* to read and they learn there how Lycurgus and other rulers, when their countrymen fell hopelessly into debt, collected the evidences of indebtedness and publicly burned them, and these acts are held up as praiseworthy and patriotic. Our own bankruptcy laws proceed upon the same assumption. If there ever was a proper case for the application of these principles it was that of Ismail's swollen liabilities, towards which the Powers stood virtually in the relation of *participes criminis*. The exaction of the pound of flesh, ounce for ounce, was a discreditable performance and only on the vulgar plane of ethics of the professional money-lender can it be justified.

But, failing European interference, would the fellahs have been better off? I would not for a moment minimize the good work that has been done in Egypt by British officials, although it has always been liberally paid for. In so far as the chief aim of solvency has permitted, many reforms have been attempted and some have succeeded. The slave-trade in the Soudan has been checked but not abolished as yet. Efforts have been made to reform the prison-system, and the courts have been remodeled and the highest judicial positions given to worthy Englishmen. It is a fact, however, that crime is steadily increasing. Land registration fees have been reduced. Fishing-tolls and lock-tolls have been abolished. An Agricultural Bank has been established to enable the fellah to escape the Greek money-lender. The best work has perhaps been done in the irrigation department in the effort to increase the tax-producing area of the Delta. This

area has increased greatly under British rule and the huge dam at Assouan is said to be doing wonders, although its value has been seriously questioned.* It must be remembered, however, that under Ismail and in the midst of all his extravagance, Egypt was already becoming more and more productive. The quarantine board and health authorities have also done good work. It is undoubtedly true that under an Arabi there would have been no such advances as these, but men do not live by reforms alone. Foreign domination is offensive to all men, and we make a great mistake if we attribute different feelings from our own to the people whom we term "natives." I used often to go sailing at Alexandria and my boatman at the Marina was a stalwart fellah who answered to the name of Mohammed. He was utterly illiterate and could not speak a word of any language but Arabic, and I took advantage of this fact to practice the vernacular with him. One day as we were tacking under the stern of a British man-of-war I asked him if he did not like the British occupation, a subject upon which we had never exchanged ideas. "You are an American, are n't you?" he asked. "Yes." "Would you like to have the Arabs govern America?" This was the only reply he deigned to give—and it was conclusive.

Furthermore, European reforms and improvements do not fit well into countries of different blood and customs. Those things which we regard as an unmitigated good may do harm elsewhere. Thus justice may become injurious. The Mixed Tribunals were founded by treaty with the various Powers in 1873 to supplant the evils of the consular courts and to give the fellah justice, but justice, in our sense of the word, was the last thing that he needed. Every Greek money-lender brought his forged and usurious paper into the new courts

and the poor fellah was dispossessed at short notice. Up to that time he had been able by a small bribe to postpone the evil day, and bribery actually was a blessing to the country. Our factory system is a curse wherever it shows itself. At Mansourah native girls of twelve and fourteen work in the cotton-mills from four in the morning to six at night, standing over their tubs in an atmosphere thick with cotton-dust. I questioned an English manager about it. "That is n't all," said he. "When we are particularly busy they stay on till ten o'clock at night, and mothers often bring their babies at the breast and put them down on the floor while they work. I did n't like the idea of it at first, but they do n't seem to mind it." For this work they receive from ten to fifteen cents a day. The danger of such competition as this to our workingmen is clear enough. Capital goes to these countries of "pauper-labor" because a stable government is assured by foreign Powers. If the natives were left to themselves, no one would risk his capital among them until they were far enough advanced in civilization to have a stable government of their own and at the same time to demand adequate wages. There is thus an automatic safeguard against "pauper" competition afforded by nature. This we upset when we interfere and set up a stable government before the people are ripe for it. It is therefore greatly to the interest of the working-classes that foreign annexation of impoverished populations should cease. While I was in Egypt a petition was presented to the British Diplomatic Agent asking that the hours of labor in these mills should be humanely regulated, but he answered that such action was not expedient at that time.

In many ways European ideas do harm. Lord Cromer admits that "the methods of modern civilized government are somewhat lacking in elasticity," and that they often perplex the unhappy native, forced to do things in a "civilized" way before

* See *The Nile Reservoir Dam at Assouan*, by Sir William Willcocks, late Director-General of Reservoirs in Egypt, London, 1903.

his time. "The sudden application of a civilized system of administration to a country governed as Egypt was governed until some twenty-five years ago has naturally produced some strange results and some curious developments of national character. . . . In fact the Egyptian, bewildered by the novelty of the proceedings is in every direction disposed to run to extremes in one sense or the other." And he gives examples of absurd behavior on the part of native officials attempting to act as Europeans would have them act. The obvious comment upon this is that it may be a mistake to give a people a higher kind of government than they are fitted for, and that the kind for which they are fitted will naturally take shape if they are left to themselves. Then there are other inevitable evil results of our civilization which we are imposing upon the Egyptians. It is a great improvement in our eyes to have steamers on the Nile and railways along its banks, but now Lord Cromer reports that the forests of the Soudan are disappearing to supply fuel for them. There is a prospect, too, that the elephants will disappear before the advance of civilization. A great increase in drunkenness has also been noted by Lord Cromer, due to European influence. Sobriety is one of the great virtues of the Mohammedan races and it would be a pity if Christendom should drag them after it into the evils of intemperance. Our system of punishment does not seem to fit the natives in the Soudan, and the Director of Prisons reports that "the majority of persons at present undergoing sentences in the Soudan are not really criminals in the true, or rather the accepted European, interpretation of the term. Very many of them have committed their offences from pure ignorance, and often without knowing that they were breaking the law." Usurers too are making their way into the Soudan and it is feared that the people will fall an easy prey to them. There are also indications that Egypt is bound to have

our labor troubles as a result of the premature introduction by force of Western institutions. In his *Blue Book* of 1904, Lord Cromer foresees "evils capable of arising from a congested population and highly competitive rents." "The evils which generally result from the land being held by absentee proprietors are beginning to show themselves. . . . As the pressure of the population on the soil increases, the question of legislating in order to regulate the relations between landlord and tenants will not improbably be brought to the front." In 1905 he adds: "As the country progresses, however, it seems difficult to believe that the labor question will not arise in a more or less acute form." These forebodings are altogether the result of forcing upon a people in another phase of civilization, our standards and methods. What a different picture the *London Times* draws of the condition of Egypt before the time of Ismail. "Before Egyptian rulers had learned the art of borrowing English and French money, the fellahs were lightly taxed and the soil of Egypt belonged to the Egyptians." (Quoted in *Egypt Under Ismail Pasha*, by Blanchard Jerrold, London, 1879, Samuel Tinsley & Company, page 266.) We are also contaminating the Egyptians with the virus of the stock-market. Speculation in "futures" is rampant, says Lord Cromer. "In no country is the evil more apparent than in Egypt, where all classes of the population appear to become, year by year, more infected with the spirit of gambling." (And incidentally we may remark that a roulette-table of British manufacture, capable of being manipulated in any way he thought fit by the croupier was seized at Cairo a few years ago.)

But admitting that English and European influence has been all for good for the sake of the argument, there is one thing which Arabi would have given Egypt, and that is a clean slate. He would have repudiated the national debt, and in so doing he would have caused

far less injustice than its enforcement has produced. That any fellah in the Delta would prefer England, plus the debt and its attendant taxation, to Arabi minus these burdens is hardly conceivable. Lord Milner recognizes the alternation of repudiation. "Other states," he writes, "which have plunged in the same direction . . . could at least fall back, in the last resort, on the desperate remedy of repudiation. But Egypt had no such *ultima ratio* open to her." That is to say, this road was closed to her by Great Britain and France. He balances the two courses and decides in favor of the present *régime*. "The condition of Egypt to-day, even with the burden of more than a million pounds sterling tied tightly on her back, is better than it would have been, had she been able to repudiate every penny of these millions, but had remained, at the same time, subject to the reign of official tyranny and extortion which preceded the establishment of European control" (page 219). But this reign of tyranny and extortion was dependent upon foreign money-lending, which would have ceased at once if Egypt had refused to pay her debts. It is strange that Lord Milner fails to note this obvious deduction. "The greater portion of the present Egyptian debt is a dead weight on the country, because the money borrowed was, for the most part, wasted," says Lord Cromer in his report for 1903; but all danger of a continuation of this waste would have ceased when the foreign speculators had once learned that Ismail's credit was exhausted. "Egypt after all is only a big estate with the Government for landlord," Lord Milner declares, and upon this strictly business view of the situation the present bailiffs in possession are working it for all it is worth.

It must be remembered that the benefits of British civilization might have been offered to Egypt without the virtual annexation of the country. "Throughout this book," says Lord Milner, "I have been careful to speak of British in-

fluence, not of British occupation. The two things are intimately connected, but they are not synonymous" (page 440). Of course they are not. In the matter of education alone, up to ten years ago the American missionaries in Egypt, without any official position whatever, had done far more than the whole British colony, and wherever at that time English was spoken up the Nile, it was due to their labors. The civilizing work of these missionaries now extends to Fashoda in the far south of the Soudan. Lord Cromer looks to the American College at Beirut to supply the lack of physicians. These are examples of influence in the best sense of the term without aggression. A native Egyptian government would know enough to retain many of the advantages of foreign rule without the disadvantages. This at least would be the intention of the governing class, to judge from an anecdote of Lord Milner's. "I remember once discussing the question of our position in Egypt," he says, "with a native statesman, honest but narrow-minded, who avowed himself bitterly opposed to our presence and to our policy. I could not help asking him how he thought the country would get on without the British engineers. He promptly answered: 'You do not suppose that, if Great Britain were to retire from Egypt, we should let the engineers go? I myself should be the first to do everything I could to retain them'" (page 312).

But Great Britain will not retire from Egypt, though for many years she pretended to have this intention. Statesman after statesman said so, but everybody knew they did not mean what they said. "We have no desire to possess ourselves of Egypt," says Lord Milner (page 436), and he was only echoing the many "declarations of our intention to withdraw" (page 443). Lord Granville began this record of what is euphemistically called "diplomacy" in his despatch to the Powers of January 3, 1883. "Although for the present," he writes, "a British force remains in Egypt for the

preservation of public tranquility, her Majesty's Government are desirous of withdrawing it as soon as the state of the country and the organization of proper means for the maintenance of the Khedive's authority will admit of it. In the mean time, the position in which her Majesty's Government are placed towards his Highness, imposes upon them the duty of giving advice with the object of securing that the order of things to be established shall be of a satisfactory character, and possess the elements of stability and progress." And in a letter to Sir Evelyn Baring on the following day Lord Granville shows what he meant by "giving advice" (a "charming euphemism," according to Lord Milner). He says that he "hardly needs to point out" that in all important matters it is "indispensable" that the "advice" given "should be followed," and that recalcitrant native ministers should be removed. In other words, when he used the term "advice" he did not mean it, and the phrase "desirous of withdrawing" was employed in the same Pickwickian sense, and frequently repeated with like intent by succeeding statesmen. Why is it that a nation cannot behave like a gentleman? Lord Cromer's explanation of the change of front made by Great Britain in her recent admission of her intention to hold Egypt permanently is rather difficult to follow. He admits that "a policy of immediate evacuation was possible," if all efforts at reform were abandoned (*Blue Book* of 1905, page 8). But should a man, or a nation, break its word, whenever it sees a chance of "reform" involved in the breach? Perhaps an attempt to reform itself on the score of veracity would have a happier effect on the world at large than any self-imposed task of reforming another people. "The British Government, being at the time imperfectly acquainted with the nature of the task which they had undertaken, had given an engagement that their occupation of Egypt should be of short duration," he continues. But since when has an im-

perfect knowledge of the nature of a task justified a breach of contract, except in the case of non-competents? This is what we call in America pleading the baby-act. England had every possible opportunity for understanding the situation, and nothing has happened which was unexpected. No. She gave her word and she broke it. There was no excuse for it, and it has always been believed by the most intelligent people in Egypt that she never meant to keep it. But to proceed. What is the arrangement under which England has seen fit to announce her intention to remain in possession, and upon which Lord Cromer congratulates all concerned. It is the agreement made between Great Britain and France on April 8, 1904, by which the permanent occupation of Egypt was admitted. At the same time France received a *quid pro quo* elsewhere, and later a consent of the same kind was given by the other great European Powers. How far France was indemnified for her consent, it is impossible to state, but she was in the position of knowing that the party with whom she was dealing would remain in Egypt whether she consented or not. Presumably she signed the agreement to "save her face," and accepted a hopeless situation with as good a grace as she could. But however this may be as to France, how is it with regard to Egypt? Lord Cromer admits that France was not the only party concerned. The original engagement to withdraw "was not made expressly with France." But whomsoever it was made with, it was of supreme interest to one country and to one country alone, and that country, Egypt, was never consulted. The engagement was modified by "mutual consent," says Lord Cromer. "Mutual consent" is another "charming euphemism."

Such, then, were the reasons for the entry of Great Britain into Egypt and such her excuses for remaining there. Has it been a chapter of history which justifies boasting of an imperial "race,"

as Lord Cromer does in his last report? This boast, by the way, invites attention to the fact that in this story of successful finance the chief names, Baring, D'Israeli, Goschen, Wolff, are not English, and that Lord Milner is said to have been born a German subject. But English or non-English, does the story invite emulation and is it a model for other ambitious nations to adopt? There are many careers which a nation, like an individual, may follow, but that of collecting fraudulent and usurious debts cannot take a high rank among them. We despise such dirty work in a man, why not, then, in a nation? Signs are not wanting that some of our American statesmen are anxious to embark upon similar missions. Let them understand the character of such work clearly before they commit our government to it. The people who are most active in endeavoring to "develop" backward countries by obtaining concessions and franchises are almost always adventurers. "Avoid . . . the solicitors of concessions and the shady financiers thirsting for gold," says Lord Cromer in an interview in *Gil Blas*, forgetting that his own chief work has been the enforcing of claims which have just such an origin. These "shady financiers," whether it be in

Africa or South America secure their foothold by bribery and usury and make their terms with the authorities upon the express recognition of a great risk of loss. Then, when this risk which they took with their eyes open promises to turn against them, they are clamorous for their government or some other government to step in in the mixed character of deputy-sheriff and pawnbroker, foreclose their dubious securities, and in the name of patriotism, tax the unfortunate laboring-classes of these countries to the very limit of their endurance. It is degrading work, and a strong protest should go forth before the American people assume such functions. Let it once be clearly understood that the recovery of foreign debts is no part of the duty of our government, or of any government, and all of this speculative exploiting of feeble peoples will cease, and capital will come to them when they are ready for it. Legitimate commerce can embrace the whole world without necessitating the subjugation of any race, but the following up of speculators with battleships and armies is a new and debasing exercise of the power of government. Let us avoid the rôle of "bailiff in possession."

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SHALL PROHIBITION BE GIVEN A FAIR TRIAL?

BY FINLEY C. HENDRICKSON.

THE LICENSE system, as applied to the liquor traffic, has had a long, fair trial. It has been tried with the modifications of high license, low license, medium license, heavy restrictions and light restrictions. It has been administered through excise boards and through courts. It has been supported by two powerful political parties for a long time in full control of every function of State

and Federal Government, a support rarely accorded to any system or policy. The license system, in a word, has had the fairest trial that need be accorded to any system to determine its value or its effect upon government. Whatever benefits, therefore, are to be claimed for the licensed saloon ought now to be apparent. But there are no benefits to individual, collective or national life in that

system, to offset the widespread social disorder, criminality, pauperism, increased taxes and decreased security to life and property, directly traceable to the licensed liquor traffic. Even the political supporters of the license system impliedly admit its failure by frequent changes in the license laws of states where the system is still maintained.

Shall prohibition be given a fair trial? If so, several things must come to pass. In addition to the majority demanding prohibition, the experiment must be supported at the hands of political friends. As high-tariff advocates would not be content to place the execution of their tariff laws in the hands of free-trade advocates, regardless of the strength of tariff sentiment, or the overwhelming vote in its favor, so it is not unreasonable to ask that prohibition be placed in the hands of its political friends in order to be able to properly judge of its final merits as a system and its effect upon the collective and individual life of our people.

Not only this, but the functions of government, both State and Federal, must be brought to support the experiment. No correct comparison of the relative merits of prohibition, compared with the license system, can be made, until all the governmental powers which supported the former system support the latter.

It therefore becomes important to inquire to what extent prohibition has had a fair trial. In scarcely any particular has it been accorded even a fighting chance. It is difficult for advancing civilization to break through the incrustations of traditions and customs of ages past, and it becomes a double task when the enemies of reform are allowed the control of the functions of government, established upon the triumphs of earlier movements, to oppose further progress. As monarchical influences hampered and impeded a fair trial of a republican form of government in Europe, and every beneficiary of a throne was quick to aid in the sup-

pression of the rising spirit of freedom, so the avowed license policy generally prevailing, and maintained heretofore with but few exceptions, by those politically in control of all branches of our government, has impeded and prevented a fair trial of prohibition in any State, much less portions of States. At no time and in no place have all the powers of government, State and Federal, been turned to the support of prohibitory laws. Until this is done and a reasonable time has elapsed to permit of results growing out of the changed conditions, final judgment as to the best method of reducing to a minimum point, the widespread evils of intemperance now generally prevailing, is not to be considered. Two features need to be particularly noted in this connection, the first dealing with interstate commerce powers, and the second with the taxing powers of the Federal Government as related to internal revenue.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE.

The States have the right, under their reserved police powers, each State acting only for its own territory, to prohibit the liquor traffic, so far as State powers extend. But the power to regulate interstate commerce was vested in Congress exclusively by the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Therefore, until Congress passes a law permitting the States to legislate to affect intoxicating liquors as soon as they reach prohibited territory, such liquors may be shipped from any license State into any portion of the prohibited territory of another State, and the receiving State is powerless to legislate to affect such shipments until after they reach the "original consignee," as was decided in the Original Package decision. The present condition of the law relating to intoxicating liquors, as affected by interstate commerce, therefore is that:

If every State of the Union but one should pass prohibitory laws, and that one should remain a license State, in-

toxicating liquors could be shipped legally from that one license State into all prohibition territory, as is now almost universally done to the extent that prohibition area prevails.

The passage by Congress of the Hepburn-Dolliver measure, or some similar measure, relating to the shipment of intoxicating liquors from one State to another, is necessary, for one thing, to permit of a fair trial of prohibition in the States.

The refusal of Congress thus far to pass such a measure has had a two-fold effect.

1. It permits the "nullifiers" of State law, both inside and outside of prohibited territory to connive to use the interstate commerce powers to prevent a fair trial of prohibition, whereby the will of the people is defeated.

2. It discourages each State, having part local-option area and part license area, from enacting anti-jug laws to prevent the shipment of intoxicating liquors from license counties of a State into local-option counties of the same State. Members of State legislatures argue that they are not called on to cripple the brewing and distilling interests in the license portions of their own States to favor similar interests in adjoining States.

The result of all this is that while existing prohibition area cannot, through governmental functions, interfere with license area, license area is allowed, through interstate commerce, to annul prohibitory laws. The friends of law and order in prohibition area are not only required to contend with the lawless within the prohibited area, but with "outside nullifiers" as well.

Take for illustration of this matter the situation in Maryland. More than half of the counties of the State are under local-option. That is to say, more than half of the voters in those local-option counties have constitutionally declared after a long trial of the license system, that they want prohibition and do not want liquor sold in such counties. But

Baltimore city brewers and distillers supply a large jug-trade in the local-option counties, shipping by railroads and steamboats. While the condition is much improved in such local-option counties by the abolishment of the open saloon, the people realize they have not given a fair trial to prohibition and cannot do so as long as the jug-trade from Baltimore is maintained. The desire of the voters in these counties to get rid of this jug-trade is stronger than the original sentiment which resulted in voting out the open saloon through the referendum. Maryland has the legal right to pass a law prohibiting shipments of intoxicating liquors from Baltimore city into the local-option area of the State, as such shipments, arising within the State and ending within the State, do not fall within the interstate commerce powers vested in Congress. But the lawmakers of the Maryland legislature argue they are not called on to hamper the brewing and distilling interests of license portions of their own State to favor the liquor interests in adjoining States. When Congress gives Maryland and other States the right to protect their prohibition territory from shipments originating in other States, they will be encouraged to protect their local-option counties from shipments arising in license portions of the same State.

TAX-RECEIPT QUESTION.

Congress was given the power, under Section 8 of Article 1 of the Constitution, along with other powers, to raise internal revenue "To pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States." It is clear by the very terms under which that power was vested in Congress that to merely raise money to "pay the debts" of the Government was not the only object to be considered. In the exercise of the taxing power Congress was to hold in view also "the common defence and general welfare of the United States."

Under this constitutional provision

Congress has passed, at various times, three internal-revenue measures taxing the liquor interests. The first exercise of the power, as applied to retail liquor-dealers, was the Act of June 5, 1794, in which, in addition to certain taxes on production, it was provided that retailers of wines and foreign spirits be "licensed." Eight years thereafter the law was repealed.

On August 2, 1813, another internal-revenue measure was passed affecting retailers of wines, spirituous liquors and foreign merchandise. That law was repealed a few years later. No further exercise was made of the taxing power vested in Congress, as affecting the liquor interests, until the period of the Civil war, when the present internal-revenue act (since amended several times), was passed on July 1, 1862. It required all retail dealers in liquors, including distilled spirits, fermented liquors, and wines of every description, to pay a "tax" of \$20 yearly (by amendment later raised to \$25) and receive therefor a "license" (by amendment in 1866 named Tax Receipt) to show that such "taxes" had been paid.

The Act of 1794, recognizing the police powers reserved in the States, contained the following provision: "Provided always, that no license shall be granted to any person to sell wines or foreign distilled spirituous liquors, who is prohibited to sell the same by the laws of any State."

The Act of 1813 contained the following provision: "Provided always, that no license shall be granted to any person to sell wines, distilled spirituous liquors, or merchandise as aforesaid who is prohibited to sell the same by any State."

Twice, therefore, before the passage of the Act of 1862, did Congress clearly recognize that, in addition to the right to raise revenue to "pay the debts" of the Government, its taxing power should be exercised in a manner to promote "the common defence and general welfare of the United States." Congress refused to give countenance to outlawry

in the States or encourage it in any way. The provisions contained in those measures clearly show that the Senators and Representatives who had been given place and power by the States, felt they should do nothing to interfere with the powers which the States had clearly reserved. Therefore they provided that if the applicant for a Federal "license" could not show he had complied with the liquor laws of his own State, he could receive no encouragement in his lawlessness by the Federal Government.

The Act of 1862 also recognized the police powers of the States in the following words: "No such license shall be construed to authorize the commencement or continuance of any trade, business, occupation or employment therein mentioned, within any state or territory of the United States in which it is or shall be specially prohibited by the laws thereof, or in violation of the laws of any State.

While the provisions of this Act differ from the prohibiting clauses contained in the two previous internal-revenue Acts of 1794 and 1813, it would do great injustice to the memory and motives of those who passed the latter Act, as well as to the memory of President Lincoln who approved it, to say they meant to reverse the constitutional precedents contained in previous acts, in which the action of the Federal Government, under its taxing powers, was made to conform to the action of the States. They certainly never contemplated that the Act of 1862 would be retained in times of peace and long after the necessities which produced it had disappeared, and interpreted in a manner to give "aid and comfort" to the enemies of State law.

But the Treasury Department, contrary to all precedent and all analogy, has interpreted the War-Revenue Measure of 1862 to mean that it *must* treat the violators of State liquor laws, whether in license or prohibition territory, with the same consideration and protection as those who are conducting a legal business.

The Department, in addition to the sale of tax receipts to those legally engaged in the business, issues the receipt to "joints," "blind tigers," "bootleggers," "hole-in-the-wall" men and "speak-easies." The Treasury Department also protects, so far as Federal power extends, those who, having purchased the receipt, are trampling State law under foot, by prohibiting collectors and deputy-collectors from testifying in the State courts, as to who are the holders of tax receipts, an item of evidence which goes far, when capable of proof, towards conviction of the indicted party. On August 13, 1903, the Department sent out the following rule:

"Collectors and deputy-collectors are not only prohibited from giving out copies from their records, but also from testifying orally, in cases not arising under the laws of the United States, as to facts that have come to their knowledge as to the result of information contained in the records."

This action of the Treasury Department has done much to encourage and protect lawlessness in the States in both license and prohibition districts.

Some idea of the number of persons violating various State liquor laws, but holding tax receipts, may be gathered from the following figures: Alabama issued 763 State licenses in 1905, but the Treasury Department sold, during the same time, 1,592 tax receipts in the same State, making a difference of 829. That is to say, there were more retail liquor-sellers conducting an illegal business in that State, under the tax receipt, than pretended to obey the State law by taking out State licenses. In the following States, only the number of law violators who were conducting the liquor business through the possession of the tax receipt, but violators of State law, is given: Colorado, 620; Delaware, 133; Georgia, 966; Kentucky, 2,070; Louisiana, 2,806; Michigan, 3,306. In Maine, where there are no State licenses issued,

there were 640 violators of the fundamental law of the State, boasting the purchase of the tax receipt under which they conducted an illegal business. Taking the above figures as a basis of approximation, they would indicate that at least 70,000 violators of State liquor laws, known as "speak-easies," "joints," "blind tigers," "hole-in-the-wall," "bootleggers," etc., were trampling State liquor laws under foot encouraged and protected, as far as Federal power could protect, by the possession of the tax receipt.

As a governmental question only, and aside from the ethics of the matter, it is not so bad that the Treasury Department should "tax" any legal business in the States, but that it should demand of, or receive money as immunity for outlawry, and in return therefor, attempt to protect the violators of State prohibitory laws from the penalties to which they subject themselves cannot be too strongly condemned. The States do not interfere with the exercise of Federal laws. The States do not encourage and protect "moonshiners," smugglers, or counterfeiters. The coast States might be able to make considerable money on smuggled goods, by encouraging smugglers and levying a State "tax" on them. How would Congress regard such action? But would it be any worse for the States to give "aid and comfort" to the enemies of Federal law, than for Congress to persistently strengthen the nullifiers of State law? It is very unfortunate that Senators and Congressmen, who have been given piace and power by the people of the States, should leave them unsupported in their efforts to curtail the evils of the liquor traffic, but on the contrary support the Treasury Department in stoning the police powers reserved in the States in encouraging the lawless minority who make profit in the rôle of "nullifiers" of State law. It is often charged that the State liquor laws are constantly violated. That this is so, under existing conditions, should cause no surprise. It would be as reasonable to expect a

rebellious child to become a model of obedience in a home where one parent constantly opposes the commands of the other, as to the child's conduct, as to expect the "nullifiers" of State law to cease their lawlessness when they can cite the high authority of the Treasury Department itself to confirm their example. The present conflict of law and practice can only discredit us in the eyes of those who are ever quick to fancy some inherent weakness in our free government, through which, by comparison, they attempt to exalt monarchy where the king's will is cited as uniform throughout the realm.

The true doctrine would seem to be that where Congress is given sovereign

or exclusive powers under the Constitution, the States should, at every point, support the exercise of that power. This they do. Where the States retained sovereign powers, Congress should sustain them. Thus would each branch of the Government add dignity and strength to the other, while the orderly progress of the nation would be promoted thereby.

It is clear, therefore, that prohibition cannot have a fair trial, and no final comparisons with the license system can be made, until Congress supports the will of the majority where the people have constitutionally demanded the new experiment.

FINLEY C. HENDRICKSON.

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FOOD-PRODUCTION OF THE FUTURE.

By JOHN A. MORRIS.

PROF. BERTHELOT, of Paris, at a dinner given by the Society of Chemical and Mechanical Industries, Paris, some years ago, spoke of the scientific food of the future. According to experiment and investigation he stated, that at the present rate of progress, in the year 2000 coal, wood, peat, etc., will be displaced as fuel by new and most powerful sources of mechanical energy. He further asserted that a large portion of our food-products would be directly manufactured through the advance of synthetic chemistry, from the constituent elements, carbon, oxygen, hydrogen and nitrogen.

Our milk, eggs and flour will eventually be made in factories. Already eggs have been manufactured by artificial means.

Alizarin is a compound manufactured by chemists, by means of which a great agricultural industry was destroyed. Alizarin is the principle of the madder-root from which was extracted the juices necessary for dyeing cloth and different material. The madder-root was grown to

an enormous extent in Persia, India and the Levant. From there it spread to Spain, Holland and the Rhine provinces. It was used very largely in Continental Europe and thirty years ago its annual importation into England was to the amount of \$6,250,000. So, by the new and synthetic process of manufacture alizarin has displaced and supplanted the natural product so that the madder-fields in Europe have ceased to exist.

Again, pure indigo as a product, has been manufactured direct from its elements, and the natural product will soon give up the ghost.

Theine and caffeine are obtained from different sources, yet as tea and coffee they are chemically identical in construction. Theobromine is the essential principle of cocoa; and cocoa has already been reproduced in the laboratory. The pure nicotine of the tobacco has been obtained by Prof. Berthelot through the treatment of salomine, a natural glucoside, with hydrogen. Tobacco is but so much vegetable

fiber in which nicotine is largely stored. So, if all signs fail not, the tea-plants, the coffee-shrubs, the tobacco-plants and the cocoa-trees will soon follow the madder-root into the limbo of the unreturning dead.

Vanilla, with which ice-cream is largely flavored, is the product of the vanilla or tonka bean. Many of our chocolate and confectionery manufactories are now using a system by means of which vanilla can be produced from artificial vanillin by the chemical process much more cheaply and effectively than by the old system. Consequently natural vanilla is now being driven from the markets. Vanillin in chemical constitution is very nearly allied to the aromatic the distinctive principle of cloves and allspice.

Flower perfumes, colognes, rose-water, vegetable odors and scents of medicinal value will soon be chemically manufactured. Meadow-sweet has already been largely compounded and sold.

Again, in the near future, according to scientific authorities science will develop the fact that nitrogen can be utilized as a motive-power to ultimate or quicken the production of wealth.

Profits from productions have been largely realized by concentrated wealth being enabled to take hold of new and better methods of modern manufacture. According to these modern methods primary products have been obtained free of cost, at least of the cost of market preparation, by being able to utilize what had previously been wasted. This is a potent factor in the wealth of the Astors and the Vanderbilts.

A few years ago petitions to protect the fish and oyster products of our country were sent to the legislative powers in the hope that some remedial or protective law would be passed to relieve the bays and rivers of the sludge acid which was poisonous to the water animals. Now the sludge-acid products alone pay the cost of running the oil-refineries.

In the manufacture of Bessemer steel

and its use in buildings and bridges and railroad-beds more wealth has been added to the country (which, however, is possessed by the capitalist class) in twenty years than the public debt amounted to at the close of the Civil war.

A recent inventor claims that he can take two tons of coal, eight hundred and sixty-six pounds of crude oil and make a profit of thirty dollars or so by passing them through his furnace, at the other end having a fuel-gas as a by-product equal in heating intensity to five-eighths of the original material and of greater utility to many industrial enterprises.

In the accomplishment of such scheme every industry of the world in which fuel is an important factor will be revolutionized. It means the capture of nitrogen, which makes up more than three-fourths of the air, the putting of it to productive uses in the soil for the benefit of man.

In this production of food by chemical processes we see the revolutionizing of industry in many ways: It will mean the reinvestment of capital in food-factories and the distribution of labor along different lines, displacing and separating the farmer more and more from the soil and through the private ownership of such factories by an "International Food-Manufacturing Trust" only that quantity of food would be manufactured which would produce a profit. More people would be thrown upon the labor market, conditions of starvation among the masses of the people would prevail while a small quantity of food would be produced by a small number of wage-workers working under the control of the capitalist class.

Under a proper system of administration these food-factories would be regulated in production according to the people's needs and not as a question of profit. The people owning and controlling these factories would regulate both production and distribution among themselves according to desire; and profit would be eliminated.

JOHN A. MORRIS.

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BYRON: A STUDY IN HEREDITY.

BY CHARLES KASSEL.

THAT among the furred and feathered animals the traits of the parent reappear in the offspring,—each mate, as a general rule, though not as an unvarying one, passing to the descendants of like sex its own features and habits,—has been well known from early times. By a wise application of this law breeders have modified the clings of heredity, where these have been harmful, and from the baser have evolved nobler types; though whether with animals or plants the result much wished has sometimes defied experiment for several generations and suddenly burst forth with unexpected strength and richness in a remoter descendant,—as if, during the long period of suspense, heredity had been silently gathering its energy for a mighty spring.

Only, however, since Darwin was thrown forth in the huge upheavals of thought which marked the earlier decades of the century just closed has the fact gained recognition that precisely the same law whose effect the eye sees in creatures of wing and fin, and in the four-foot folk about our homes, works no less wondrously in man,—in very truth but “the paragon of animals”; though the operation of the law is sometimes hindered and sometimes aided by the influences of education and environment, and its effect may in the case of man be corrected in greater measure or lesser by self-discipline.

Even now, however, despite the riper knowledge of our time, heredity in its higher phases is to most a sealed book. How few fathers who, during their early manhood, turned night into day, rioting in vices of every name, dream that in the sons springing from their loins an inexorable law has planted a tendency to the same excesses,—a tendency which may be checked by wise training or fortunate surroundings, but which, if wholly un-

checked, will manifest itself in actions recalling to the remorseful parent the follies of his own youth. Vice is but a moral disease, and its germs the hapless offspring reaps only too often as a heritage from its ancestry.

Among the great historic characters who have in a striking degree mingled within themselves the seeds of good and evil, the unique place must be assigned to that looming figure in literature whose genius has almost wrung from after-times a pardon for his vices,—the English poet, Byron. His, indeed, was a harp of rare melody. Few minstrels have been masters of a strain so enchanting. Over all the chords of the heart he sweeps his fingers. Even indignation at his moral lapses softens before the subtle witchery of his song.

“He can boast every vice which has a name,” exclaimed Daniel Webster half in anger, and Southey in righteous wrath called him “the principle of Evil incarnate.” His life, until a few years before its close, seems to have been one round of amours with a rapid succession of mistresses. His charm of speech and manner was irresistible, in spite of a lame foot and eyes somewhat ill-matched,—blemishes, however, which were redeemed by a face singularly handsome. “As a boy,” says one of his biographers, “he was passionate, sullen, defiant of authority,”—traits which, though softened toward the end, clung to his nature throughout life,—“but singularly amenable to kindness,”—a characteristic present ever. The latter fact finds an affecting illustration in his reference to a touching prayer for his reformation penned by a devout and loving woman, and the words show how deeply he could be moved by the kindness mingled with charity for his

faults of which he had known so little. "I would not," he insists in a burst of generous exaggeration which does him much honor, "exchange the prayer of the deceased in my behalf for the united glory of Homer, Cæsar and Napoleon."

In spite of the stormy gusts to which his being was subject, and the vices which forced his wife back to her father's roof but a few weeks after the birth of their baby daughter,—and which at last provoked public sentiment to drive him as with a whip of scorpions from the land in whose history his fathers had borne so illustrious a part,—his letters disclose how tender was his love for the child he saw no more, and even for the wife who had left him; and the same affection was lavished during its life upon the little daughter born of an illegitimate union at Geneva.

During the last half decade or more of a life which spanned less than forty years we discover moods which must have been filled with a genuine grief for his past. It was perhaps during one of these that the following words were written of his half-sister, the only being whose love for him his faults had not quenched or cooled: "To my sister, who, incapable of wrong herself, suspected no wrong in others, I owe the little good of which I can boast; and had I earlier known her it might have influenced my destiny. Augusta was to me in the hour of need a tower of strength. Her affection was my last rallying-point and is now the only bright spot that the horizon of England offers to my view. She has given me much good advice,—and yet finding me incapable of following it loved and pitied me but the more because I was erring." Here the poet spoke from his inner heart, and the feeling his language breathes shows how hollow and false were the boasts of his irregularities in which he sometimes indulged,—the empty boasts of a nature too proud to confess it struggles in vain against passions which overmaster it.

Byron was never without the noblest

traits and feelings, however much clouded by the evil fame of his actions. To his servants he was always kind. Of our four-foot kin he was passionately fond and they were his companions during many a lonely hour. The personal courage he received from his progenitors he rarely failed to use in protecting the defenceless or revenging the injured. As a member of the House of Lords his voice was ever on the side of justice,—though his pride of lineage prompted him more than once to say that he "was for the people and not of them."

The poet's last years have shed a glory over his name in the light of which the stains upon his career and character seem less glaring. His efforts in behalf of Greek and Italian liberty are a fine tribute to those nobler elements of his nature which were bound up with so much that was unadmirable. In that heroic and unselfish work, which made so trying a demand upon his courage and his endurance, and which at last claimed his life, all the rarer qualities of his mind and heart were won into play, stilling for the time his meaner passions. There is something deeply pathetic in the lines which follow, written amidst those final scenes of his life,—lines among the last he ever penned and which seem like the parting sigh of a soul worn out in struggle with itself and which looks forward with longing to endless sleep and silence:

"Seek out,—less often sought than found,—
A soldier's grave, for thee the best;
Then look around and choose thy ground
And take thy rest."

Whence, we may ask, the character so strangely commingling greatness and weakness? How derived the passions gustful as a tropical storm? Why the moods now fierce as a Pict's, now tender as a child's? The roots of Byron's nature reach back into the centuries and the seeing eye may thread through his ancestry the weaknesses which made of a great man a scorn and a pointing of the finger.

The Byrons appear to have been a family of warriors and were scions of a

noble line reaching back to 1648. The family claimed descent from the sea-kings of old,—whence, perhaps, came the roving disposition so marked in many branches of the house. The grandfather of the poet was storm-tossed on every ocean, and the account of his adventures,—the product of his own pen,—gives inkling of that talent for expression which was awakening in the family and which was to flower forth so richly in his grandson. Perhaps from the same source sprang the poet's strong liking for travel and adventure,—an inclination which made him at home in every land and which has given us so many fine stanzas.

But it is in Byron's father we find most deeply stamped those traits which re-emerged in his illustrious son and which cast a blight over a life that might otherwise have equaled in moral grandeur its genius for song. Of this parent we can do no better than to quote from the life of the poet in the *English Men of Letters* series:

"The eldest son of the veteran John Byron, father of the poet, was born in 1751, educated at Westminster, and having received a commission became a captain in the guards; his character, fundamentally unprincipled, soon developed itself in such a manner as to alienate him from his family. In 1778, under circumstances of peculiar effrontery he seduced Amelia D'Arcy, daughter of the Earl of Holderness, in her own right Countess Conyers, then the wife of the Marquis of Camarthen, afterwards Duke of Leeds. 'Mad Jack,' as he was called, seems to have boasted of his conquest; but the Marquis, to whom his wife had hitherto been devoted, refused to believe the rumors that were afloat, until an intercepted letter containing a remittance of money, for which Byron in reverse of the usual relations was always clamoring, brought matters to a crisis. The pair decamped to the continent; and in 1779, after the Marquis had obtained a divorce, they were regularly married. Byron seems to have been not only profligate but heart-

less, and he made life wretched to the woman he was even more than most husbands bound to cherish. She died in 1784 having given birth to two daughters. One died in infancy; the other was Augusta, the half-sister and good genius of the poet, whose memory remains like a star on the fringe of a thunder-cloud, only brighter by the passing of the smoke of calumny. A year after the death of his first wife, John Byron, who seems to have possessed the fascination of a Barry Lyndon, succeeded in entrapping a second. This was Catherine Gordon of Gight, a lady with considerable estates in Aberdeenshire,—which attracted the adventurer,—and an overweening Highland pride in her descent from James I., the greatest of the Stuarts, through his daughter Annabella and the second Earl of Huntly. . . . The property of the Scotch heiress was squandered with impetuous rapidity by the English rake. In 1786, she left Scotland for France and returned to England towards the close of the following year. On the 22d of January, 1788, in Holles street, London, Mrs. Byron gave birth to her only child, George Gordon, the sixth Lord. Shortly after, being pressed by his creditors, the father abandoned both, and leaving them with a pittance of one hundred and fifty pounds a year, fled to Valenciennes, where he died in August, 1791."

An uncle of Byron's father,—the fifth lord, from whom, upon his death, the poet received his titles and estates,—was known during his life as the "wicked lord" and became the subject of many a revolting story.

We thus see how much that was bad in Byron's constitution came to him at birth. Of no distinguished man whose title to greatness is equally clear can we recall an ancestry in which there mingled, with so much that was bright, so much that was dark.

"People should accept an artist's gifts without being over-curious and severely censorious respecting the giver's private habits and fireside eccentricities," ob-

serve Messrs. Nichols and Jeaffrison in their life of the poet prefixed to McKay's edition of his works. We can not join in the suggestion that the world should throw the mantle of forgetfulness over Byron's moral delinquencies,—all the less because his example in the eyes of youth has cast a glamor over vice; but though we can not pardon or defend, we can feel that a nobler age, while deploring no less than the present the evils which marred his life, will allow to his excesses a larger measure of charity. When we remember how, with the finer qualities of his line, there gathered in him as well their darker passions, we can not deny that he had within himself far more to combat than with few exceptions have those who gain a name for moral rectitude; and of his bitterest critics no few might have sunk to even lower depths,—where, indeed, they might have remained unknown and unsorrowed,—had there been rolled together within them the accumulated heredities against which he battled.

Had Byron's early rearing been other than it was, the inclinations of his nature might largely have been checked. His

mother, when she did not cry out upon him as "a lame brat,"—and he was almost hysterically sensitive of the deformity with which nature had marked him from birth,—spoiled him by conduct of which no thoughtful parent could have been guilty. "His mother," says the writer of the sketch which appears as a foreword to Lippincott's edition of the poet's writings, "acted towards him as if she had predetermined to make his moral nature of that anomalous character it afterwards exhibited."

With what a solemn and impressive lesson is fraught for us the story of this wayward and erring child of fame! How deep a sense of responsibility must his life press home to all! In the mysterious recesses of our natures there coil beneath the flowers of good the hissing serpents of evil. These we may grapple with and destroy, though the struggle leave many a sting and scar; but if allowed to nest and grow they will pass on in mightier brood to the generations which follow, and then how dire, and oft how hopeless, becomes the battle!

CHARLES KASSEL.

Forth Worth, Texas.

TRIED BY FIRE.

BY WILMATTE PORTER COCKERELL.

MAME SHANAHAN stood at the window of the log boarding-house of the Copper Lode property, looking out upon a magnificent stretch of mountain country—the nearer ranges covered with a splendid pine and spruce forest, the farther ranges dimly outlined in vivid shimmering blue. Some days the view lifted and helped her, gave her more courage for the endless round of monotonous duties, but now her eyes grew more troubled. She held a dish-cloth in her hands, which she idly drew back and forth through her reddened fingers, and the table just to her right

was piled with heavy stoneware, some still waiting to be washed and wiped.

Mame was a slender creature, narrow of shoulder and meager of breast: her body showing the hard lines of life's way. Her face was too broad through the lower jaw for beauty, her mouth drooped at the corners, and her skin was spoiled by freckles across her nose and forehead. Still her splendid eyes, as gray as the distant hills on a winter's day, and a great roll of red hair gave her a kind of beauty, though her attraction was mental rather than physical, for out of her eyes looked a soul that shamed its stunted environ-

ment. A soul keen for joy and love, and jealous almost to madness when the bars of circumstance seemed shut against its fullest life. It would almost seem that the continuous service that had spoiled the girl's body had developed her soul. Such are the curious paradoxes of life!

"I wish Bob 'd keep th' girl away from here," she said, with a movement of repugnance and impatience. "He knows how I hate to see the city women, havin' all the things I want. O, he knows I try to be cheerful and good, and to think it's in the Plan some way, even if I can't understand. He knows I try! But her Mister Jones this an' Mister Jones that, and her beautiful hands touchin' his coat!" She turned half round to go back to her work, then went back to the window.

"He says it do n't mean nothin', but I know it does. He ain't quite the same since she came. She does n't know what his love is to me. I do n't blame her: She ain't been taught, but I hate her. O, she'll spoil it for both of us, and she won't care. She won't even know! I can't believe it was ever meant that there should be women like her!"

A stalwart man on horseback came out of the woods a half-mile away, and at sight of him a wave of red ran over the girl's face and neck, and a tender glow came into her gray eyes. In a minute he saw her, and taking off his hat, swung it about his head, with a long mellow "Co-o-ee," the call of the mountain people. Mame's face lightened wonderfully at this, and she laid aside her dish-cloth and began tidying up her hair, a tendril of which had escaped here and there. Then she rubbed her face with a corn-starch bag which lay underneath her little mirror. But when she turned back to the window, wishing her man to see her at her best and anxious for another sight of him on his horse, she saw that he was busy talking with a young woman, who rode a spirited gray horse and wore a faultless riding-suit of brown duck.

"He ain't no cause to smile right into her eyes," the girl thought bitterly, and turned back drearily to her work. Bob

came early from his work, as was his habit, but Mame did not raise her eyes from her task at his greeting.

"Here, Mame; come out for a minute and speak to a fellow," he called from the back-porch, where he was sousing his face in cool spring-water. But the girl did not turn her face in his direction. After he had used the long roller-towel he stood at the door with a half-apologetic smile about his boyish mouth.

"Pretty chilly for July," he said to Mame's mother, the only other occupant of the kitchen.

"You go away now, Bob," the mother answered soberly. "Mame's sure played out with the hot weather. I reckon she's feelin' poorly."

"Sick folks is mostly pretty friendly. You know that, Mrs. Wilson," and the flames leaped into the man's eyes. "Mame ain't no reason fer treatin' me so, and I won't stan' it."

"You'll not have to go far to fin' some un that'll treat you well," and the girl turned angrily upon him, her eyes dark with the jealousy that seemed to be choking her. "You'll git love 'nough there, for the askin', I'll be bound."

"Stop!" The man took a step toward her, and then stood looking at her with blazing eyes. "You ain't got no call to say that. The manager's daughter ain't our kin', an' you've no cause to say a thing agin her. As fer me, we're promised to each other, an' that ought t' settle it." The man, feeling the uselessness of words, looked at her a moment longer, and turned away.

"You're throwin' away a good man's love," the mother said, sadly. "If you behave like this ag'in, I much doubt he ever comes back t' you."

The girl sat down on one of the hard wooden-stools, and drawing her apron over her face began to sob. "O, mother, I keer for him awful! He must n't leave me. I'll try! I'll be good to him! O, mother, tell him to come back!"

The mother hurried down the mountain-trail calling shrilly: "O, Bob—O-o-ee Bob!"

The man heard her and turned back.

"Mame wants you," she panted. "I reckon she 's come to her senses some."

Bob hurried back to the kitchen and took the girl in his arms; she clung to him with her face against his broad chest, and her feet quite off the floor as she shrunk up against his great body and stalwart knees.

"I keer for you awful, Bob," she whispered. "Please don't take that town girl anywhere ag'in."

Bob comforted her as a mother might soothe a fretful child, and very big and gentle the man looked as he sat with the girl on his knees. "You mus' remember, little un, that I do it as part of the day's work. Some days I have to muck; some days I ride with the manager's daughter."

Mame was soothed by his presence, perhaps, more than his words. She could not help feeling that his thought of her was as yet unsullied. If he should compare her with the dainty perfection of that other woman, then she would wish to die. And it might come at any time, but she put the thought away. He was hers now, and she hid her face on his neck, and pressed her lips against the smooth muscles of his chest that had been bared for washing.

When her mother came in she was ready to help serve the supper with much of her old cheerful badinage. She even heard the manager's daughter asking advice from Mr. Jones without a quiver, and when the supper was over, Bob came in and begged to help with the dishes. Mame shook her head. "You're ain't afraid of the wipers' union, are you?" he asked.

"No," she scoffed, "I'm afraid of the dish-trust. You'd put it out of business; you'd make such a run on stoneware."

"Sure, I'll not break a thing. You'll see!" And she laughed at his clumsy carefulness, as he poked the dish-towel into cups and pitchers.

Afterwards they walked in the sweet hush of the forest path, with the stars, white and distant, in an arch above them.

Night in the forest always stirred Mame and quickened her sense of life. "Bob," she whispered, "it must be right—the Plan. All this could n't be wasted, or partly wasted—it's so perfect."

"Sure, little un. You must n't ever have any other thought. Of course the Plan's right." To his simple ideas it was almost blasphemous to speak of such things. He would rather have Mame jolly. He wished she'd make clever remarks about the neighbors, as she did sometimes. so they might both laugh.

The next day Mame began with a fund of strength and courage, but it was a hard day, with baking and ironing beside the usual work, so that by two o'clock she was ready to drop from very weariness.

The manager's daughter came in with a fresh duck riding-suit, to order a picnic supper. "Mr. Jones,"—she spoke in a softly modulated voice, slurring her r's and broadening her a's, a trick of speech she had picked up in London,—“Mr. Jones wants to show me the source of the Poudre. He says it is a wonderful country, and he wants me to see it. Mr. Jones is most kind.”

Then she felt a flood of bitter words striving for utterance. This woman should know how she hated her; this woman who could have smooth white hands and fine clothes and who could go off in the daylight through the beautiful world. Why did n't she share—that was the Plan as Mame saw it. Instead, she meant to spoil the one perfect thing in her life. "Bob did n't say no such, an' he would n't take you anywhere, only your pa told him to. You ain't his kin'! He's good, an' true, an' fair!"

The girl raised her delicate eyebrows: "Get the lunch ready." Her voice cut like steel now. "I shall ask my father to give his favors to some one with better manners." There was a delicate insinuation in the last sentence, more in manner than in speech, and Mame felt stung to the quick.

"Favors!" Mame laughed bitterly. "Time may come when you'll have to

take some of his favors yourself. It were n't ever meant that some should have all the good times an' others all the work."

The manager's daughter drew quickly away. She felt nothing of the righteousness of the girl's anger. It was only added evidence of the ill-breeding of the lower classes of America. Her selfish, self-centered life made it quite impossible that she should realize that she was facing a problem as old as the universe—the cry of a soul for some of life's best gifts.

Mame stood in the window, but back in the shadow, and watched them ride away, poisoning herself with hateful thoughts. She had seen enough of Miss Churchill to know that she would be willing to wear the scalp of her father's foreman, since there was no one else at hand, and Bob's very tenderness would make him an easy prey. Afterwards he would be sorry, and would try to make it up to her. At the thought, the girl covered her face with a bitter cry. "O, I can't stan' it! I can't take her leavin' even if it's Bob's love."

To stay indoors seemed impossible, so she hurried into the forest. She even forgot her mother's need of her—she who had gained a name among all the mountain people for being a faithful daughter. After wandering aimlessly about for a time she threw herself down in the soft grass, and in spite of her aching head and choking throat she slept.

Jones found himself strangely moved by the soft words of his companion, as they rode through the sun and shadow of the trail. He had been honest when he said to Mame: "We're promised, and that settles it," but he had never felt the lure of a woman's beauty, used consciously to ensnare. He found himself thinking that her eyes were as blue as the harebells at their feet, and her lips—but his loyalty held him back, though there was a half-conscious thought of pity for Mame's poor body and meager beauty.

At the high mountain-spring they ate their lunch, the man preparing it with the deftness of a woodman's instinct,

the girl's subtle praise and the sensuous admiration of her eyes stirring his blood like wine.

At the sunset hour Mame woke with a start, and at once became conscious of a dim, sea-like roar off to the west. Even while she looked with terrified, sleepy gaze, a great billow of fire was blown across the distant ridge, and across the sky rolled rivers of clotted smoke, parting at times to show the sun like a gigantic wheel of flame.

"My God," she heard herself cry, "it will burn through the valleys and be upon them before they see th' danger!"

Her jealous rage was gone now, and her one thought to save her lover and his companion. Not for a minute did she leave the woman out of her thoughts of rescue.

She could reach the valley opposite through an old tunnel, and once on the trail ahead of the flames she might be able to help them fight back to the tunnel's mouth.. They might reach the tunnel themselves, though she was sure Bob knew nothing of it. It had not been used since he had come to the mine and the mouth was overgrown with roses and gooseberry bushes.

With trembling feet she rushed into the kitchen, seized and filled two canteens, grabbed a sugar-sack, emptying the shining contents on the floor, and with a shout of "Fire, fire!" rushed off toward the tunnel.

Already the forest was a smother with smoke, and here and there she saw the glow of the nearing fire painting the tree-tops a ghostly blue-white. Long tongues of light flashed across her path, and small animals scurried past her, all giving awful evidence of the immanence of the danger.

Once she felt a great wave of heat strike against her body, and for the first time she realized that the swift traveling flames might sting the life out of her body before she reached the tunnel's mouth. She was stunned by the thought, but it was fear for Bob and the manager's daughter. A life of service had firmly set the habit upon her.

Once in the tunnel she found it hard to realize that there was a raging death traveling on the wind's highest speed just above her. She stumbled and fell, but hurried on through the cool, damp darkness.

At last there was the light of the other end, and Mame crawled out into the fire-lit forest again. The fire was near at hand. The sky looked red and appalling, and the very air she breathed parched her lips and burned her lungs.

Ten steps to the right, she remembered the directions given her for finding the trail the first time she came through the tunnel. Mechanically she counted eight, nine, ten—and, thank God, there were no footprints going back. Loud and clear she sent the mountain-call over the range. An answer—no, it was the weird scream of a wildcat. Again “Coo-oo-ee, coo-oo-oo-ee,” and this time, not a hundred yards away, came the answer in Bob's deep, resonant voice, quivering a bit with fear and fatigue.

Every moment was precious now. She opened a canteen as she ran, pouring the contents over the sugar-sack. When she came upon the fugitives, she found Bob trembling and panting from his run, for he had been obliged to carry his frightened companion. The girl's cotton riding-skirt was on fire, and Mame wrapped her own woolen skirt about her, and wrapped her head in the wet sugar-sack.

“There is a tunnel near,” she panted. “We'll make it. Don't be scared.” This last to the sobbing girl. “You'd better walk; Bob'll need to fight fire for us.” But nothing had ever happened to prepare the manager's daughter for a crisis like this, and now she could do nothing to help herself, but cling with choking persistency about the neck of the man who was trying to save her. They faced a sea of fire. A hundred yards seems a little way, but to fight through a burning forest for a hundred yards is a fearful thing. A burning spruce fell with a crash only a few feet

away. Blazing fragments stung them, and every instant now they had to smite fire. Mame's hair was on fire, and her coarse cotton petticoat was singeing in a dozen places. Bravely she fought for a way through, helping Bob as much as she could with his struggling burden.

“O, be still, be still,” she begged the girl. “Can't you see you'll wear his strength, an' we'll all be burned?”

A few steps, a dozen, perhaps, and they would have been safe in the cool shadow of the tunnel, when a blazing bough struck Mame full in the face and she fell unconscious.

Bob dropped the girl he was carrying, and with a sudden wrench tore her arms from his neck. “Follow,” he shouted in her ear, and stooped to gather Mame in his arms. But the manager's daughter fastened upon him like a leech. “My father will reward you. I did n't mean anything up there by the spring, but save me, and I will be your wife. You will have my fortune,” she shrilled into his ears.

He turned to see what manner of woman it could be who would plead thus. The red light lit up her delicate face and rounded form, and there in that fiery furnace it was given to him to know and value the things of the spirit.

It was no use to argue with Miss Churchill. The selfishness of a lifetime knew no reason, and with a quick twist he turned the sack over her head, and set her a few steps nearer the tunnel's mouth. Then he seized Mame and carried her to safety, the manager's daughter stumbling wildly beside him.

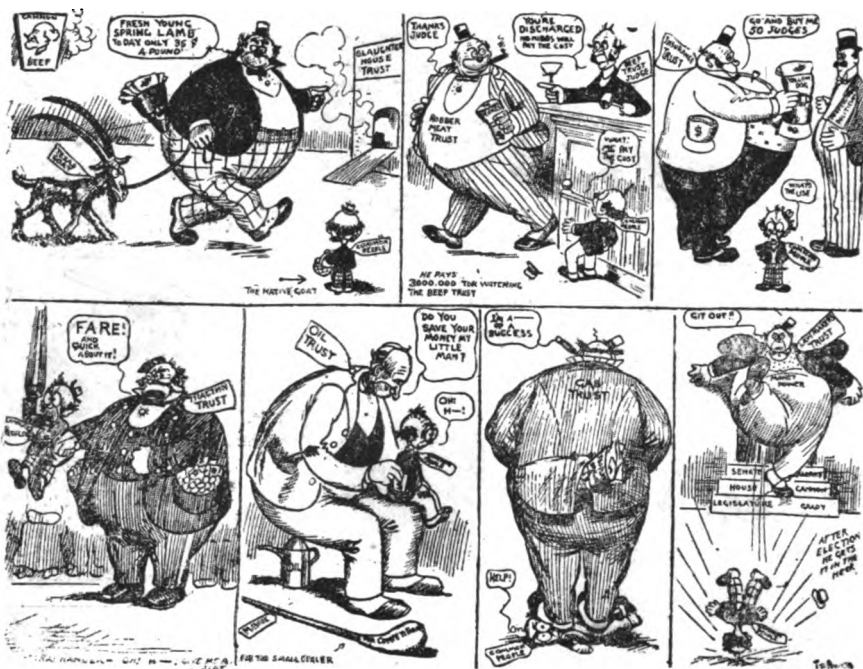
Once in the cool shadows, Mame's eyes tremblingly opened, but only for a moment did she allow herself the joy of the glowing love of her lover's eyes.

“Here, take this canteen,”—she reached it feebly,—“your shirt is afire and Miss Churchill's dress.”

And Bob cheerfully did her bidding, though first he smothered the fire about Mame with his naked hands.

WILMATTE PORTER COCKERELL.
Boulder, Colo.

184 *Politics, The People and The Trusts as Seen by Cartoonists.*



Powers, in Boston American.

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THIS COUNTRY A SUCCESS? OF COURSE—FOR THE TRUSTS.

For the Common People?—Not Yet, But Soon.



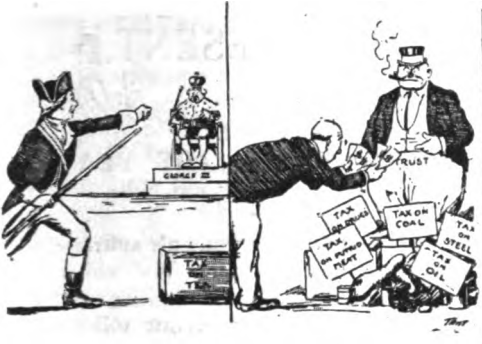
Davenport, in New York Mail.

NONE BUT THE BRAVE DESERVE THE FARE.

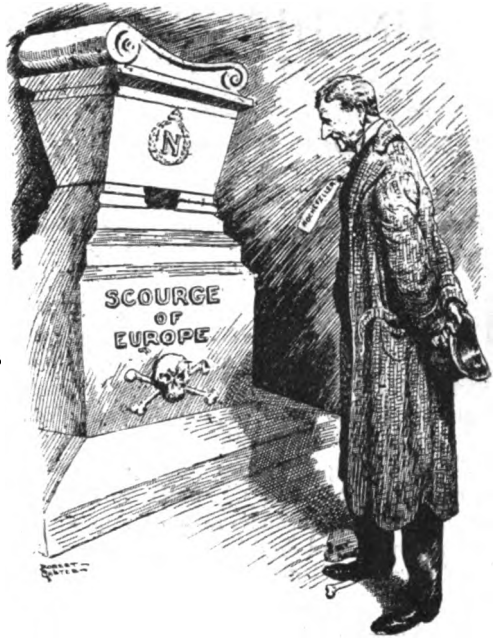


Cory, in New York World.

FINIS.



Trist, in New Orleans *Times-Democrat*.
THE AMERICAN OF 1776. THE AMERICAN OF 1906



Carter, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)
CAPTAINS AT ANY COST.



Barclay, in Baltimore News.
THE SKELETON IN THE CLOSET.



Spencer, in Lincoln (Neb.) Commoner.
THE MAN WHO EATS THE DINNER AND THE MAN
WHO PAYS THE BILL.



Macauley, in New York World.

"THE THINKER."
(After Rodin's Statue.)

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

THE MOST IMPORTANT POLITICAL EVENT OF THE YEAR.

Triumphant Democracy; or, The Overthrow of Privileged Classes by Popular Rule.

IN OUR May issue, under the title of "An American Commonwealth Where the People Really Rule," we described how Oregon, through the introduction of Direct-Legislation into her organic constitution, had met and overcome the subversive influence of privileged classes and interests in their attempt to nullify popular rule while maintaining the paraphernalia of republican government. And besides briefly reviewing the victory of the people in the great battle to wrest the government from corrupt wealth and its minions by bringing it back into the hands of the people, where theoretically it must reside under a democratic form of government, we showed how privileged interests had striven to defeat popular government and the interests of the people by trying to get the Supreme Court of the State to declare the amendment unconstitutional; but the Court upheld the Direct-Legislation amendment, showing in one of the ablest legal rulings of recent decades that it was strictly constitutional. We also noticed the vigorous and successful campaign of the people, under the direction of the People's Power League, to secure enough signatures for the voters of the commonwealth to compel the submission of four constitutional amendments and one statutory provision which it was believed the people of the State desired but which they had not been able to obtain from their law-makers. In addition to these proposed measures, sufficient signatures for the submission of measures were obtained by the State Grange, the friends of woman's suffrage, the enemies of the present stringent local-option law, and the owners of a private toll-road. The Grange submitted two provisions, making in all ten amendments and laws to be voted upon. Of these, all the measures advocated by the People's Power League were overwhelmingly victorious. So also were the two measures advocated by the State Grange;

while the proposal for woman's suffrage, the one against the local-option law which had been carried through an initiative petition, and the proposal of the private toll-road to saddle the road on the state were all defeated.

The defeat of woman's suffrage was doubtless due to the fact that the friends of universal suffrage were not as thoroughly organized as could be wished; neither did they have the speakers or the means to properly and vigorously carry forward the educational campaign which is always necessary before a progressive measure can be successfully introduced in a democratic government. Personally we regret this defeat, but there is, however, no reason why the question shall not be submitted at a later election, and the friends of universal suffrage are already planning a new campaign.

The outcome of the election has been a splendid vindication of the claims made by the friends of popular government as to the practicability, the wisdom and the importance of Direct-Legislation in order to bulwark free institutions, guard and preserve the interests of the people, and maintain a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

A Practical Demonstration of The Unsoundness of The Arguments Against Direct-Legislation.

The result in Oregon has also served to prove the unsoundness or falsity of the objections that have been urged against guarded representative government or Direct-Legislation by the agents of the public-service corporations, the trusts and other class-interests which are seeking to overthrow popular government. It had been persistently claimed by the political bosses and the professional politicians, who are in fact the agents of privileged interests and the enemies of the people, that the people would take little or no interest in referendum votes or in legislation secured through the initiative; that they were interested in men rather than measures; or if they voted at all they would vote indiscriminately,

favoring all the proposed measures or rejecting them all. The result in Oregon has proved completely the unsoundness of these claims. The vote was not only as great for the proposed measures as for the men elected to office, and overwhelming in its decisive character for the measures in which the people were especially interested, but it showed a remarkable degree of discrimination on the part of the electorate on all questions upon which there had been any general or great discussion; and it further showed that though the corrupt corporations are usually all-powerful in city, state and national government since the controlled machine has dominated our political life, they are absolutely powerless when they confront an electorate with provisions that are inimical to the interests of the people. On this point the *Boston Herald*, which has heretofore been far from favorable to Direct-Legislation, in an editorial on June 21st made the following excellent and suggestive observations on the result of the Oregon election:

"Corporation influence," said the *Herald*, "and bribery were not felt in the election, for it is not easy to induce men to vote directly against their interests. Oregon is reducing the democratic theory to actual practice."

**A Striking Illustration of The Difference
Between Government by Monopolies
and Privileged Interests and Gov-
ernment by and for The People.**

All unbiased students of political conditions in America are being forced to the conclusion that it is practically impossible to get any real, radical or fundamental relief for the people from the extortion and oppression of corporate wealth through the law-making bodies in city, state and nation, so long as the money-controlled political machines, operated by party-bosses in the interests of the large campaign-donating monopolies, trusts and public-service corporations, are the real arbiters of government.

During the last fifty years conditions have arisen in the Republic which have resulted in the practical overthrow of popular rule in the interests of special classes. This fact must be clearly apparent to any one who honestly investigates the general course of legislation in municipalities, states and the nation during the past two or three decades. The real rulers of the Republic are not the people, but the public-service corporations,

the trusts and monopolies and the high financiers of Wall-street, which constitute the feudalism of wealth. Hence if the Republic of the fathers is to be maintained, or if, indeed, any democratic republic is to be enjoyed and a despotism based on corruption overthrown, it is necessary to enact practical measures that will secure guarded representative government or rule of the people, by the people and for the people, and this is precisely what Direct-Legislation accomplishes in a thoroughly practical manner. It guards representative government in the interests of all the people.

The Oregon election gave a striking illustration of the difference between real popular government and pseudo-popular rule; between the people as the masters and the rule of their nominal servants who are the real tools of privileged interests at war against the rights and interests of the people.

In the legislature of 1905 a bill was introduced to tax certain corporations 1 per cent. of their gross earnings. The measure was a very timid and modest attempt to make the giant corporations in question do something toward helping bear the burden of taxation. The arrogant monopolies resented this attempt to draw from their swollen profits a comparatively infinitesimal sum to aid the state, and it is said that against the advice of their shrewd attorneys, who knew that the people had it in their power in that commonwealth, through the initiative, to levy a much heavier and more reasonable tax on them, the monopolies determined to kill the bill. This they did after their customary manner. The people, however, resented this domination by the corporations, and popular bills levying 2 per cent. and 3 per cent. on the same corporations were presented through the initiative to the electorate. When a prominent corporation attorney was asked why they were not trying to defeat the measure, he exclaimed, "What's the use?" He was right. Public-service corporations, monopolies and privileged interests, that have corrupted our government, debauched our political conscience and degraded the standard of rectitude in church, school and business life, have been able practically to override the electorate and defeat popular government in the interests of class-rule by direct and indirect control of the people's servants, usually by seeing that the machine which they supported with funds nominated a majority of their men to office.

But these same interests are powerless when the people have the power to right the wrongs, to safeguard their own interests and to govern themselves.

This is the reason why serious, high-minded friends of democracy and popular government favor Direct-Legislation, and it is also the reason why the enemies of free institutions, the political bosses, the corrupt corporations, the trusts and the reactionaries who hate democracy or popular rule, oppose the initiative and referendum, or guarded representative government.

The Great Victory as Viewed in Oregon.

The *Portland Oregonian*, the leading Republican daily of the state and one of the most influential dailies of the Pacific coast, in its issue of June 10th said in the course of a discussion of the election that the different propositions "were studied" by the electorate "without factional prejudice and decided, we may fairly suppose, solely with reference to the public good." And the writer continues:

"It is one of the greatest merits of the initiative and referendum that it makes possible a clear separation between local and national issues. Under the older system, which still prevails in most of the states, the people could express their opinion upon such a matter as the Barlow road purchase only by their choice of legislators. In determining this choice, numerous other questions necessarily played a part. Which party the candidate belonged to, how he stood on the local-option question, upon woman suffrage and many other matters, would all unite to confuse the mind of the voter and he could never express himself clearly, directly and exclusively upon any particular point. The method of the initiative and referendum permits each voter to express his individual opinion upon every question standing entirely by itself and without admixture of personal or partisan bias. It absolutely separates the business department of legislation from the personal and partisan side. Suppose, for example, that a certain Republican voter was opposed to the Barlow road purchase, while the Republican candidate for the Legislature from his district was in favor of it. Under the old system

he could not vote for his opinion upon the matter of pure business without voting against his party. This was a real misfortune, and it greatly contributed to dishearten the common man with politics. It made politics seem to him a hopelessly complicated game—baffling, ineffectual, futile. It was all promise and no performance. Under the Oregon system the voter acts directly upon results. The individual citizen feels his manhood as he could not under the purely representative method.

"The heavy vote upon the questions submitted to the referendum and the decisive majorities by which they were accepted or rejected prove that the Oregon system has solved the problem of interesting the voters in the dry details of government. Hitherto they have shown little interest in those matters because their opinion was only of indirect and doubtful consequence. In this election the vote upon abstract laws and matters of pure finance was quite as large and enthusiastic as upon the Governor. The referendum bills and the amendments were disposed of by majorities ranging from 10,000 to 50,000, showing that the people had studied them and definitely made up their minds. A small, scattering, indifferent vote might well have discouraged the advocates of direct-legislation and would have indicated that the task of interesting the plain people in governmental details was hopeless. The opposite result is proportionately encouraging. These large majorities also indicate that the people enjoy the genuine article in self-government; and their acceptance of the amendment facilitating constitutional changes, the one requiring the referendum in cities and the most excellent one bestowing complete local government upon municipalities seems to show that they are determined not to be satisfied with less than the whole. The tendency is well marked.

"In these matters Oregon is a pioneer. Genuine democracy has been more highly developed in this state than anywhere else in the country. The results of the last election give no ground to fear that the experiment may fail. The more completely the voters trust themselves the more worthy they find themselves to be trusted. What could be more heartening to those who believe in government of, for and by the people?"

MR. BRYAN AND THE PRESIDENCY.**The Honest and Dishonest Advocates of Mr. Bryan's Candidacy.**

MANY friends of William J. Bryan have been perplexed and disquieted by the chorus raised by certain well-known high financiers and bogus Democrats in favor of his candidacy. The spectacle of Ryan and Belmont, who as truly represent the feudalism of wealth which is at war against the interests of the people as do Rockefeller or Armour, vociferating for Mr. Bryan's candidacy, though well calculated to mystify many who recognize the fact that the great war that is now being waged is always and at all times a battle on the part of the people to get the government back into their own hands and to break the iron grip of criminal wealth and privileged interests acting through corrupt bosses and money-controlled machines, is not difficult to explain when all the circumstances of the case are taken into consideration or when one studies the tactics of this class of men whose interest in politics is personal and selfish.

The first object that the so-called "safe and sane" exploiters of the people have in view is "the killing off of Mr. Hearst," to use the expression employed in a recent letter to us from a well-known conservative Democrat who is working for the nomination of Judge Gray. The next aim is to create a division among the partisans of Mr. Hearst and Mr. Bryan or the progressive element of the Democrat party who are sincerely and honestly fighting to get the government out of the hands of the grafters, the thieves, the corporations and privileged wealth. These men know that unless such a division can be made the country will be swept by a wave of real democracy which will destroy the card-houses of the new politico-commercial feudalism based on special privileges and class legislation and bulwarked by corrupt politicians and controlled machines.

Now the Ryans and the Belmonts, the Baers and the Cassatts are as much a part of the feudalism of high finance and privilege as are the Platts, the Odells, the Penroses, the Aldriches, the Spooners, the Elkinses, the Rockefellers, the Archbolds or the Armours, and they will resist with all the power at their command, exerted either openly or covertly,

any effort to insure the triumph of *real* democracy under incorruptible and progressive leadership pledged to the interests of the people and to pure government.

In 1896, when Mr. Bryan was nominated for the presidency, the McCalls and various other of the high financiers, grafters and corruptionists who had long posed as Democrats, as soon as they found that the Nebraskan was not amenable to corruption, direct or indirect, and that he would make no compromise with the criminal rich, began pouring their money and the money of other people which they controlled into the treasury of the Republican party for the purpose of defeating the man who, if elected, they knew would be aggressively honest, and thus a real menace to the criminal rich and those who were unjustly fattening off of the wealth of the millions. And it will be remembered that Mr. McCall and many of his associates who as has later been proven, were engaged in criminal and corrupt practices, were loudest in their clamor for the protection of "national honor" and for, "safety and sanity" in public office. And when it was found, a few weeks before the election, by the careful canvass of the Republican party that Mr. Bryan would be triumphantly elected if the tide could not be turned, these men went deeply into their pockets to protect their graft, and raised an enormous fund for the purpose of turning the five states necessary to be captured by the Republicans, which their canvas had shown were in favor of Mr. Bryan. Now we find this so-called "safe and sane" element, which fought Mr. Bryan so desperately, sometimes covertly and sometimes openly, shouting for his nomination for the presidency; but let no man imagine that the cry is sincere or honest.

The Real Friends of Mr. Bryan.

On the other hand, there can be no doubt but what a vast proportion of the democratic electorate and the more independent voters are enthusiastic for Mr. Bryan, for the following reasons: They know he is not only a man of spotless personal character, but that he is and ever has been candid, brave and aggressively honest, and that to-day few things are so urgently demanded of the great statesmen who are to lead the people as incorrupti-

bility, fearlessness and honesty. They know he is sincere and loyal to what he believes to be the best interests of the people; that he places what he conceives to be the right and the true interests of the millions above the claims or wishes of any class or interest. In other words, in the battle between privilege and the people, between the lawless trusts, corporations and high financiers and the producing and consuming millions, he will stand as a rock for the people and for honest, clean government administered along the lines of the fundamental principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence. They see that President Roosevelt, quickly discerning the signs of the times and answering the swelling tide of righteous indignation, has taken up one by one almost all the great fundamental demands made by Mr. Bryan, and because of which the Nebraskan was denounced by the "safe and sane" grafters and thieves who posed as protectors of law and order, as an anarchist, a Socialist and a demagogue. They also see that unhappily the President on almost every issue has in the end either weakened, compromised or surrendered, often when victory seemed assured, as in the case of the Rate Bill. And the people are now looking for a man who is as thoroughly under the compulsion of moral idealism as was Jefferson or Lincoln, and who has the moral courage that will not be swerved by any sentiments of expediency from what he knows to be right and has declared to be important. They are looking for a man with enough sticking power and moral stamina to stand as a stone wall for the people's cause, for justice, for civic righteousness and clean government; and in Mr. Bryan they believe they have such a man.

The people see now as never before how hollow were the cries of the criminal rich when they denounced, slandered and abused Mr. Bryan for advocating the same things that President Roosevelt ten years later declared to be right and imperatively demanded. Moreover, the investigations, municipal, state and national, that have not been palpably conducted for the sole purpose of hiding the truth and whitewashing the guilty, have proved that the time has come for a general political housecleaning, as nothing has been more clearly revealed than that corruption and graft are everywhere prevalent, due primarily to the fact that the privileged interests, the trusts,

corporations and great gamblers of Wall street dominate party machines and political leaders to such an extent that the government has ceased to respond to the interests of the people, whenever those interests conflict with the desires, wishes or financial accumulations of privileged classes. Now Mr. Bryan, among the great leaders of the Democratic party in whom the people have confidence, seems to-day to be the most available candidate. Hence the enthusiastic support which is shown him by the rank and file wherever and whenever they have an opportunity to express their opinion.

Mr. Bryan on Private Monopoly.

The men who are fattening off of the public utilities through shameful special privileges granted by their tools in office, and who suddenly raised a cry for Mr. Bryan, have been greatly discomforted by the bold stand taken by the Nebraskan, and though they will doubtless play their part to the end in the plot they have evidently concocted, they cannot relish such statements as the following, given out by Mr. Bryan with his customary frankness in Norway on hearing that the monopolists, public-service exploiters and whilom "safe and sane" leaders of high finance were vociferating for him:

"My position," said he, "is that a private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable. That was in the Democratic platform in 1900, and the plank was incorporated in the platform of 1904, and it is the only tenable position. There is some talk of controlling the trusts. You might as well talk of controlling burglary. We do not say that men shall only steal a little bit, or in some particular way, but that they shall not steal at all; and so of private monopolies. It is not sufficient to control them or to regulate them. They must be absolutely and totally destroyed. Corporations should be controlled and regulated, but private monopolies must be exterminated, root and branch. Now, you may call that a radical doctrine, and yet it is more conservative to apply this remedy now than to wait until predatory wealth has by its lawlessness brought odium on legitimate accumulations. What used to be called radical is now called conservative, because the people have been investigating. The doctrine has not changed, but public sentiment has been making progress."

THE DEMOCRACY OF DARKNESS: A FRUIT OF MATERIALISTIC COMMERCIALISM

The Vision The Vital Breath of a Nation.

WHEREVER materialistic considerations gain ascendancy in the popular mind over the ideals of right, justice and duty, the nation, society or civilization that has come under the fatal spell first becomes the victim of money-madness and later the slave of selfish and sensuous desires.

"Put money in thy purse" becomes the watchword of the hour, and all things are consciously or unconsciously gauged or measured by the money standard. Success becomes synonymous with monetary return. Now precisely in proportion as society yields to the temptation to place materialistic acquisitions above moral ideals—just in proportion as the materialism of the market subordinates ethical values, we see the moral standards everywhere lowered and a fatal downward tendency setting in. In politics men betray the rights and interests of the people for preferment, wealth or other benefits that are offered by privileged and unscrupulous interests. In business, honesty or sterling integrity, open dealing, candor and moral rectitude give place to craft, cunning, duplicity, falsehood and cheating in various forms, born of the determination to obtain advantage and an insane passion for gambling and otherwise acquiring gold without honestly earning it. In social and personal life the decline is always quite as appalling, for the moment that the lust of the flesh, the lust for gold and the lust for power supplant moral idealism, ethical disintegration sets in throughout society in all its ramifications.

In the case of individuals, with centuries of spiritual training behind them, we frequently find moral lapses in certain directions while there is a desperate clinging to high ideals in other respects. The sense of moral proportion is destroyed by some vicious inclination. The late Jay Gould was wont to return from Wall street, where his unscrupulous gambling with loaded dice had resulted in panics, suicides and bankruptcy on every hand, to the home of his family, where his life as an ideal father was said to be worthy of the widest emulation; and while many of his associates were drinking, gambling and

carousing, he found his chief delight in the cultivating of beautiful flowers.

Other great men have allowed their appetites or passions to degrade and corrupt them while clinging with almost pathetic tenacity to old high ideals of honesty in trade or rectitude in all matters of business life.

Such cases, however, are the exception rather than the rule after a nation has long placed materialism or monetary considerations above the ethical verities. Materialistic concepts, when they gain ascendancy in the public imagination, drug a nation, and their death-dealing influence is quickly seen and felt in every stratum and condition of life. Political debauchery goes hand in hand with moral obloquy and dishonesty in business relations, while the appetites and passions become the masters of men who under the compulsion of moral idealism would have contributed to the glory, honor and greatness of their time and land.

"Where there is no vision, the people perish."

The Lowering of Ideals in The Political and Business World and What It Portends.

To every student of life and history nothing in the story of the past half a century has been so disquieting as the steady growth of the money mania, the uninterrupted ascendancy of commercialism, of the materialistic over the moral idealism that so long made the United States the ethical leader of the world. And during the past twelve months we have had a series of appalling exhibitions of the result of this falling away from that which is true and fine and eternally right in our political, business and social life. The revelations of corruption in city, state and nation have been more than equaled by the disclosures in the business world made through recent investigations. The insurance companies, the meat and oil-trusts, the railways and other great organizations, when brought under the searching light of honest investigation, have exhibited prevailing conditions of moral turpitude, corruption, lawlessness and dishonesty that would be incredible were it not for the authentic and indisputable character

of the evidence brought out. And in proportion as the materialism of the market and the madness for gold have obscured the vision, has moral degradation spread in social as well as business and political life.

Social Degradation.

History impresses no lesson more clearly or solemnly than that when the moral fiber of a people becomes weakened through possession of great wealth in the hands of comparatively few, especially when that wealth is acquired through indirection and injustice, luxury and moral degeneracy rapidly follow at the zenith of society, while squalor, wretchedness, poverty, ignorance and depravity flourish at its nadir.

We have had many recent pictures of the poverty and wretchedness of the slums, the misery of the sweat-shop life, the inferno of Packingtown, and the body, brain and soul-destroying influence of the factories and the mines on the lives of the children of the poor; and all these portrayals should impress the thoughtful with their ominous significance as speaking of a destructive influence, the leaven of death at work at the nadir of the social organism, while on the other hand evidences have not been wanting of a condition quite as startling and appalling at the social zenith.

So recently as the middle of June we had one of these startling glimpses of the moral leprosy and death that fester in circles of wealth and culture wherever the vision ceases to exert a compelling power over the mind of man. A youth, the son of one of the numerous families that have acquired millions of dollars earned largely by others, or obtained from natural wealth furnished by a bountiful

Creator for all His children, but which a few have seized upon and appropriated or monopolized, was drawn into the maelstrom of vicious life where unbridled appetites and passions dominate. After a time he came under the fascination of a girl who had been one of the many toys and vessels of dishonor used by one of the greatest of America's architects, who appears to have reflected in a greater degree than most men who have thrown conscience, honor and idealism to the winds, the degradation that marked the civilizations of ancient Babylon, Assyria and Rome when, boasting of wealth, glory and power, they little dreamed that death had stricken them. The revelations that have come to light and the facts that have been reported in the most circumstantial way as a sequel of the murder of Stanford White, involving, it is stated, many men of great wealth in New York high life, indicate conditions of bestial excesses and corrupt practices that are well calculated to startle out of their *laissez-faire* opportunistic lethargy the church, the college and all conscience-guided men and women. They reveal conditions that are the legitimate result of turning from the upward-impelling ideal and embracing the clod; of being false to the eternal laws of justice and moral rectitude; of placing self-desire above the ideal of fraternity. Coming as they do on the heels of the revelations of political criminality and business degradation incident to money-madness, they constitute the third warning to the soul of the nation that has slept over-long.

The democracy of darkness that is due to the triumph of sordid materialism over moral idealism must be overthrown or the doom of the Republic will have sounded and we will go the way of Babylon and Nineveh and Rome.

THE WAR FOR THE RECLAMATION OF POPULAR RULE.

The Battle for Good Government in Pennsylvania.

ONE OF the most encouraging of the many striking evidences of an awakening electorate is found in the action of the friends of good government in Pennsylvania. The great revolt of last year was followed by a battle of the "interests" or public-service corporations and the Penrose-Durham gang to regain the lost ground and reëntrench

themselves throughout the state; but the conscience-element of the Republican party, refusing longer to bow to party domination when that domination meant public shame, corruption, dishonesty and degradation, pushed forward the organization of the Lincoln party and in a recent convention nominated for governor on an excellent platform one of the ablest Republicans of the state, who through his public career has refused to be-

come the slave to corporate greed. Mr. Emery, the candidate, has been one of the most strenuous and relentless foes of the Standard Oil's corrupt practices in the United States during his public career extending over many years. The nominations, however, of the Lincoln party did not give the Penrose-Durham combination and the money-controlled machine serious uneasiness, because they fully counted, and with reason, on the Democratic boss naming a ticket that would insure the election of the machine Republican organization, and true to this expectation, the Democratic boss set out to carry out the programme so earnestly desired by the public-service corporations, the trusts, the grafters and corruptionists. The merger policy was carried forward as it has been time and again in recent years in order to compass the defeat of all men who would not bow to corporate domination and the money-controlled machines. But unhappily for the corruptionists and the enemies of the public, they had not counted on one factor in the case—the people—the rank and file who make up the Democratic party. The voters had so often been led as lambs to the slaughter for the advancement and enrichment of the bosses and privileged interests, that Boss McGuffey had long since come to regard them as his own property.

The people, however, are rapidly coming to see that the trusts, the public-service corporations and the Wall-street gamblers have long since gained practical control of the political machinery under the management of the bosses of both the great political parties, and they have determined to exercise their high prerogatives and overthrow this corrupt domination in the interest of their own pocket-book as well as that of good government. Hence when the various county conventions were held, one by one the Democratic boss's henchmen were unhorsed and overthrown, and the voters clearly indicated their determination to unite with the Lincoln party in order to wrest Pennsylvania from the rule of the political and commercial Huns and Vandals.

At length it dawned upon the Democratic boss that his carefully-laid plans had come to naught, and if he hoped to avoid being utterly discredited and practically driven from political life he must bow to the aroused sentiment of the party. He theretore yielded, and the Democratic party has united on the Lincoln

ticket. The battle therefore will be a clean-cut contest between the conscience-element of both the great parties, who place good government, the interests of the people and civic righteousness above partisanship, and the corrupt corporations, with their minions, Bosses Penrose and Durham and their money-controlled machine, and all the grafters of the state. We believe, however, that the commonwealth of Pennsylvania is sound at heart and that the friends of honest government will triumph in spite of the vast sums which will be used to defeat the ends of good government.

Senator La Follette: A Thorn in The Flesh of The Grafters and Corruptionists.

NO MAN in the United States Senate during the past year has made so magnificent a record as Senator Robert M. La Follette. His speech on the Railroad Rate Bill, occupying three hours' time, was the most masterly exposition of the whole subject, embracing the defence of the people's interests and exposing the lawlessness, corruption and oppression of the public-service corporations, that has come from the lips of any statesman in recent years. It was intellectually the peer of any address delivered in the United States Senate Chamber during the past decade, and this is saying much; but it was far more than that. It was instinct with the spirit of justice and moral idealism. It rang true at every point. It revealed the intrepid statesman of commanding power whose intellectual brilliancy was companioned by moral enthusiasm and whose abilities were sincerely pledged to the interests of the people in their battle for the regaining of the government and the overthrow of the Egyptian task-masters and their minions in official power.

His great address on the railway Rate Bill was merely one of many things which marked his maiden efforts for the people in the United States Senate. Among other things which deserve special mention were his resolution authorizing the President to withhold from entry or sale all public lands which contained mineral deposits, until Congress had determined how they should be used, and a resolution which the Senate adopted, providing that the scope of the Commission's inquiry should include the storage and transportation of grain—an investigation which he contends will disclose conditions as bad as those already found on the railway lines.

Senator La Follette is not only sincere and honest in his advocacy of the cause of the people, but he clearly apprehends the vital fact that the battle in America to-day is between the people and privilege; between the upholders of free and popular government and special interests which are as inimical to democracy as is an hereditary aristocracy. Recently he said:

"The conflict which is on everywhere is between the people on one side, and corporate power and special interests dominating and suppressing the principles of popular government, on the other. It is not mere party strife. It is a great fight for Democracy,—always for a democratic form of government, always to restore control to the people."

Senator La Follette is the one man in the Republican party whom every corruptionist, grafter and exploiter of the people dreads to have mentioned as a presidential candidate. These classes do not want any statesman after the order of Lincoln in the White House.

Jail Sentences For Rebaters and Ice-Barons a Hopeful Inauguration of The Campaign for Civic Righteousness.

THE RECENT response to the nation-wide awakening of the public conscience, due to

the exposures of a long-continued riot of criminality and lawlessness on the part of privileged interests and the criminal rich, is quite discernible in much tentative and half-hearted legislation which, though aimed at the great evils that exist, has been usually more or less emasculated by the corrupt tools of the criminal interests who misrepresent the public in the halls of legislation.

In the administrative and executive departments of government and in the courts, however, many tardy exhibitions of a growing determination in these departments to accomplish some real service in the interests of the people by curbing and punishing the powerful offenders who have so long defied the laws and oppressed the people.

The recent prison-sentence given to two rebating offenders in Kansas City, and the jail-sentence pronounced against five prominent citizens of Toledo for conspiracy to plunder the ice consumers of that city, are two of many encouraging recent events, and the universal satisfaction expressed by the people and by all public opinion-forming organs not under the complete control of predatory or criminal wealth should serve to stimulate our courts as well as our executive departments to the rigid and absolutely impartial enforcement of law.

DEMOCRATIC ADVANCE IN OTHER LANDS.

How Mexico's Statesmanship Has Striven to Place The Interests of The People Above all Concern of Special Classes.

THE MEXICAN Republic, like the government of New Zealand, has not fallen into the hands of privileged classes, public-service corporations or special interests seeking the acquisition of great wealth at the expense of the state and its citizens. Hence the first concern of the government under the wise statesmanship of President Diaz has ever been the true interests of the people instead of being, as is too frequently the case with us, that of the railway corporations, the oil-trust, the steel-trust, the coal-trust, the beef-trust and other of the great campaign-contributing corporations that are swollen to abnormal proportions by sucking the wealth of the people.

A few years ago, when a number of human cormorants sought to make a corner in corn, the staple food of the poor of Mexico, President Diaz promptly convened Congress and secured legislation which temporarily suspended the duty on corn from the United States and which also empowered the Republic of Mexico to buy corn in the States and to sell it to the people at cost or at a price in the neighborhood of that which they had been paying before the corner had been formed. This promptly put an end to the robbery of the people, with the incidental misery of the poor, which had been planned by a company of men not unlike our coal combine that a short time after robbed the American coal consumers of many millions of dollars by exorbitant prices.

Another striking illustration of the result of a government being operated for the people

instead of for predatory wealth or privileged classes, and also an impressive example of the beneficent effect of the government owning and operating public utilities, is found in the operation of the postal telegraph of Mexico.

Results of The Governmental Ownership and Operation of The Telegraph in Mexico.

Mr. F. E. Plummer, one of our subscribers residing in the City of Mexico, has recently sent us the following interesting facts relative to the beneficent effect of governmental ownership and operation of the telegraph as he has observed it in and around the City of Mexico:

"The telegraph lines in Mexico," says Mr. Plummer, "are owned by the government, and as a result rates are very low. Within the Federal District, which is about fifty miles square (I do n't know the exact size), we can send a message of ten words to any town in the district and have it delivered to the street-address for five cents Mexican currency, which is equal to two and a half cents United States currency. Money-orders up to twenty dollars cost one-half of one per cent. by wire, but above that amount one per cent., thus favoring the poorer classes who send only small amounts. In connection with the government telegraph branch-offices have been established in every district of the city; also there are boxes for the reception of the five and ten-cent ten and twenty-word telegram cards which can be bought at any office, so that all classes of people make large use of the telegraph in sending messages from one part of the city to another, thus getting quick service at about the same cost as ordinary postage. Telegram cards are collected from the boxes every half hour. The government owns two railroads and a controlling interest in all the others with the exception of the Mexican Central. At the expiration of ninety-nine years from the date of its charter the Mexican Central will become government property."

Universal Suffrage in Finland.

THE FINNS seem in some respects to be leading the nations in governmental matters. A comprehensive governmental scheme, comprising proportional representation, universal suffrage for all adults over twenty-four years of age, regardless of sex, and one chamber

with 200 representatives, out of which a committee of 60 is to be selected to consider and revise suggested legislation, has already received the approval of the Czar and has been passed by the four estates of Finland. All that now remains is the ultimate sanction of the Czar, which must be gained after the measures which he approved have been acted upon by the popular representatives of Finland. There seems little doubt but what the Czar will acquiesce in the programme, since he has already indicated that it was satisfactory to him.

If this consummation is reached Finland will enjoy a more liberal government than most of the small peoples and a government in some respects in advance of those of even the most liberal nations.

This emergence of Finland from an intolerable despotism is one of the happy results of the Japanese war and the revolutionary uprisings that followed it throughout the Russian Empire. At the time of the breaking out of the war it will be remembered that the present Czar had repudiated the solemn obligations made to the Finns by his predecessors, and had sanctioned the robbery of the people of their ancient rights and liberties. He had placed over the Finns some of the most cruel and despotic members of the bureaucracy who were merciless in their tyranny and oppression. Finland at that time was one of the most unhappy nations on the face of the earth. Fortunately for the cause of civilization, all this now seems changed.

Jaurès and Clemenceau on The Demands of Socialism and Radical Democracy.

A DISCUSSION of great interest took place in the French Chamber of Deputies, between M. Jaurès, the most brilliant orator and ablest Socialistic statesman of the world, and M. Clemenceau, Minister of the Interior and the real leader of the present republican administration. The Socialist consumed three days in outlining and explaining the Socialistic ideals and how the Socialists proposed step by step to inaugurate the new collective commonwealth. He held that the only way to stop the war of the classes now indicated by strikes, lock-outs and general industrial disturbances was to permit labor to reabsorb the capital which it had created. This he held should be done by a policy of general indemnification, so as to effect the transformation peaceably and without injury to any one. Railways,

mines and factories should be bought by the state at a fair valuation, but the former owners should not be permitted to again get control of the means of production, and the vast apparatus of social production should be managed by a democratic state assisted by the whole people. The various trades-unions would create general administrative trades-councils which would coördinate their efforts.

M. Clemenceau replied in an address occupying two days. He opposed the Socialistic programme on the grounds of its being in his judgment impracticable, although he strongly advocated many measures which are

Socialistic in character and which in this country would raise a hue and cry on the part of the capitalistic press from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Thus, for example, he favors old-age pensions; he favors the government taking over the great affairs of the nation, such as the railways and the mines, and operating them in the interests of all the people. That M. Clemenceau's speech advocating these radical measures met with hearty approval was seen from the fact that by a vote of 410 to 87 it was ordered to be printed and posted on the bulletin boards of every town in France.

PREMIER RICHARD SEDDON: DEMOCRACY'S LOST LEADER.

New Zealand's Late Premier and His Work for Progressive Popular Government.

EARLY in June the cables flashed the unexpected and to all friends of democracy sad news of the sudden death of New Zealand's great Liberal leader, Premier Richard Seddon. He had been on a visit to Australia and had taken passage for his home. Just before stepping on the vessel he sent a message to the Prime Minister of Australia stating that he was about to embark for "God's own land," and that he hoped that Australia would become such a paradise as New Zealand. Three hours later he was dead.

In the passing of Richard Seddon the cause of progressive and popular government loses one of its greatest constructive liberal statesmen of the past fifty years and the man who had achieved more—far more—practical results in favor of government for all the people and a practical progressive programme along democratic lines than any other political leader of the past quarter of a century. He was a strong, forceful, determined executive whose one supreme and overmastering ideal in public life was the realization of a government in which equality of opportunity and of rights should be enjoyed by every citizen of the state—a government which should in the largest degree reflect Divine justice and which should ever strive faithfully to foster and conserve the happiness, prosperity and development of all. He believed it to be the true function of the state to guard against the prac-

tice or injustice on the part of any citizen or class of citizens, by which the few shrewdest, strongest and least conscientious could acquire increased wealth or undue power at the expense of the weaker or the unfortunate. He believed that it was the duty of the commonwealth to make it as easy as possible for all citizens to do right and as difficult and unjustifiable as possible for any to do wrong.

No statesman of modern times wrought more intelligently or persistently for the prosperity and material as well as moral advancement of his commonwealth than did Premier Seddon; but he never allowed himself to be influenced by the vicious and essentially false pleas of privileged interests claiming that national prosperity depended on special privileges granted to classes or to public-service corporations, to banks, to trusts or monopolies, for he was great enough, wise enough and far-seeing enough to know that monopoly rights and special privileges were inimical to true democracy or the best interests of all the people and would inevitably sooner or later build up one or more classes or privileged groups who would become a menace to pure government and oppressors of the people. Hence he fought for the nationalization of the land, or the preservation of the land for actual land-users; for popular ownership of all natural monopolies or public utilities; for the extension of the functions of government in many ways, such, for example, as the making of provisions by which the small farmers and producers might sell their products at as great advantage as the great producers. He

knew there was no such defence to a nation as a people enjoying happy homes of their own. The people who had a stake in the land and who were treated fairly and justly by their government would not fail the state in the hour of her need. Hence he devised various measures to aid all honest and willing workers to secure homes of their own. The out-of-works were given employment on the public utilities and other national works. Land and houses were provided for the laborers in such a manner that any willing worker might acquire a home.

The programme that the great Liberal Premier Ballance inaugurated was faithfully carried forward by Mr. Seddon; but even to enumerate the splendid record of steady advance in progressive democracy carried forward under the administration of the late Premier, whose beneficence and practicality have been fully demonstrated and which have transformed New Zealand from a social hell into one of the most happy, contented and prosperous commonwealths in the world would require more space than we have at our command.

It would not, however, be correct to claim that Mr. Seddon was the author of all the splendidly sane and practical measures that have been inaugurated since he became Prime Minister. He was a man of great sagacity in the judgment of men and this enabled him to draw around him a band of workers who held up his hands at every point. Sir Joseph Ward has been a tower of strength. Mr. Edward Tregear, Secretary of Labor and one of our special contributors, has been one of the most able intellectual aids in the councils of Mr. Seddon. He is a statesman of the higher order, a practical idealist, a passionate lover of the people, and an apostle of justice and brotherhood, and he has been one of the chief framers of many measures successfully put forward and enacted under the vigorous administration of the late Prime Minister. And there were many other high-minded statesmen equally under the compulsion of high moral idealism and democracy, who were gathered by Mr. Seddon as his counselors and aids. But the great Premier was the executive head, the mighty positive personality, a born leader and general, who always fought on the firing-line of the people's rights, a believer in democracy and coöperation, with that faith in his ideals and that

moral courage that differentiate the doer from the talker.

"The Premier believes," says Professor Parsons in his admirable *Story of New Zealand*, "that coöperation and democratic industry are the two hemispheres that will make up the industrial world of the future."

Mr. Seddon was called "Digger Dick" in the old mining days, and the title clung to him because it represented the tenacity of the man. When he came under the compulsion of an ideal, nothing could swerve him from his purpose. He never compromised with what he believed to be wrong. He never made boasts or a strong show of fight against classes or privileged interests and then surrendered to or compromised with them. He was ever and at all times true to the cause of the people. He was so thoroughly the embodiment of the ideal and aim of liberal or progressive democracy in the England of the Southern Seas that he was frequently called "King Dick," not because he sought to arrogate regal power or to bolster up any privileged class or interests, but because he was the masterful leader who embodied the ideals of the people. The fact that he was always tirelessly laboring to advance the cause of popular government and the interests, happiness, prosperity and development of all the people, that he was ever warring against special privileges or classes seeking to gain unjust power, marks the difference between him and many present-day politicians in our own land who make the loudest professions, but who will not take a stand and maintain it inflexibly against powerful interests that are despoiling the workers and robbing the consumers.

Outline of The Great Premier's Life.

Richard Seddon was born in 1845, in the home of an English farmer in Lancashire. He was educated for a mechanical engineer and at the age of eighteen, or in 1863, he went to Australia. Four years later he was attracted to New Zealand by the report of rich gold discoveries on the western coast of that island. Most of his money was made at this time in mining, though he later became the efficient head of a large and successful manufacturing business. In 1879 he was elected to the New Zealand Parliament, in which body he remained without intermission until his untimely death. When the Liberal party

came into power in 1890, Premier Ballance, one of the greatest constructive statesmen of the southern lands, called Richard Seddon to his cabinet as Minister of Public Works. Ballance died in 1893 and Mr. Seddon was selected by the Liberals as their leader. From that date he carried forward without interruption the programme of constructive and progressive democracy which made New Zealand the wonder of the world and the admiration of all friends of free and just government. He became the greatest practical leader among the constructive democratic statesmen of any land of the last generation. He always put the interests of the people above every other consideration, and he stood as a stone wall in the face of all opposition. He believed in the people and he trusted the people, and they did not fail him. The last election, carried in the autumn of 1905, was the most sweeping victory ever won for the Liberal government of New Zealand. He lived to see his ideals magnificently vindicated, and what had been loudly declared to be visionary, impractical and fraught with deadly peril to the island's prosperity proved to be the promoter of the greatest prosperity the commonwealth had ever known. He also lived to see the friends of true democracy the world over gaining inspiration, courage and faith in popular government from the island commonwealth of the Southern Seas.

Mr. Seddon on Public Ownership of Railways.

The views of the Prime Minister on governmental ownership and operation of public utilities were, as we would naturally expect from a true friend of popular government, and one who without holding a brief for privileged interests had long and carefully studied the subject, favorable to government ownership and in such striking contrast to those of the special-pleaders for corporate interests, such as political bosses who depend for campaign contributions on public-service companies and other monopolies, and corporation lawyers who have long been tools of the interests and who are to-day so numerous in the United States Senate—men of the Elkins, Foraker, Penrose, Lodge, Spooner, Platt, Depew and Aldrich stripe—that they afford an interesting illustration of the difference between progressive statesmanship of a high order, which is true to the cause of popular government and the interests of the people,

and the controlled brand of statesmanship, ever on the alert to serve the "interests" in all vital battles when the cause of the people clashes with that of greedy, unscrupulous and insatiable corporations. Premier Seddon's attitude on these questions is thus admirably stated by Professor Parsons in *The Story of New Zealand*:

"In respect to the management of railways, Premier Seddon says: 'It is my idea that the railroads are the servants of the people, and that they should be run entirely in their interest. We want to bring every farmer's product to the markets at the lowest possible cost. If we can build railroads so that the man 100 miles from the seashore can send his produce to the ship at the same cost as the man who lives only 10 miles away, we raise the value of the first man's land to that of the second. Nearly all the roads are making money, but there is no incentive to give anything else but the best service at the lowest possible cost.'

"But how about using such large bodies of men in Government employ? Do not the clerks vote to keep your party in power, and can you not make them do so?"

"I do not think," replied the Premier, 'that there has been any attempt to do anything of that kind, and I doubt if it could succeed. We have rigid civil-service rules and we maintain them.'

"Do you think the United States can ever have successful control of the railroads?" said the questioner.

"I do not see why not," said the Premier. 'Congress might take over the railroads at their market value, paying for them with Government bonds. Much cash would not be needed, for the holders of the railroad bonds would be glad to exchange them for Government bonds. I think your Government could run the railroads with much more benefit to the people, and that the time will come when your people will demand that it do so.'

"The workingmen believe in him because of his unvarying championship of them from the earliest days. The country people believe in him because of the vigor and tenacity with which he has fought for their land and tax and money reforms. The Progressives in general believe in him because he represents their ideas with courage and force. He is a great leader of a great people."

An American Journalist on New Zealand's Contribution to Democratic Progress Under Premier Seddon.

When the news of the death of the Prime-Minister was received in America, Mr. Allan L. Benson, one of our valued contributors and a leading editorial writer on the *Detroit Times*, contributed to that journal an extended editorial on "New Zealand's Great Premier and His Work," which contained such an admirable epitome of some of the most important changes wrought under the Seddon administration and by his party for the people and the cause of justice, that we make extended quotations from the article, feeling that it will be of interest to all our readers in the present battle between privilege and the people. In speaking of New Zealand as Mr. Seddon left it Mr. Benson says:

"It is very different from all other countries, and these are some of the reasons why Premier Seddon loved it and believed God loved it:

"New Zealand will not lend money to banks, but it will lend money to farmers and wage-workers.

"A farmer who has no land can go to the government, even if he be penniless, and get what land he needs to make a living. The government will also lend him enough money to put up buildings and put in his first crops, taking its pay as the farmer can afford to pay, after having earned the money.

"A factory-worker in a city, or any other laborer for that matter, can go to the government and rent a house for a sum just sufficient to pay the wear and tear on the building—or he can buy the house if he like for just what it cost the government to build it. He can pay for the house as slowly or as rapidly as he likes, and the government charges him only 4 per cent. interest on the indebtedness.

"A man out of work can ask the government of New Zealand to find him a job, and the government will do it without charge. More than that, if the job be in a distant city, the government will give him transportation to the job over a government railroad, requiring the man, however, to pay the government for his railroad fare after he has gone to work and can afford to do so.

"A New Zealand farmer is not compelled to sell his vegetables, live stock and grain to commission merchants who buy them as cheaply as possible and fatten off the farmer's industry. The government of New Zealand

sends agents throughout the country who collect all the butter, eggs, poultry, wheat, etc., and send them to the markets where the best prices are paid, returning to the farmers all of the money except exactly what it cost to perform the service. The government even has refrigerator ships in which it carries perishable produce to London, yet not a penny of profit is asked.

"New Zealanders do not pay \$7.50 a ton for anthracite coal as we do. New Zealand owns its own coal mines, and the government has stores all over the country in which coal is sold at the cost of production.

"New Zealand has no strikes or lock-outs. Whenever employers and employées cannot agree, a governmental court of arbitration listens to both sides and tells them what it considers just, and makes them do it. And strangely enough, the employers as well as the employées like it, because the court is fair. It is not 'packed' by either side, and does not decide always in favor of either side.

"New Zealand has no multi-millionaires, nor has it any tramps. It is making neither one nor the other. Its per capita wealth is greater than that of the United States, and it is distributed among four times as many persons.

"New Zealand gives pensions to her aged, deserving poor, not as a matter of charity, but as a matter of justice. If through no grievous fault of his own a man or a woman become old with an annual income not greater than \$250, the government will pay him or her a pension for life, varying from \$2 to \$5 a week.

"New Zealand has no political bosses, and no conventions. When they want to nominate a man for office in New Zealand, they do it by petition, and the signatures of a small percentage of the voters are sufficient to get his name on the ticket. The New Zealanders would not stand for such conventions as we have. They want to rule themselves without the aid of bosses or mercenaries, and they do it."

New Zealand Under Capitalistic Rule.

Mr. Benson also shows most strikingly the change wrought in this commonwealth since the henchmen of privileged wealth and reactionary ideals were routed by an awakened people and true democratic leaders came into power. On this point he observes:

"The writer of this editorial a few months ago received a letter from Mr. Tregear, Sec-

retary of Labor in New Zealand, in which the statement was made that 'this is the most prosperous country on earth.'

"Yet if it is 'God's own land' to-day, it was the devil's own land 16 years ago, when Mr. Seddon was preparing to take up the premiership.

"In 1890, the colony was writhing in wretchedness, and in the five years preceding that date, 20,000 able-bodied persons had emigrated because they could not get work.

"And those who had not money enough to flee over-seas were staying at home and living on charity.

"Said this same Premier Seddon, who has just died: 'We had soup kitchens, shelter-sheds, empty houses, men out of work, women and children wanting bread. This was how we found New Zealand in 1890. It was to be a country where the few were to be wealthy and the many were to be degraded and poverty-stricken.'"

ADVANCE IN VOLUNTARY COÖPERATION.

The Magnificent Financial Success of The English Co-Operative Society.

IN HIS inaugural address, delivered June 4th at the Annual Coöperative Congress of Great Britain, Mr. J. C. Gray, the General Secretary of the Coöperative Union, gave some figures and facts which indicate the enormous proportions to which the coöperative movement has grown in Great Britain since 1844, when a few very poor and hard-working citizens of Rochdale banded themselves together and inaugurated the coöperative movement since known as the Rochdale System.

"The 1,464 delegates attending this Congress," said Mr. Gray in his address, "are the duly appointed representatives of societies which have 1,656,786 members; whilst the Coöperative Union, which convenes the Congress, includes in its membership 1,230 societies which have 2,115,995 members out of a total coöperative membership of 2,259,479 persons. It will thus be seen that not only does the number of individual coöperators (2,115,995), who with their families may be estimated to number at least 9,000,000 persons, constitute a very large proportion of the total population of the country, but that the Congress itself, with its large delegation representing 1,656,786 persons, is entitled to speak with authority on behalf of the coöperative movement."

Later in his speech Mr. Gray showed that from 1861 to 1905 the trade of the coöperative societies amounted to £1,564,743,610, or about \$7,823,718,050; and the profits derived from the trade reached the enormous

total of £153,118,706, or about \$765,593,530. In 1905 the profits of the distributive societies amounted to £9,559,238, or about \$47,760,190.

These figures are an eloquent answer to the question as to whether voluntary coöperation can be made a practical business success, and the showing is one that should appeal with peculiar force to those who are always skeptical as to the practicability of any idealistic experiments. Of this success Mr. Gray well says:

"We may well feel a great amount of satisfaction at the results of the past sixty years' work. We point with pride to our millions of members, millions of capital, millions of trade and profits. We have done much to carry out the programme originally laid down. We have conquered in the field of distribution; we have made great headway in production, in fact, much more than appears on the surface, as I have shown, on more than one occasion, by a careful analysis of the figures. We have done much for the education and recreation of our members and their children, and in many cases we have led the way for the municipal and local authorities to follow our example. And especially in that most important sphere of reform—sanitary housing—have we accomplished great things, and would no doubt have done more had there been better facilities for acquiring land on reasonable terms."

Mr. Gray's Plea for Closer Union and a Programme Instinct With Moral Idealism.

There is, however, another aspect of the coöperative movement as found at the present

time in Great Britain that is less satisfactory. The early coöperators and the great apostles of coöperation of England, from the days of Robert Owen, were men who were primarily under the domination or compulsion of moral ideals. To them coöperation was a religion—the religion of human brotherhood, the practical exemplification of the Golden Rule in business life. This of course did not blind them to the fact that to be successful it must also be made financially profitable. But in the old days moral idealism or the spiritual enthusiasm that exalts and ennobles men and measures was the overmastering influence. Later the greed for gain or a passion for profits on the part of the coöperators has very largely thrust the moral ideals into the background and there has been more or less competition and strife between various organizations.

Mr. Gray is himself a practical idealist, a man of marvelous business ability; and in the opinion of Professor Parsons, who made a careful personal study of coöperation in Great Britain, the General Secretary is the most capable business man in the movement and one of the most practical and successful business men of the day. But he is also a man of the highest ethical ideals. In his address he makes an eloquent plea for the reenthronement of ethical idealism, and he points out also the great necessity of a close and compact business organization in order to achieve the best results for the movement and in the long run for the individual membership. This is something that should appeal to all sagacious business men who are acquainted with the trend of the age. No longer can loosely-organized and affiliated bodies compete successfully with compact and well-organized corporations manned and officered by strong, wide-awake and intelligent men. And hand in hand with this more perfect organization Mr. Gray pleads for the setting aside of a portion of the profits for educational work and for the practical pushing forward of the work of coöperation in a systematic, comprehensive and intelligent manner, as well as for the exemplification in practical ways of the moral idealism of the early coöperators.

If the English coöperators are wise enough to adopt the plan outlined by the able General Secretary we believe that a far greater success awaits them in the future than that which has already crowned their work as one of the greatest achievements of the past fifty years.

College Co-Operative Stores in America.

IN OUR April issue Mr. Ira Cross presented an interesting and informing paper on *College Coöperative Stores in America*, showing that the principle of voluntary coöperation that has proved so remarkably successful in England has taken deep root in our American colleges and universities—places which promise much for coöperation in the years that are to come; for it is reasonable to suppose that many of the young men and women in our superior educational institutions who see the practical advantages of coöperation and become themselves enthusiastic for their college-stores, will later become great leaders in co-operative commercial enterprises that shall become nation-wide in scope and influence, as are such movements throughout Great Britain and other European nations. Since the appearance of Mr. Cross's paper we have received an interesting little pamphlet entitled *The College Coöperative Store in America*, compiled by W. R. Messenger and published by the Educational Department of the American College Stores Corporation of New Haven, Connecticut. From this pamphlet it is evident that a number of our leading educators are enthusiastic friends of the coöperative store. President Charles W. Eliot, in speaking of the Harvard Coöperative Society, says:

"Its business, at first small, grew steadily; so that a year and a half ago it acquired a building of its own not on College land and now carries on a shop at which the public, as well as members of the University, may deal. . . . It has always been highly advantageous to members of the University in that it enables them to buy a large variety of goods at prices lower than they could otherwise obtain."

And President Benjamin I. Wheeler of the University of California writes:

"Our coöperative store at Berkeley is a thorough success. We could not get along now without it. The whole University community depends upon it. . . . Its prices are reasonable and tend to prevent overcharging on the part of shops in the town. At the same time, the prices are not put so low as to interfere with other people's business. An eight per cent. rebate to purchasers at the end of the year has been found possible for the last

three years and, meantime, the stock of goods has steadily increased and improved."

In speaking of the result in certain schools Mr. Messenger observes:

"The Harvard Coöperative Society has" since its organization "paid back to its members over \$100,000 in dividends, does annually a business of over a quarter of a million dollars, has over 3,000 members, employs over 40 clerks and transacts its business in a four-story structure which it owns outright. . . . The Cornell Coöperative Store has been so successful that in 1905 it became incorporated

and does annually a volume of business amounting to \$50,000. . . . Princeton organized and incorporated during the present year with sales that already approach nearly \$50,000, with over 90 per cent. of students coöperative members."

Among the other well-known American colleges and universities which have coöperative stores in successful operation are Yale, Amherst, Williams, the State Universities of Virginia, Tennessee, Texas, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Missouri, the Leland Stanford Junior University, and the Northwestern University.

ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE: SCIENTIST, PHILOSOPHER AND HUMANITARIAN.*

A BOOK-STUDY.

I. AN INFORMING AND INSPIRING LIFE-STORY.

THERE are few forms of literature so helpful to general readers, and especially to young men and women, as autobiographies of the few really great men of all ages, when the life-stories are marked by simplicity, directness and sincerity. They bring us into personal rapport with the aristocracy of brain and soul—the men who have enlightened and lifted the world. Doubly valuable are these works when the men in question have lived fine, true, simple and noble lives while in a large way pushing forward the frontiers of human knowledge, enriching all future ages by calling forth great truths that have hitherto slumbered in the womb of mystery.

In the recently published autobiography of Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace we have such a life-story. The author was not only the co-discoverer with Charles Darwin of the evolutionary theory and one of the greatest, if not indeed the greatest working naturalist of the nineteenth century, but he was and is a sane, enlightened and progressive reformer with a true statesman's vision, and a broad-minded philosopher whose noble humanita-

rianism has ever matched his passion for truth.

The present autobiography has, we think, a fault common to most large two-volume works of this character. It dwells in a somewhat too extended manner on unimportant personal details and facts relating to the family and friends of the author. All these things, while making the work especially precious to family and friends, hold no personal interest for the general reader and tend to take from the interest and value of the work. This fault, however, is insignificant in comparison with the general excellence of the life story, which merits the widest reading.

II. THE EARLY LIFE OF DR. WALLACE.

The careers of few men of the nineteenth century are so rich in lessons of worth for the thoughtful young men and women of our day as is that of Alfred Russel Wallace, while the story of his labors, discoveries and conclusions cannot fail to broaden and deepen the culture of those wise enough to follow the simple, earnest, truth-loving philosopher as from youth to a victorious and fruitful old age he has tirelessly striven to enlarge the borders of knowledge in the realm of science and philosophy and to better the condition of the millions of earth.

He was born in a humble home. His

**My Life: A Record of Events and Opinions.* By Alfred Russel Wallace. Two volumes. Cloth. Price, \$6.00 net. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company.

father was a man of education, but somewhat lacking in energetic perseverance, especially when engaged in labors along practical lines, and the finances of the family suffered as the years passed, so it was impossible to give the children who came into the home the liberal education that they craved. Alfred Russel, in common with his brothers, received only the ordinary grammar-school education of the time, though this was supplemented by home training and education which probably counted for quite as much as that which he received in school. The father belonged to a circulating library association which enabled him to obtain the latest and best books. These he read aloud to the family during the evenings, and in this way all the little group gained a love for literature and a breadth of culture in certain directions that many youths with far better scholastic advantages do not acquire. Later the father was librarian in an excellent library, and many afternoons after school was out, Alfred went to the library and devoured the contents of choice books until it grew too dark to read longer.

But the time came, and that when the youth was only fourteen years of age, when the father could no longer support the boy and it became necessary for him to leave the home-roof and earn his own livelihood. It was arranged that he should go in company with his elder brother William, a surveyor by profession, and as his aid earn a sufficient amount to maintain himself while learning land surveying. As the elder brother was not quite ready to start on his labors, Alfred spent a period of four or five months with his brother John who was apprenticed to a carpentering firm in London. This time was well spent in increasing his general education.

At that time Robert Owen's social philosophy was being presented to the English people and it had already attracted quite a large following in London. Headquarters had been opened under the somewhat pretentious name of "Hall of Science," and here lectures were given explaining Mr. Owen's theories and describing the wonderful work that he had achieved at New Lanark. There were also reading-rooms and rooms for physical exercise in the Hall of Science, and hither young Wallace and his brother John were wont to go of an evening. Thus a new world of thought opened before the youth during the impressionable and formative period of life. He read with great avidity many works of

social reform and liberal thought, while the social philosophy of Robert Owen made a life-long impression on his mind.

In the early summer of 1837 he set out as aid to his brother William in surveying, and for the next few years the two brothers were thus engaged. Very beautiful is the description of the simple and wholesome life they led as they journeyed through England and Wales wherever their work chanced to call them. Both brothers were great lovers of nature, but to Alfred the marvels of the Great Mother appealed with irresistible charm. The wonderful wild flora and the multitudinous plants of England and Wales were an unfailing source of pure delight. Yet he longed to know the names of the plants, their habits, and the great families to which they belonged. He had time to study during rainy days, on Sundays, and frequently in the evenings, and at length he obtained a small work on botany, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge. Later, by saving up his money, he was enabled to buy a large and authoritative work on the subject, while a friend loaned him an encyclopedia of the plant life of Great Britain. This in large part he copied, pasting the leaves in his botany. Thus equipped he began a systematic study of the plants with which he came in contact. Soon he had obtained a far better knowledge of botany than most youths who had gone through the books at school but who had not had the subjects illustrated and impressed on the brain by seeing and examining the plants of which they had read. During spare moments young Wallace, who possessed a wonderfully methodical mind, drew charts and tables for the classification of the plant life of England. Thus he pursued his study in the painstaking and eager manner of the specialist in love with his work and possessing a quenchless thirst for knowledge. Later he studied geology, ornithology and entomology in the same painstaking manner. When in London he visited the great museums to familiarize himself with the birds, butterflies, beetles and other animal life of the world described in the various textbooks he had set out to master, and which he did master more completely than most specialists in natural history of his age.

In 1844 Mr. Wallace came of age, having been born on the eighth of January, 1823. By this time his brother had filled all the engagements he had been able to secure for survey-

ing, and new work was so difficult to obtain that it became necessary for Alfred to seek other employment. He therefore secured, after a little waiting, a position as teacher in the Collegiate School at Leicester, kept by the Rev. Abraham Hill, a position which he retained a little over a year, or until the sudden death of his brother William, when it became necessary for him to devote his time to winding up his elder brother's business affairs.

During the time which he spent as teacher in the Leicester Collegiate School he had access to a fine library and as a result he made great advance in his self-education through systematic study of standard works. Among the books mastered at this time which he states had a special influence on his life were Humboldt's *Personal Narrative of Travels in South America*, a work which awakened a desire to travel in the tropics, and Malthus' *Principles of Population*, a work without which, he says, "I should probably not have hit upon the theory of natural selection." A little later *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* produced a strong impression on his mind, as is shown by a letter to a scientific friend, while the works of Lyell afforded him the greatest enjoyment, opening new vistas of truth and increasing his love of natural history and physical science in general. Darwin's *Journals* served to further stimulate the desire to visit the tropics which Humboldt's *Travels* had awakened.

At this time occurred one of those seeming accidents that exercise a life-shaping influence. Mr. Wallace chanced to become acquainted with Henry Walter Bates, an enthusiastic entomologist who had made extensive collections of bugs, beetles and butterflies. In association with this scientific enthusiast, young Wallace became as deeply interested in entomology as he had been in botany, and forthwith began a most thorough system of self-culture on the subject, supplementing it with studies of other branches of natural science. He and Bates became intimate friends and together conceived the idea of setting forth for the tropics as collectors of butterflies, beetles and other forms of life. A work had recently appeared by Mr. W. H. Edwards entitled *A Voyage Up the Amazon*, which determined the young men to fare forth to the wilds of the South American forests, provided they could make arrangements for the disposal of their collections of butterflies and other insects, so as to pay expenses.

They were encouraged in their purpose by Mr. Edward Doubleday, who had charge of the department of butterflies in the British Museum. He stated that if they collected land shells, birds and mammals as well as insects, he felt sure they could easily pay all their expenses. Thus encouraged, and after making arrangements with a party to act as agent in London, the two young men took passage in a sailing vessel for Para in the spring of 1848.

III. FOUR YEARS ON THE AMAZON AND RIO NEGRO.

For four years Alfred Russel Wallace devoted himself tirelessly and with unflagging zeal to his labors. He explored the banks of the Amazon, Rio Negro and many of their tributaries and sent home enough specimens to pay his expenses, but he saved the greater number of his collections to take with him when he returned. He collected butterflies, beetles and other insects and many rare specimens of birds and other forms of life. He made a study of the wonderfully beautiful fish of the rivers he traversed. These he described with great minuteness and accompanied his descriptions with careful drawings. He also made geographical surveys, charting and mapping little-known rivers and correcting errors in the maps of the day in regard to certain streams in parts of their courses. Naturally, loving botany as he did, he also made a very careful study of the vegetable life of this wonderful region and thus contributed in a real way to the world's knowledge of these parts in regard to geography and plant and animal life.

It would seem from his narrative that Bates and Wallace were not much together during their wanderings. Doubtless they felt it wisest to take different sections for their search. They were in touch, however, from time to time, and ever after maintained the warm friendship that had grown up between them in England.

In summing up his recollections and impressions of his sojourn in South America Mr. Wallace thus refers to the three things that most impressed him during his wandering up the great rivers of central South America:

"Looking back over my four years' wandering in the Amazon valley, there seem to me to be three great features which especially impressed me, and which fully equaled or

even surpassed my expectations of them. The first was the virgin forest, everywhere grand, often beautiful and even sublime. Its wonderful variety with a more general uniformity never palled. Standing under one of its great buttressed trees—itsself a marvel of nature—and looking carefully around, noting the various columnar trunks rising like lofty pillars, one soon perceives that hardly two of these are alike. The shape of the trunks, their color and texture, the nature of their bark, their mode of branching and the character of the foliage far overhead, or of the fruits or flowers lying on the ground, have an individuality which shows that they are all distinct species differing from one another as our oak, elm, beech, ash, lime and sycamore differ. This extraordinary variety of the species is a general though not universal characteristic of tropical forests, but seems to be nowhere so marked a feature as in the great forest regions which encircle the globe for a few degrees on each side of the equator.

“The second feature, that I can never think of without delight, is the wonderful variety and exquisite beauty of the butterflies and birds, a variety and charm which grow upon one month after month and year after year, as ever new and beautiful, strange and even mysterious, forms are continually met with. Even now I can hardly recall them without a thrill of admiration and wonder.

“The third and most unexpected sensation of surprise and delight was my first meeting and living with a man in a state of nature—with absolute uncontaminated savages! This was on the Uaupés river, and the surprise of it was that I did not in the least expect to be so surprised. I had already been two years in the country always among Indians of many tribes; but these were all what are called tame Indians, they wore at least trousers and shirt; they had been (nominally) converted to Christianity, and were under the government of the nearest authorities; and all of them spoke either Portuguese or the common language, called ‘Lingoa-Geral.’

“But these true wild Indians of the Uaupés were at once seen to be something totally different. They had nothing that we call clothes; they had peculiar ornaments, tribal marks, etc.; they all carried weapons or tools of their own manufacture; they are living in a large house, many families together, quite unlike the hut of the tame Indians; but, more

than all, their whole aspect and manner were different—they were all going about their own work of pleasure which had nothing to do with the white men or their ways; they walked with the free step of the independent forest-dweller, and, except the few that were known to my companion, paid no attention whatever to us, mere strangers of an alien race. In every detail they were original and self-sustaining as are the wild animals of the forests, absolutely independent of civilization, and who could and did live their own lives in their own way, as they had done for countless generations before America was discovered. I could not have believed that there would be so much difference in the aspect of the same people in their native state and when living under European supervision. The true denizen of the Amazonian forests, like the forest itself, is unique and not to be forgotten.”

IV. A SEA-VOYAGE FRAUGHT WITH PERIL AND DISASTER.

At the end of four years Mr. Wallace determined to return home with his rich collection, a veritable argosy for the young man, representing the principal harvest of his hard years of toil. He embarked on July 12, 1852, on a sailing vessel named “The Helen,” loaded chiefly with rubber, cocoa, anatto and balsam-capivi. The voyage, which was as rich in thrilling experiences, disasters and narrow escapes as the most daring creation of the novelist’s brain, was described in the simple and unaffected manner peculiar to the writings of Mr. Wallace at the time of its occurrence in a letter written to a friend in South America as the young naturalist was nearing the coast of England, and so graphic is the description that we give the story largely in Mr. Wallace’s own words.

On the morning of August 6th, when the young naturalist was busily engaged in his stateroom, the captain appeared saying: “I am afraid the ship is on fire.” Mr. Wallace immediately went with him on deck, when it was found that the smoke was rising from various parts of the vessel. The balsam-capivi, which is highly combustible and liable to ignite after a ship begins to rock, is usually transported in kegs packed in damp sand. The captain of the vessel, however, not knowing the danger, had packed a large portion of his cargo in rice-chaff, with the result that this highly inflammable gum had taken fire. After vainly endeavoring to check the flames

it soon became evident that the only hope for the sailors lay in the life-boats. Accordingly, to use Mr. Wallace's own language, "the crew were employed getting out the boats, the captain looked after his chronometer, sextant, books, charts, and compasses, and I got up a small tin box containing a few shirts, and put in it my drawings of fishes and palms, which were luckily at hand; also my watch and a purse with a few sovereigns. Most of my clothes were scattered about the cabin, and in the dense suffocating smoke it was impossible to look after them. There were two good boats, the long-boat and the captain's gig, and it took a good deal of time to get the merest necessities collected and put into them, and to lower them into the water. Two casks of biscuit and a cask of water were got in, a lot of raw pork and some ham, a few tins of preserved meats and vegetables, and some wine. Then there were corks to stop the holes in the boats, oars, masts, sails, and rudders to be looked up, spare spars, cordage, twine, canvas, needles, carpenter's tools, nails, etc. The crew brought up their bags of clothes, and all were bundled indiscriminately into the boats, which, having been so long in the sun, were very leaky and soon became half full of water, so that two men in each of them had to be constantly bailing out the water with buckets.

"All hands were at once ordered into the boats, which were astern of the ship. It was now about twelve o'clock, only three hours from the time the smoke was first discovered. I had to let myself down into the boat by a rope, and being rather weak it slipped through my hands and took the skin off all my fingers, and finding the boat still half full of water I set to bailing, which made my hands smart very painfully. We lay near the ship all the afternoon, watching the progress of the flames, which soon covered the hinder part of the vessel and rushed up the shrouds and sails in a most magnificent conflagration. Soon afterwards, by the rolling of the ship, the masts broke off and fell overboard, the decks soon burnt away, the ironwork at the sides became red-hot, and last of all the bowsprit, being burnt at the base, fell also. No one had thought of being hungry till darkness came on, when we had a meal of biscuit and raw ham, and then disposed ourselves as well as we could for the night, which, you may be sure, was by no means a pleasant one. Our

boats continued very leaky, and we could not cease an instant from bailing; there was a considerable swell, though the day had been remarkably fine, and there were constantly floating around us pieces of the burnt wreck, masts, etc., which might have stove in our boats had we not kept a constant lookout to keep clear of them. We remained near the ship all night in order that we might have the benefit of its flames attracting any vessel that might pass within sight of it.

"I cannot attempt to describe my feelings and thoughts during these events. I was surprised to find myself very cool and collected. I hardly thought it possible we should escape, and I remember thinking it almost foolish to save my watch and the little money I had at hand. However, after being in the boats some days I began to have more hope, and regretted not having saved some new shoes, cloth coat and trousers, hat, etc., which I might have done with little trouble. My collections, however, were in the hold, and were irretrievably lost. And now I began to think that almost all the reward of my four years of privation and danger was lost. What I had hitherto sent home had little more than paid my expenses, and what I had with me in the "Helen" I estimated would have realized about £500. But even all this might have gone with little regret had not by far the richest part of my own private collection gone also. All my private collection of insects and birds since I left Para was with me, and comprised hundreds of new and beautiful species, which would have rendered (I had fondly hoped) my cabinet, as far as regards American species, one of the finest in Europe. . . . But besides this, I have lost a number of sketches, drawings, notes and observations on natural history, besides the three most interesting years of my journal, the whole of which, unlike any pecuniary loss, can never be replaced.

"Day after day we continued in the boats. The winds changed, blowing dead from the point to which we wanted to go. We were scorched by the sun, my hands, nose, and ears being completely skinned, and were drenched continually by the seas or spray. We were therefore almost constantly wet, and had no comfort and little sleep at night. Our meals consisted of raw pork and biscuit, with a little preserved meat or carrots once a day, which was a great luxury, and a short allow-

ance of water, which left us as thirsty as before directly after we had drunk it. Ten days and ten nights we spent in this manner. We were still two hundred miles from Bermuda, when in the afternoon a vessel was seen, and by eight in the evening we were on board her, much rejoiced to have escaped a death on the wide ocean, whence none would have come to tell the tale."

The vessel that rescued them was an unseaworthy old tub, but meagerly provisioned with food that was not fit for human beings to touch. Shortly after they were taken aboard a terrific storm arose which threatened to destroy the vessel, and it was followed a few days later by a still greater tempest. The ship was considerably damaged and it was necessary to keep the pumps going steadily to keep down the water. However, she weathered the storm and reached England by October first.

V. LONDON: THE NATURALIST BECOMES AN AUTHOR.

Here a pleasant surprise awaited Mr. Wallace, as, arriving in London, he found that through the foresight of his agent his collection had been insured for a thousand dollars. This supplied him with money for immediate needs and enabled him to spend several months in London,—time enough to get out his two first works, one on *The Palms of the Amazon and Rio Negro*, and the other *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, and to further prosecute his studies in natural science so as to fully equip him for his next expedition to the tropics; for though when on the ocean he had determined never again to brave the seas, he soon felt the goad of desire for more knowledge in regard to tropical life which would enable him to solve many problems that were haunting his brain, and he determined to make the Malay Archipelago the field of research, as here tropical life was particularly rich in those forms that were the most alluring to him.

The collections which he had sent home from time to time during his stay in Brazil had made his name well known to the authorities of the Zoölogical and Entomological Societies, and on reaching London he received a ticket giving him free admission to the Zoölogical Gardens while he remained in England. He was a welcome visitor at the scientific meetings of both societies. In 1850 he had sent a paper on the Umbrella Bird,

then almost unknown to British ornithologists, to the British Zoölogical Society, which was printed in the Society's Proceedings for that year; and on his return to England the Royal Geographical Society induced him to contribute a paper on the little-known region traversed by the Rio Negro and Uaupés rivers.

During his stay in England and while preparing his two first books, he attended the meetings of various scientific societies, especially those concerned with physical science. Here he met a number of England's foremost scientists and made many life-long acquaintances.

VI. EIGHT YEARS' WANDERING IN THE TROPICAL ISLES OF THE FAR EAST.

In the early spring of 1854 Mr. Wallace set out for the Malay Archipelago and in due time arrived at Singapore, from whence he began his eight years' of wandering throughout the Malay Archipelago, which, to use his own language, "constituted the central and controlling incident" of his life. Here for eight years he journeyed from island to island, often visiting the seldom-frequented regions where savage tribes of head-hunters had dwelt for generations, and at times camping for weeks or months on the edge of swamps and in jungles; and during the greater part of his wanderings he had no white companion, but was served by a bright little Malay boy who proved very faithful both as servant, cook and assistant in his work. For the rest he had to depend largely on strangers of alien races whom he was able to pick up from time to time to serve as boatmen, guides, burden-bearers and land servants.

We cannot, of course, follow the naturalist during these years of wandering in the wild and untrodden islands of the eastern seas, but from the following extract taken from a letter written home shortly after he began his research in the Malay Archipelago we gain an idea of the life he was compelled to lead during a great portion of the time, and some of the dangers he was constantly confronting. He is describing his work in the jungle near Malacca where he spent some time:

"At Malacca I had a strong touch of fever, with the old 'Rio Negro' symptoms. . . . Insects are not very abundant there, still, by perseverance, I got a good number, and many rare ones. Of birds, too, I made a good collection. I went to the celebrated Mount

Ophir, and ascended to the top, sleeping under a rock. The walk there was hard work, thirty miles through the jungle in a succession of mud-holes, and swarming with leeches, which crawled all over us, and sucked when and where they pleased. . . . I got some fine new butterflies there, and hundreds of other new or rare insects. Huge centipedes and scorpions, some nearly a foot long, were common, but we none of us got stung or bitten. We only had rice, and a little fish and tea, but came home quite well. The mountain is over four thousand feet high. Near the top are beautiful ferns and pitcher-plants, of which I made a small collection. Elephants and rhinoceroses, as well as tigers, are abundant there."

That he was more than once in deadly peril we can easily imagine. On one occasion his little boat was driven on rocks and almost wrecked on a savage coast. At other times he was for weeks and months in constant peril from poisonous reptiles, insects and the denizens of the virgin forests and swamps, to say nothing of the savage peoples. Frequently he was the victim of the fevers of the tropics, and one of the most interesting parts of this narrative of peculiar fascination is the scientist's description of how the key to one of the great riddles of the evolutionary theory flashed upon him when he was in the grip of a hard chill incident to a malarial fever. So important is the truth that came to the naturalist at this time, and because it is related to one of the most interesting incidents in the history of the development of the evolutionary theory, we quote somewhat at length:

"It was while waiting at Ternate in order to get ready for my next journey, and to decide where I should go, that the idea already referred to occurred to me. It has been shown how, for the preceding eight or nine years, the great problem of the origin of species had been continually pondered over, and how my varied observations and study had been made use of to lay the foundation for its full discussion and elucidation. My paper written at Sarawak rendered it certain to my mind that the change had taken place by natural succession and descent—one species becoming changed either slowly or rapidly into another. But the exact process of the change and the causes which led to it were absolutely unknown and appeared almost inconceivable. The great difficulty was to understand how,

if one species was gradually changed into another, there continued to be so many quite distinct species, so many which differed from their nearest allies by slight yet perfectly definite and constant characters. One would expect that if it was a law of nature that species were continually changing so as to become in time new and distinct species, the world would be full of an inextricable mixture of various slightly different forms, so that the well-defined and constant species we see would not exist. Again, not only are species, as a rule, separated from each other by distinct external characters, but they almost always differ also to some degree in their food, in the places they frequent, in their habits and instincts, and all these characters are quite as definite and constant as are the external characters. The problem then was, not only how and why do species change, but how and why do they change into new and well-defined species, distinguished from each other in so many ways; why and how do they become so exactly adapted to distinct modes of life; and why do all the intermediate grades die out (as geology shows they have died out) and leave only clearly-defined and well-marked species, genera, and higher groups of animals."

Mr. Wallace next observes how this new idea or principle which occurred to him at this time "answers all these questions and solves all these difficulties, and it is because it does so, and also because it is in itself self-evident and absolutely certain, that it has been accepted by the whole scientific world as affording a true solution of the great problem of the origin of species."

And now follows the interesting narrative of how the new truth was suddenly revealed to him and the result:

"At the time in question I was suffering from a sharp attack of intermittent fever, and every day during the cold and succeeding hot fits had to lie down for several hours, during which time I had nothing to do but think over any subjects then particularly interesting me. One day something brought to my recollection Malthus's *Principles of Population*, which I had read about twelve years before. I thought of his clear exposition of 'the positive checks to increase'—disease, accidents, war, and famine—which keep down the population of savage races to so much lower an average than that of more civilized peoples. It then occurred to me that these causes or their equiv-

alents are continually acting in the case of animals also; and as animals usually breed much more rapidly than does mankind, the destruction every year from these causes must be enormous in order to keep down the numbers of each species, since they evidently do not increase regularly from year to year, as otherwise the world would long ago have been densely crowded with those that breed most quickly. Vaguely thinking over the enormous and constant destruction which this implied, it occurred to me to ask the question, Why do some die and some live? And the answer was clearly, that on the whole the best fitted live. From the effects of disease the most healthy escaped; from enemies, the strongest, the swiftest, or the most cunning; from famine, the best hunters or those with the best digestion; and so on. Then it suddenly flashed upon me that this self-acting process would necessarily *improve the race*, because in every generation the inferior would inevitably be killed off and the superior would remain—that is, the *fittest would survive*. Then at once I seemed to see the whole effect of this, that when changes of land and sea, or of climate, or of food-supply, or of enemies occurred—and we know that such changes have always been taking place—and considering the amount of individual variation that my experience as a collector had shown me to exist, then it followed that all the changes necessary for the adaptation of the species to the changing conditions would be brought about; and as great changes in the environment are always slow, there would be ample time for the change to be effected by the survival of the best fitted in every generation. In this way every part of an animal's organization could be modified exactly as required, and in the very process of this modification the unmodified would die out, and thus the *definite* characters and the clear *isolation* of each new species would be explained. The more I thought over it the more I became convinced that I had at length found the long-sought-for law of nature that solved the problem of the origin of species. For the next hour I thought over the deficiencies in the theories of Lamarck and of the author of the *Vestiges*, and I saw that my new theory supplemented these views and obviated every important difficulty. I waited anxiously for the termination of my fit so that I might at once make notes for a paper on the subject. The same evening I did this pretty fully, and

on the two succeeding evenings wrote it out carefully in order to send it to Darwin by the next post, which would leave in a day or two.

"I wrote a letter to him in which I said that I hoped the idea would be as new to him as it was to me, and that it would supply the missing factor to explain the origin of species. I asked him if he thought it sufficiently important to show to Sir Charles Lyell, who had thought so highly of my former paper."

Mr. Wallace does not enter into the details of what followed the receipt of his paper by Mr. Darwin, as the latter had dwelt on that in his autobiographical sketch published years earlier. Briefly, it may be observed that Charles Darwin had years before come to conclusions similar to those expressed by Mr. Wallace and had imparted his views confidentially to a few intimate friends, including Sir Charles Lyell, Dr. Hooker and Professor Asa Gray of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. On receipt of Mr. Wallace's paper and letter, Mr. Darwin found himself in a quandary. He did not desire to appear to appropriate any one's else discovery, yet his conclusions, though carefully guarded save as he had imparted them to his intimate friends, had been entertained for fifteen years and he had already prepared half of his great work elucidating them. In his dilemma he sought advice from Sir Charles Lyell, who counseled him to make an abstract of his great work and accompany it with explanations and a letter which he had written to Professor Gray a year previous, showing that he had long ere this fully arrived at the same conclusions as those advanced by Mr. Wallace, and that both these papers should be given in the forthcoming meeting of the Linnean Society. In the *Life and Letters of Charles Darwin* the great author of the *Origin of Species* gives this interesting account of the publication of the two papers:

"Early in 1856 Lyell advised me to write out my views pretty fully, and I began at once to do so on a scale three or four times as extensive as that which was afterwards followed in my *Origin of Species*; yet it was only an abstract of the materials which I had collected, and I got through about half the work on this scale. But my plans were overthrown, for early in the summer of 1858 Mr. Wallace, who was then in the Malay Archipelago, sent me an essay 'On the Tendency of Varieties to depart indefinitely from the Original Type';

and this essay contained exactly the same theory as mine. Mr. Wallace expressed the wish that if I thought well of his essay, I should send it to Lyell for perusal.

"The circumstances under which I consented at the request of Lyell and Hooker to allow of an abstract from my MS., together with a letter to Asa Gray, dated September 5, 1857, to be published at the same time with Wallace's Essay, are given in the *Journal of the Proceedings of the Linnean Society*, 1858, p. 45. I was at first very unwilling to consent, as I thought Mr. Wallace might consider my doing so unjustifiable, for I did not then know how generous and noble was his disposition. The extract from my MS. and the letter to Asa Gray had neither been intended for publication, and were badly written. Mr. Wallace's essay, on the other hand, was admirably expressed and quite clear."

During his evenings and on rainy days when he was not otherwise engaged with his collections, Mr. Wallace wrote letters and papers of deep interest, containing not only vivid descriptions of his life and discoveries, but pregnant with the rich fruitage of his reasoning from facts and observations at hand. One of these papers, as we have just seen, was "On the Tendency of Varieties to depart indefinitely from the Original Type," and dwelt on the great truth of the survival of the fittest. Another paper written much earlier was entitled "On the Law which has regulated the Introduction of New Species." It was published in *The Annals and Magazine of Natural History* in 1858. He also spent every spare moment he felt he could take from other work in reading a few great books that afforded additional food for his imagination and reasoning faculties. But his time when not ill with fevers was for the most part devoted to collecting, classifying and properly mounting birds, butterflies, beetles and other insects. In a letter to his friend Bates, written from Ternate in 1858, he gives a list of the different distinct species he had collected up to date during his Malay wanderings. These numbered 8,540. In 1861 he writes of "cleaning, arranging, comparing and packing for safe transmission to the other side of the world about sixteen thousand specimens of insects, birds and shells."

From such facts we see how indefatigable he had been in his arduous labor. On his return to England in 1862, in addition to his

immense and valuable collection of specimens he brought two extremely beautiful and rare birds of paradise, such as had never before been seen alive in Europe. They were for some time a leading attraction in the Zoological Gardens of London.

VII. AT HOME AGAIN: HIS CHIEF SCIENTIFIC WORKS.

On reaching London Mr. Wallace found that his printed papers and his valuable work for natural history had won for him the admiration and friendship of most of England's foremost physical scientists. Everywhere the worth of his views on subjects relating to physical science in general and natural history in particular was highly respected and his great ability as a logical reasoner was fittingly recognized. Among those who were especially warm in their friendship and appreciation were Sir Charles Lyell, the Nestor of physical science of the day, and Charles Darwin, the master-spirit among the evolutionary leaders. Herbert Spencer, T. H. Huxley, and indeed all the more eminent of the progressive school of physical scientists were numbered among his personal friends. He also found his services in demand by the great societies which were carrying forward the various branches of investigation in natural science and history.

Formerly he had dreamed of devoting his life to the personal investigation of the multitudinous lower forms of life in the vegetable and animal world, which had lured him to the tropics of the Old and the New World and had held such almost irresistible charm for him during more than twelve years. But now, when he was recognized as one of the foremost, if not as the very greatest working naturalist of the age, he found the horizon of thought so greatly broadened that other and vaster themes lured him with compelling power. His philosophical research and his personal investigations carried forward in a rationalistic attempt to solve in so far as possible the riddle of the ages, the story of the ascent of life, dwarfed his former ambitions, and there were also other themes that called to him, not the least of which was the bettering of social conditions for all the children of men.

Sir Charles Lyell conceived a high regard for the intellectual ability of Mr. Wallace and the soundness of his reasoning, and after the naturalist returned from the Far East a warm and lasting friendship sprang up between the

two. Charles Darwin also cherished for him the highest regard. The entire absence of any feeling of jealousy between the two great scientists and co-discoverers of a revolutionary theory was as beautiful as exceptional. On one occasion Mr. Darwin in a personal letter to Mr. Wallace wrote as follows:

"I hope it is a satisfaction to you to reflect and very few things in my life have been more satisfactory to me—that we have never felt any jealousy towards each other, though in some sense rivals. I believe I can say this of myself with truth, and I am absolutely sure that it is true of you."

Darwin ever entertained a very high regard for Mr. Wallace's reasoning power and his ability to make dry subjects perfectly plain and interesting. He also frequently appealed to him for light on different questions, though the two scientists often differed radically in their views and conclusions. In one of his letters Mr. Darwin thus refers to one of our author's contributions to *Nature*:

"I must ease myself by writing a few words to say how much I and all in this house admire your article in *Nature*. You are certainly an unparalleled master in lucidly stating a case and in arguing. Nothing ever was better done than your argument about the term Origin of Species, and about much being gained if we know nothing about the precise cause of each variation."

It was during the thirty years following his return to England from the Far East that Mr. Wallace wrote his greatest scientific works, among the most important of which were *The Malay Archipelago*, *Geographical Distribution of Animals*, *Natural Selection and Tropical Nature*, and *Island Life*. He also published a great number of smaller treatises and wrote frequently for the leading magazines, as well as preparing several papers for the Ninth Edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

Nor was his work confined to physical science. He wrote on a number of subjects entirely foreign to his special fields of research. Among his principal later scientific works were *Darwinism*, the best popular exposition of the evolutionary philosophy that has been written, and *Studies Scientific and Social*, embracing many of his shorter essays, both relating to physical science and social advance. Of his last three works, written in recent years

at a time of life when few men are able to clearly marshal and present their thought, and which in themselves would be enough to give a man a high place among the writers of his time, we shall speak presently.

His scientific works, fortified as they are by the immense acquisition of knowledge personally gained during his twelve years of wandering, are among the most important contributions to the literature of physical science and evolutionary thought that we have, complementing, elucidating and fortifying the master-works of Darwin and Spencer; and because of the author's wide knowledge of natural history they are in many respects more helpful and authoritative than the magnificent popular contribution of the fourth brilliant scholar in the great English evolutionary group, T. H. Huxley.

In 1882 Dublin University conferred on Mr. Wallace the degree of LL.D., and in 1889 he received the degree of D.C.L. from Oxford University.

VIII. DR. WALLACE'S VISIT TO AMERICA.

In the autumn of 1886 Dr. Wallace was engaged by the management of the Lowell Lecture Course of Boston to deliver a series of lectures that were given in November and December of that year, the subjects being:

1. The Darwinian Theory: what it is and how it has been demonstrated.
2. The Origin and Uses of the Colors of Animals.
3. Mimicry, and other exceptional modes of Animal Coloration.
4. The Origin and Uses of the Colors of Plants.
5. The Permanence of Oceans, and the relations of Islands and Continents.
6. Oceanic Islands and their Biological History.
7. Continental Islands: their Past History and Biological Relations.
8. The Physical and Biological Relations of New Zealand and Australia.

This course of lectures formed the groundwork of his popular book, published later, entitled *Darwinism*. After completing his lectures he went to Washington where he remained for some time, and from thence by easy stages he visited California, making scientific investigations at various points. The rocks, the Indian relics of the Mound Builders, the flowers of the different regions, the great

trees of the Yosemite, and such natural scenes as the Garden of the Gods in Colorado and Niagara Falls especially received his attention.

On his return to England he suffered greatly from asthma and came to the conclusion that his days of active labor were well-nigh over. He was, however, induced to go to Switzerland and deliver a lecture on the great achievements of the nineteenth century, which was so well received that friends urged him to prepare a volume on the subject. This he did not at first contemplate doing on account of his precarious health, but by a happy chance, if there be such a thing as chance, he was shown a way to health about this time, and with renewed life set to work on his splendid and thought-inspiring work, *The Wonderful Century*, one of the best if indeed it is not the most graphic and informing survey of the marvelous advances and also of the shortcomings of the nineteenth century. This volume was followed by his work, *Man's Place in the Universe*, and still later by the present volume, *My Life: A Record of Events and Opinions*, which, though completed last September, was not printed until the present year. As it contains nine hundred large pages of well-digested matter, its preparation would naturally be considered an important work for a man in the prime of life. It has, however, been written since Dr. Wallace passed his eightieth milestone. This rejuvenation of the great scientist, that has already enabled him to prepare three notable works after his health had completely broken down, is so remarkable that we give his account of his cure through a radical change of diet:

"When in 1896 I was invited by Dr. Lunn to give a lecture to his friends at Davos, I firmly believed that my scientific and literary work was concluded. I had been for some years in weak health, and had no expectation of living much longer. Shortly after returning from America I had another very severe attack of asthma in 1890, and a year or two after it recurred and became chronic, together with violent palpitations on the least sudden exertion, and frequent colds almost invariably followed by bronchitis. Any attempt at continuous work was therefore very far from my thoughts, though at times I was able to a fair amount of writing. My friend and neighbor, Professor Allman, had suffered from the same affection during a large part of his life, and only found very partial relief

from it by the usual fumigations and cigarettes, with occasional changes of air, and it was often quite painful to witness his sufferings, which continued till his death in 1898. As he was himself a medical man, and had had the best advice attainable, I had little hope of anything but a continuance and probably an increase of the disease.

"But the very next year I obtained relief (and up to the present time an almost complete cure) in an altogether accidental way, if there are any 'accidents' in our lives. Mr. A. Bruce-Joy, the well-known sculptor (a perfect stranger to me), had called on me to complete the modeling of a medallion which he had begun from photographs, and I apologized for not looking well, as I was then suffering from one of my frequent spells of asthma, which often prevented me from getting any sleep at night. He thereupon told me that if I would follow his directions I could soon cure myself. Of course, I was altogether incredulous; but when he told me that he had himself been cured of a complication of allied diseases—gout, rheumatism, and bronchitis—of many years' standing, which no English doctors were able even to alleviate, by an American physician, Dr. Salisbury; that it was effected solely by a change of diet, and that it was no theory or empirical treatment, but the result of thirty years' experiment on the effects of various articles of diet upon men and animals, by the only scientific method of studying each food separately and exclusively, I determined to try it. The result was, that in a week I felt much better, in a month I felt quite well, and during the six years that have elapsed no attack of asthma or of severe palpitation has recurred, and I have been able to do my literary work as well as before I became subject to the malady.

"I may say that I have long been, and am still, *in principle*, a vegetarian, and believe that, for many reasons, it will certainly be the diet of the future. But for want of adequate knowledge, and even more from the deficiencies of ordinary vegetable cookery, it often produced bad effects. Dr. Salisbury proved by experiment that it was the consumption of too much starch foods that produces the set of diseases which he especially cures; and when these diseases have become chronic, the only cure is almost complete abstinence from starchy substances, especially potatoes, bread, and most watery vegetables, and, in place of them, to substitute the most

easily digestible well-cooked meat, with fruits and nuts in moderation, and eggs, milk, etc., whenever they can be digested. Great sufferers find immediate relief from an exclusive diet of the lean of beef. I myself live upon well-cooked beef with a fair proportion of fat (which I can digest easily), a very small proportion of bread or vegetables, fruit, eggs, and light milk-puddings. The curious thing is that most English doctors declare that a meat diet is to be avoided in all these diseases, and many order complete abstinence from meat, but, so far as I can learn, on no really scientific grounds. Dr. Salisbury, however, has experimentally proved that this class of ailments are all due to malnutrition, and that this malnutrition is most frequently caused by the consumption of too much of starch foods at all meals, which overload the stomach and prevent proper digestion and assimilation. My case and that of Mr. Bruce-Joy certainly show that Dr. Salisbury has found, for the first time in the history of medicine, a *cure*—not merely an *alleviation*—for these painful and distressing maladies. This personal detail as to my health is, I think, of general interest in view of the large number of sufferers who are pronounced incurable by English doctors.”

IX. SOCIAL VIEWS.

Our author's interest in social problems dates from his brief residence in London when he was but fourteen years of age. At that time, as we have already seen, he became deeply interested in the work of Robert Owen at New Lanark, and the social views of that great philanthropist and reformer exerted a marked influence on his mind. He was ever a passionate lover of justice, and he was too fundamental a thinker to fail to see the essential iniquity of present-day unjust social conditions. But it was not until the publication of Herbert Spencer's *Social Statics* that he clearly saw the iniquity of private-ownership in land and how it was a prime cause of social inequality and a leading factor in producing poverty, misery and the crime incident to these.

In 1881, after the publication of a luminous paper on how to nationalize the land, a Land Nationalization Society was formed and the great naturalist was elected its first president. At that time he wrote Herbert Spencer asking him if he would join the society. The latter declined in a letter from which we take the

following extract in order to show how, even so late as that date, Herbert Spencer had not become the reactionary he showed himself to be ten years later, when he published *Justice*:

“As you may suppose, I fully sympathize in the general aims of your proposed Land Nationalization Society; but for sundry reasons I hesitate to commit myself, at the present stage of the question, to a programme as definite as that which you send me. It seems to me that before formulating the idea in a specific shape, it is needful to generate a body of public opinion on the general issue, and that it must be some time before there can be produced such recognition of the general principle involved as is needful before definite plans can be set forth to any purpose.

“It seems to me that the thing to be done at present is to arouse public attention to (1) the abstract iniquity of the present condition of things; (2) to show that even now there is in our law a tacit denial of absolute private ownership, since the State reserves the power of resuming possession of land on making compensation; (3) that this tacitly admitted ownership ought to be overtly asserted; (4) and that having been overtly asserted, the landowner should be distinctly placed in the position of a tenant of the State on something like the terms proposed in your scheme: namely, that while the land itself should be regarded as public property, such value as has been given to it should vest in the existing so-called owner.”

In commenting on the above Dr. Wallace says:

“On this I may remark that, during the twenty-five years that has elapsed, the Land Nationalization Society has been continuously at work, doing the very things that our critic seemed to think ought to be done *before* we formed the society. We have now ‘generated a body of public opinion’ in our favor, which could hardly have been effected without the work of a society, and we have long since satisfied most thinking men that the special difficulty as to the valuation of the owners’ improvements is a purely imaginary one, since it is continually done.”

Dr. Wallace hailed the appearance of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* as the message of a true prophet of civilization, and hastened to call Mr. Spencer's attention to the work, but the spell of reaction and conventionalism

had begun to creep over the once splendidly progressive and courageous mind of the great philosopher. He had already ceased to be a social leader, but few of his friends and admirers were prepared for the reactionary views he advanced in *Justice*. There was a marked difference in the moral and mental make-up of these two great thinkers. Herbert Spencer in early life was quite as much or more than Alfred Russel Wallace dominated by the spirit of liberalism and of justice. He was a leader of civilization and a way-shower for the battalions of right and progress: but as age crept over him, he, like so many other one-time leaders, became a camp-follower along certain lines. He grew timid, conservative and reactionary. Not so with Dr. Wallace. His mind and soul have continued to expand, broaden and develop as the years have silvered his beard and crowned his octogenarian head with snow. His superb moral courage has kept pace with his intellectual vigor, while his passion for justice for all the people has burned brighter and brighter and his moral idealism and faith in a nobler to-morrow have shone forth in his later works with a splendor greater even than in his earlier writings.

He has written much in favor of land nationalization and various other social and economic progressive measures. At our request he prepared several papers for *THE ARENA*, the most notable being, perhaps, the two contributions entitled *The Social Quagmire and the Way Out for the Farmer and Wage-Earner*, which appeared in *THE ARENA* in the spring of 1893. Another important paper which he prepared for us was entitled *Human Progress, Past and Future*, which appeared in the *ARENA* for January, 1892. Two contributions on objective apparitions also awakened widespread interest and elicited much comment on both sides of the Atlantic.

Dr. Wallace, though a firm believer in the Single-Tax idea, is socialistic rather than individualistic in his economic views. He may be called a Fabian or an opportunist Socialist—a Socialist something after the order of Jean Jaurès, the eminent French statesman. In defining Socialism as he understands it, Dr. Wallace says:

"I may here state for the benefit of those ignorant writers who believe that socialism *must* be compulsory, and speak of it as a 'form of slavery,' that my own definition of socialism

is 'the voluntary organization of labor for the good of all.' All the best and most thoughtful writers on socialism agree in this; and for my own part I cannot conceive it coming about in any other way. Compulsory socialism is, to me, a contradiction in terms—as much so as would be compulsory friendship."

As to the practicability of socialism he says:

"I have ever since been absolutely convinced, not only that socialism is thoroughly practicable, but that it is the only form of society worthy of civilized beings, and that it alone can secure for mankind continuous mental and moral advancement, together with that true happiness which arises from the full exercise of all their faculties for the purpose of satisfying all their rational needs, desires, and aspirations"

He is, however, nothing if not a democrat, not believing in any form of government that does not conform to the wishes of the majority. "To my mind," he observes, "the question of good or bad, fit or not fit for self-government, is not to the point. It is a question of fundamental justice, and the just is always the expedient, as well as the right. It is a crime against humanity for one nation to govern another *against its will*. The master always says his slaves are not *fit* for freedom; the tyrant, that subjects are not *fit* to govern themselves. The fitness for self-government is inherent in human nature. Many savage tribes, many barbarian peoples are really better governed to-day than the majority of the self-styled civilized nations."

X. RELIGIOUS VIEWS.

Our author was born into a Church of England family and was reared in that faith, but his investigations led him, as they led most of the great physical scientists of the nineteenth century, into agnosticism. Later, however, his attention was called to modern spiritualism. He investigated, as he investigated other subjects, carefully, patiently, rigidly, keeping his mind open to the truth, but with what prejudice he had against rather than in favor of the spiritualistic claims. At last, however, like Sir William Crookes, F. W. H. Myers, Dr. Richard Hodgson, Sir Oliver Lodge, Camille Flammarion and many other of the profound scientific thinkers of the past century, he became convinced of the central claim of modern spiritualism, and de-

spite the advice and remonstrances of his scientific friends, he boldly championed what he conceived to be demonstrated truth, his volume of *Miracles and Modern Spiritualism* being one of the ablest expositions of the spiritualistic philosophy that has appeared. Since the publication of this work the investigations of the English Society for Psychical Research have led many of Europe's greatest scientists, both physicists and psychologists, to acceptance of a belief not very different from that entertained by Dr. Wallace, though for many years his religious convictions made against him both with his scientific fellow-workers and the leaders of the religious world, who were, however, wont to seize upon his arguments in favor of immortality with great avidity when arguing on evolution with scientists.

XI. HOME LIFE.

His home life has been as beautiful as his public career has been worthy and illustrious. He married some time after his return from the Malay Archipelago and has proved a faithful, high-minded husband and father. No spot has been so dear to him as his home. He naturally loves nature and has always striven to live in the country or where he could have ample land for flowers, shrubs and garden, and a fine view. "My gardening," he says, "has always been to me pure enjoyment. I have never made any experiments with my plants, never attempted to study their minute structure or to write about them; the mere seeing them grow, noting the infinite diversities of their forms and habits,

their likes and dislikes, all made the more interesting by the researches of Darwin, Kerner, H. Müller, Grant Allen, Lubbock and others, on the uses of each infinitely varied detail of stem and leaf, of bract and flower—all this was to me a delight in itself, and gave me that general knowledge of the outward forms and inward peculiarities of plants, and of the exquisite beauty and almost infinite variety of the vegetable kingdom, which enabled me better to appreciate the marvel and mystery of plant life, whether in itself or in its complex relations to the higher attributes of man."

No one can read this delightful life-story without finding his intellectual horizon broadened and his moral and spiritual sensibilities stimulated, while the life itself cannot fail to prove an inspiration to all serious-minded youths, one of the most marked characteristics being his splendid moral courage. He is an uncompromising foe of militarism—as much so as are the Quakers, in this respect his life stands out in splendid relief from those small-souled but loud-mouthed mortals who delight in taking the lives of unoffending animals, who glory in the "big stick," and who take pride in war and great armaments, but who are strangely lacking in the supreme test of true bravery—moral courage that cannot be swerved from what one believes to be right. Alfred Russel Wallace's moral courage is only equaled by his hatred of war, the useless taking of life and the inflicting of pain on others. He loves peace, he believes in human brotherhood, he worships towards the dawn, and the keynote of his life has ever been a passionate love for truth and justice.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

Enigmas of Psychical Research. By Professor James H. Hyslop, Ph.D., LL.D. Cloth. Pp. 428. Price, \$1.50 net, postage 12 cents. Boston: Herbert B. Turner & Company.

PROFESSOR HYSLOP appears to have taken up the immensely valuable work carried tirelessly forward for so many years by the late Dr. Richard Hodgson: the investigation in a rigidly scientific manner of psychical

phenomena, sifting the false from the true, classifying the various mysterious happenings and collating the data that must necessarily be critically examined and collated by trained scientific minds before it will be possible to compel the world to take cognizance of the new realm of truth to be explored in the domain of psychology or psychic science. What Sir William Crookes, Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace and Camille Flammarion did in an earlier day in Europe and what in a still more scientific and critical manner has been recently

* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

done by Sir Oliver Lodge, the late Professor Sedgwick, F. W. H. Myers, and a number of other eminent scientists of the English Society for Psychical Research, Dr. Hodgson, Professor William James of Harvard and a few other tireless workers did in the New World. Dr. Hodgson's death was a real loss to science, but happily for the cause of truth, Professor Hyslop has taken up the exacting, and at this stage thankless, toil and is carrying it forward in the same spirit and with equal conformity to the strict demands of modern scientific investigation that marked the labors of Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace ere they established the truth of the theory of evolution.

Professor Hyslop is in many respects peculiarly well fitted for the work he has assumed. For years he was professor of logic and ethics in Columbia University. He is by nature a skeptic, a critical searcher after truth, who cannot bring himself to accept anything until he has thoroughly investigated it in its various bearings and submitted it to the rigid tests of rational inquiry. He is critical and cautious in the extreme. Indeed, if it can be said that one can be too critical or cautious in the weighing of claims and the evidential value of alleged phenomena in a new field of research, he may be said to err on the side of caution. But though a natural skeptic and slow to accept a new truth, he does not belong to those who in the presence of mysteries that they cannot explain, deny the evidence of their senses and the testimony of competent investigators, or who dismiss as insoluble things that they have been unable to account for. He knows that one of the most important prerogatives of man is his reason, that has been given him to enable him to unravel the mysteries of the ages and to find a key to the enigmas of the universe. He knows that so long as the church placed a ban on free thought and forbade men to freely exercise their God-given reason, science was chained to the car of superstition, progress was arrested and civilization drooped under the pall of the Dark Ages; but that with the New Learning, the Reformation and later the revolutionary epoch, man, gaining a larger degree of freedom for his brain, science girded herself and went forth making discovery after discovery with such dazzling rapidity that within two centuries the face of the world has been changed and the concepts of civilization revolutionized. With freedom of thought and

intellectual hospitality extended toward truth, the apostles of progress have been enabled to turn many pages in the great book of creation and read the wonder-story of the ages as it depicts the ascent of life. Under this glorious freedom and with the rise of the modern spirit of critical research, geology, astronomy, the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms, and the heavens above have all in turn unfolded marvelous stories that have enormously added to the wealth of the world's truth. So also with archæology; and in almost every realm of investigation and speculation startling discoveries and revolutionary changes have taken place. Only in the world of psychology has advance halted or limped along with slow and labored tread, because in this field we have, until recent years, lacked those apostles of truth who do the persistent preliminary work of massing data of evidential value, sifting claims and classifying matters that are of real evidential value, so that positive and definite conclusions can be arrived at. It is well for science and civilization that we have such a man as Professor Hyslop who is doing for psychology and psychic science what Darwin, Wallace, Spencer and Huxley did for physical science in the last century.

Enigmas of Psychical Research is a supplementary volume to Professor Hyslop's previous work, *Science and a Future Life*, which was reviewed at length in *THE ARENA*. It contains eleven chapters which appear under the following titles: "The Residues of Science," "The Ancient Oracles," "Crystal Vision: History," "Crystal Vision: Experiments," "Telepathy," "Dreams," "Apparitions," "Clairvoyance," "Premonitions," "Mediumistic Phenomena," and "Retrospect and Vaticination."

For the general reader who has not perused at length such books as Professor F. W. H. Myers' *Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death*, the chapter on "Apparitions" will be of special interest, as also will be the discussion of "The Ancient Oracles," crystal-gazing, clairvoyance and telepathy.

Professor Hyslop in this work has undertaken to popularize much of the matter that has been subjected to critical investigation by the English Society for Psychical Research and which has been hitherto inaccessible to those who could not obtain the journals and proceedings of the Society or the very expensive work by Professor Myers. He explains

that he confines himself to data that has been hitherto thoroughly investigated by many of the world's greatest thinkers, rather than cite scores upon scores of similar cases and phenomena that have come to his own attention from other sources. This latter matter, as he points out, has not as yet been subjected to the criticism of a number of persons specially well qualified to sift and intelligently examine and consider such matters.

The present work is a worthy companion volume to *Science and a Future Life*, and though these works are not comparable to Professor Myers' exhaustive work, they are admirably adapted for the purpose that has called them forth,—the popularizing of an important subject that calls for serious investigation and the placing within the reach of the millions of a brief digest of the work of the Society for Psychical Research, whose membership embraces a great number of the most illustrious scientists of the age.

The Wire Tappers. By Arthur Stringer. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 324. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

THIS novel is marked by strength and literary excellence. It is an absorbingly interesting romance that grasps the imagination of the reader and holds it from cover to cover, though it is far from being a pleasant tale, dealing as it does with a morbid or diseased phase of our present-day civilization. All the important characters are criminals and it is a tale of successive criminal acts and the perils and penalties attending them from start to finish. Yet it possesses a very human interest, because in spite of its melodramatic phases and the element of improbability that from time to time is present, the story impresses the reader cognizant of certain phases of metropolitan life as history rather than romance; and, indeed, it is in essence more convincing in its pictures of certain present-day conditions than most historical sketches of similar happenings.

It is rich in suggestive lessons, though it clearly shows how the force of circumstances sometimes seems to carry men and women forward in spite of their struggles against an inexorable fate. It also impresses the fact that a morbid, false and artificial life often infects the brain of a person, undermining the finer aspirations and vitiating the normal imagination.

In this story both the heroine and the hero are in the earlier scenes the seeming victims of an untoward fate that works havoc with their better selves. Frances Candler, the heroine, reminds one of a man caught in the grip of a strong current that is sweeping toward a succession of rapids. The man struggles futilely as with increasing strength the stream bears him onward, flinging him round and round and finally hurling him over the rocks. Again he is caught by the rushing tide and borne down to the rapids below. The heroine of this volume strives, ever strives, to break from the spell and the grip of environing circumstances and influences, only to be caught in a fresh eddy or current. Still, in her case the divinity impearled in every human heart is stronger than with the man of the story, and her ceaseless struggling and striving make the sufferings and penalties that come from wrong-doing the wings for her aspirations, by which not only is her soul uplifted and purified, but she is given strength to lift and sustain her weaker husband.

Though the novel is a record of crime and the chronicle of a world of criminals, from the high financiers of Wall street who pose as pillars of church and society to the petty pool-room gamblers, the wire-tappers and the sneak-thieves, yet its atmosphere is clean and sternly moral. We find ourselves drawn in interest to the two professional criminals that fill the foreground of the tale, but it is only that which is sane, normal, honest, fine and noble in them that attracts. Always the author makes crime odious, and he vividly portrays the essentially demoralizing effect of wrong-doing on the soul and life. More than this, he graphically shows how the feverish, artificial criminal life soon acts as morphine or liquor on the brain and imagination. The victim gradually loses the normal, wholesome and uplifting tastes, appetites and desires and contracts a passion for the artificial, the disintegrating and the degrading in life.

But beyond and above all else in practical value, it seems to us, is the way in which the author impresses the tremendously important truth that the essential criminality of the high financiers of Wall street, the great gamblers whose vast accumulations run up into scores of millions, is no less than that of the professional gamblers of the pool-room and the card tricksters. We have long been convinced that there can be no national health, no domina-

tion of moral idealism or return to the sturdy integrity of olden times, so long as the blood at the heart of our business life is polluted with the moral criminality of the most vicious kind of gambling. No man can even faintly estimate the moral degradation to our body politic, our business interests and our individual ideals that flows from the tolerance of this wholesale gambling with loaded dice that marks Wall street's high financial methods of the present, or the general respect accorded by society, government officials, educators and the ministry to the great gamblers of Wall street who have acquired millions upon millions of dollars in stock-watering or by stacking the cards so that for the favored few there can be no loss coming or going. And the author of this work has done a timely service to society by showing the essential immorality and criminality of this respectable yet demoralizing form of gambling.

As a whole this novel is one of the most original, interesting and suggestive romances of the year.

The Young O'Briens. By the author of *Elizabeth's Children*. Cloth. Pp. 347. Price, \$1.50. New York: John Lane Company.

THE AUTHOR of *Elizabeth's Children* and *Helen Alliston* certainly has a most delightful gift for depicting original and fascinating types of children. True, the young people in her last volume are somewhat older in years than Elizabeth's children and the numerous Derrys who figure so prominently in *Helen Alliston*, but they are quite as charming, do just as unexpected things and have just as exciting adventures as any of their predecessors.

A family of four young Irish people—"to say nothing of the dog"—are obliged to go to London to live with a strait-laced Scotch aunt, while their father and mother take a long ocean-voyage for the latter's health. As the financial circumstances of the family are not of the best they have been obliged to sell most of their horses and rent the old home to strangers. But even London with its fogs and narrow streets, and their grief over their separation from their father and mother and the old home, cannot quench the spirits of the young O'Briens. The book is largely a chronicle of their doings from day to day and the difficulties in which they frequently find them-

selves owing to the fact that their aunt does not understand her wild young Irish kinsfolk and that they do not appreciate the genuine concern for their welfare that animates her in her criticism of certain of their actions. While the reader cannot help but laugh at their mad pranks and overflowing animal spirits, he still has a lurking feeling of sympathy for Aunt Keziah when she views the havoc wrought on several occasions by her young relatives. The story ends happily in the reunion of the O'Brien family in their old home in Ireland.

The Young O'Briens makes an enjoyable afternoon's reading, but from a literary point-of-view does not begin to compare with *Helen Alliston*, reviewed some time ago in these columns.

AMY C. RICH.

Judith. By Grace Alexander. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 431. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is a story of the Middle West in the stirring days that preceded the Civil war. A community near the Ohio river is the scene of the story and a Methodist minister is the hero, although other men play prominent parts, especially the young lawyer Dudley, whose weakness for drink well-nigh wrecks his future. The heroine, Judith, is a brilliant young woman who in childhood engages herself to a country lad. In later years, after spending several years in studying and traveling in Europe, she finds she no longer loves the country boy, who, however, is still under the old-time infatuation for her. The young Methodist minister and Judith are drawn irresistibly toward each other, but a sense of duty and the youth's illness that brings him to the brink of the grave after Judith has broken the engagement lead the girl to foolishly determine to marry a man she no longer loves. In the end, however, a kindly fate intervenes and the hero and heroine are united.

The story shows painstaking effort and some skill in handling, but it lacks the subtle power and imaginative grasp that mark a novel of the first rank.

The Third Daughter. By Mrs. Lu Wheat. Cloth. Pp. 318. Los Angeles: Oriental Publishing Company.

The Third Daughter is an extremely interesting and well-written picture of Chinese home-life in a high-caste family. Mrs. Wheat spent some time in China studying the manners and customs of the people and the influence of their religion upon the life of the nation. Unfortunately, she seems to have confined her observations to the upper class of Chinamen, ignoring the great masses of degraded human beings that people the large cities. No doubt there are very many Chinese families of as fine moral fiber as that of Ching Fo; but to lead the reader to infer that this high moral tone is a characteristic of the nation as a whole and is a result of the religious teaching of the Far East, is to give an unduly favorable picture of existing conditions.

As a story *The Third Daughter* is thoroughly entertaining, although it ends unhappily. The author gives some very delightful descriptions of Chinese scenes and customs; but perhaps the most valuable chapter of the work is that devoted to the practice of foot-binding among Chinese women and its horrible results.

AMY C. RICH.

Truth Dexter. By Sidney McCall. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 362. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

Truth Dexter was first published some years ago and scored an instantaneous success by reason of its strength, originality and human interest, and unlike most recent novels its popularity has been maintained ever since as evinced by the steady sales. Recently the publishers have brought out a new and handsomely illustrated edition of the work. When it first appeared we gave it a favorable notice in these pages, but as *THE ARENA* has greatly increased its circulation since then, it is a pleasure to notice this new edition of one of the few American novels of the past decade that deserve more than passing attention.

Truth Dexter is by no means devoid of faults. The long disquisitions of the hero when he rides his hobby before Lord Gayrock, and the grandiloquent phrasings of Orchid when she desires to impress her titled visitor or appeal to the vanity of Van Craighead, are often turgid, stilted and sophomoric. The jingo political ideal of the hero, which are presumably those entertained by the author or authors, are diametrically opposed to our

own views; but in spite of what seem to us defects, the romance has so much in its favor that we can heartily recommend it to our readers.

At least three of its characters are typical, and they are for the most part admirably drawn. In *Truth Dexter* we have one of the sweetest and finest pen-pictures of a pure-hearted, high-minded American girl, unspoiled by the sordid spirit of commercialism and uncontaminated by the artificiality, deceit, hypocrisy and cynical insincerity of our modern conventional life, that has been presented to the public. And over against her is Orchid Wiley, the dazzling modern society Circe, altogether too frequent in our large cities, especially among the more frivolous element; a body without a soul; a brilliant intellect and a beautiful exterior, but barren in that which is more precious than anything else—that without which beauty, wealth and intellectual power become a curse instead of a glory and a blessing—moral rectitude, the conscience-element, or spiritual life, that places right above all other considerations.

Van Craighead is also typical. He is the modern educated lawyer who possesses the groundwork of moral idealism inherited from sturdy, conscience-guided New England ancestors, but who under the influence and compulsion of modern commercial ideals and the usage of the legal practice oscillates between noble aspirations on the one side, and the vicious opportunism of present-day business and social life on the other.

In the early part of the story Van Craighead weds, under most peculiar circumstances, *Truth Dexter*, a young Southern heiress. He had been almost ensnared by the blandishments of Orchid Wiley, a reigning queen in Boston's social life, whose husband is an easy-going broker, a man of great wealth, proud of his wife's beauty and brilliancy and apparently blind to her weaknesses. *Truth* is young, awkward and ignorant in many respects, but possesses the rare sweetness of the innocent, noble-minded, carefully-reared young woman of the South. She is beautiful in the immature beauty of maidenhood in spite of her being at the awkward age, and her originality and her often brilliant observations speak of a mind of rare power which only needs training and education. Her life in Boston under the careful chaperonage of Mrs. Judge Adams; a trip to Europe with

this friend; the wiles and machinations of Orchid in her desperate attempt to win away Van Craighead or to compromise him, and her final attempt to separate husband and wife by poisoning Truth's mind against her husband; the separation, followed by a love-gladdened reunion, make up the skeleton of the romance which will hold the reader's interest from cover to cover.

The Cleansing of the Lords. By Harold Wintle. Cloth. Pp. 296. Price, \$1.50. New York: John Lane Company.

MR. WINTLE has written one of the cleverest and most amusing novels of the season. The theme is unique and the treatment skilful. The dialogue is bright and witty and all the situations are well handled.

A bill is passed by the English Parliament having as its professed object the raising of the standards of the Upper House. It provides that no more new titles shall be created, but that when it is found desirable thus to reward men who have rendered conspicuous services to the empire, they shall receive the titles which have hitherto been the property of members of the nobility who are deemed unworthy longer to possess them. These names are to be acted upon by a committee of thirteen (!) to be known as the Titles Act Committee. Obviously the complications arising are numerous and entertaining. Wire-pulling begins in all directions. Social and financial circles as well as political are deeply agitated. The probable decision of the T. A. C. is discussed to the exclusion of all other issues, which in the end proves to be exactly what the sponsors of the bill desired. The ending is unexpected and amusing in the extreme.

The Cleansing of the Lords is one of the best novels of the year and deserves high praise.

AMY C. RICH.

The Fortune Hunter. By David Graham Phillips. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 214. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

MOST of Mr. Phillips' recent novels have been powerful and realistic pen-pictures of present-day commercial and political life, in which he has taken the reader behind the scenes, revealing the great throbbing heart of the present and especially the workings of

the gray wolves and the jackals in present-day commercial and political life. Such books as *The Cost*, *The Plum-Tree* and *The Deluge* are more valuable at a time like the present than the ablest political treatises or set speeches by statesmen, because they give the people the true key that explains the reason why they cannot get real relief from their governments in city, state or nation, from the criminal and oppressive practices of the public-service corporations, the trusts and monopolies, and they also reveal in the most definite manner the corrupt practices and the essential immorality of the criminal rich who so largely dominate Wall street and the nation.

The Fortune Hunter is essentially different from these stories. It is far less pretentious and it does not attempt to deal with the larger aspects of present-day life; yet here again the author employs typical characters in a most convincing way, and the same sturdy spirit of old-time integrity and sincerity, the same scorn of hypocrisy, dishonesty and moral degeneracy that is so marked a feature of his greater novels is conspicuous in *The Fortune Hunter*.

The leading character is a German actor of indifferent ability, one of that all-too-numerous class of young men of striking and attractive personal appearance, skilled in fine phrases and magnetic, but absolutely wanting in the nobler qualities of the human mind—as innocent of rectitude of purpose as they are glib of tongue. This hero quickly wins the affection of two innocent girls whom he seeks to marry, regardless of the fact that he has left a wife in Germany. He wants money to live a life of idleness and ease, and with this aim in view he schemes and works. The story, like all Mr. Phillips' romances, has little plot, but is deeply interesting from cover to cover; and the closing half of the volume is especially admirable. In it the fortune-hunter unsuccessfully uses his wiles to ensnare a pure-minded, simple-hearted German girl and win her from her fine-natured, hard-working and honorable lover.

The Czar's Gift. By William Ordway Partridge. Cloth. Pp. 62. Illustrated. Price, 40 cents net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THIS is an exquisite little story describing the fate and fortune of a Polish family in Russia during the reign of the father of the

present Czar; or rather, it is chiefly concerned with little Paul Welonski whose father had suddenly, when the child was four years of age, gone on a long journey. The little fellow never knew the name of the country to which he went and could not understand why it was so long before he returned. His elder brother was a wood-carver and the leader of a revolutionary or nihilistic society. One day the elder brother told little Paul, when the latter was about nine years old, that he, too, would probably go to the far country where his father had gone, and that it might be some time before he came back, but he would try to bring his father with him when he came. A few nights later the soldiers came, searched the house, found incriminating papers and the elder brother was also exiled.

Little Paul starts out in search of his brother and his adventures and how he came to the studio of a great sculptor and was taken in by the kind-hearted man and treated as a child by him, are admirably set down. The artist hears the little fellow's story and concludes that the only hope of the rescue of the father and brother lies in the boy being able to do a piece of work that shall delight the Czar, and that by giving it to the Czar he in turn would probably incline to mercy for the unfortunate father and son. Accordingly, he presents to the boy a photograph of the Czar's little child who had died and tells him to study the face with all the intensity and power he possesses—that some day he must mould it into a statue. The youth loves sculpture, being a genius and an artist born. He works faithfully until he has reached his seventeenth year. By that time he has completed the wonderful statue of the little child holding a dove which is a more perfect representation of the Czar's dead child than any sculptor had previously been able to present.

The description of the Czar's emotion at the uncovered statue, his pardon for the condemned, the reunion of the brothers, are all set down with the ease, grace and charm which is characteristic of Mr. Partridge's writings.

Cornish Saints and Sinners. By J. Henry Harris. Drawings by L. Raven-Hill. Cloth. Pp. 312. Price, \$1.50. New York: John Lane Company.

THIS is a delightfully humorous account of the travels of three friends through Cornwall in search of health and recreation. Modern

civilization and progress have largely passed by this part of England and the manners and customs of the people are in many respects much as they were a century or more ago. The fabled land of Lyonesse is supposed to lie under the sea off the coast of Cornwall, and the country abounds in legends of saints, giants and fairies to say nothing of numerous tales in which his Satanic Majesty figures more or less prominently. Many of these quaint old folk-lore stories are retold by Mr. Harris as he heard them from the natives, but with an added touch of humor all his own. This vein of humor also enters into his descriptions of the people and their habits of life and serves to relieve the book of that tediousness which is so often a characteristic of works of this kind. The pen-and-ink drawings by L. Raven-Hill are very clever and add to the attractiveness of the volume.

AMY C. RICH.

Poems. By Meredith Nicholson. Cloth. Pp. 106. Price, \$1.25 net. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THOSE who have read and enjoyed Mr. Nicholson's clever and entertaining novels will be much surprised at his versatility as displayed in the present little collection of poems. In these verses he reveals a delicacy of perception, a love of nature and an appreciation and reverence for the deeper and finer things of life which one would little suspect in the author of *The House of a Thousand Candles*. His descriptions of the mountains and of nature in her grander moods are very beautiful, while other poems breathe forth that tender and exquisite charm which he has himself so well described in the following stanzas:

"It is a presence sweet and rare,
A something oft attained by Art,
Yet oft possessed, all unaware,
By folk of simple mind and heart.

And he that hath it can not pass
The secret on with gold or name;
It vanishes like dew on grass,
Or heat that hovers over flame.

In books that man but little seeks,
Neglected or forgotten long,
This living essence dwells, and speaks
In happy rhymes of deathless song.

The subtlest of all mystic things,
'T is strange indeed that it should be,
When worn by poets, beggars, kings,
The garment of Simplicity.

And you that seek it never find,
And you that have it never tell;
And all that strive to catch and bind
Can only startle and dispel."

Perhaps one of the most delightful poems in the book is the following entitled "She Gathers Roses," which gives an excellent illustration of the author's felicity of expression as well as of the delicate and truly poetic atmosphere which pervades the work:

"O winter night, O muffling snows,
From dolorous mountain summits blown!
So wild the night, so bleak and cold,
'T was far to send a child alone!

But from our own poor watch and ward,
And our weak aims and needs and fears,
Her spirit fled and left behind
The untouched harvest of her years.

Blesséd are they, who, old and worn,
Across the threshold creep at last,
With many a lingering glance behind
At the gray shadow-peopled past!

But thrice more blessed they who look
Scarce through the door Time opens wide,
Then back into the Father's arms,
From earth's untranquil strivings hide.

And whether Heaven indeed may be
A gated city, builded strong,
That hath no need of stars or sun
To light the beatific throng;

Or whether in the home of spring
The haven lie of flower and grass,
O'er which the elect with tranquil mien
Through a perpetual morning pass,

I know not, yet however fair
May be God's hidden garden-lands,
I know that there, with happy heart,
She gathers roses in her hands.

The autumn gave her, and her eyes
Knew never spring's enchantment sweet,
Nor saw the mighty summer stars
Above the still earth throb and beat;

And yet she loved the light, and turned
In childish wonder toward its glow,—
She loved the light! and now has seen
The light perpetual round her flow.

Kingdom of Heaven, toward which we pray,
Whether alight of sun or star,—
Kingdom of Heaven toward which we yearn
'T is there the little children are!

They keep for us, secure and sweet,
Youth, unassailed by winter's rime,
And are a hostage given to be
Our shield against the wars of time,

And there amid the ways of peace,
Through Christ's love-lighted garden-lands,
She wanders with untroubled heart,
And gathers roses in her hands."

AMY C. RICH

Tuxedo Avenue to Water Street: The Story of a Transplanted Church. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 259. Price, \$1.00. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THE AUTHOR of this work is a Trinitarian holding religious beliefs not unlike those of many of the great Protestant reformers and revivalists. His point-of-view therefore is that of one who believes in the popular old-time theology that has prevailed in Christian lands among many leading Protestant denominations since the days of the Reformation. For earnest men and women holding these religious convictions this work will be interesting and convincing, for without any special literary pretensions the author makes a clear, strong and on the whole interesting presentation in story form of the wide gulf which exists between the religion, the life and the teachings of the Founder of Christianity and the practices of the modern wealthy and fashionable churches in all our large centers of population. Seldom since the days when the ministry of Jesus was set over against the life and practices of the self-satisfied and Godless Scribes and Pharisees of his day has a contrast been more vividly drawn than in this story of a transplanted church. One need not share the author's religious opinions in order to appreciate the force of his contention and admire the moral conviction and enthusiasm that permeate it. The story is well-calculated to arouse the better element in the sleeping and gold-drugged churches and bring them to a realization of the fact that they are no more following the life and teachings of their professed Master than were the ostentatiously pious and dogmatically zealous Pharisees of Jesus' time, or those whom the great Galilean pictured as appealing to him unavailingly in the last day, as having prophesied in his name, but whom he rejected because they did not visit the widows and orphans in their distress or minister to the poor and the oppressed, or in other words, reflect in life the Golden Rule.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

SAN FRANCISCO AND HER GREAT OPPORTUNITY: In this issue we publish another paper from the finished author and essayist, GEORGE WHARTON JAMES, whose works, *The Wonders of the Colorado Desert, In and Out of the Old Missions of California, In and Around the Grand Canyon*, etc., have given him an enviable position among American authors. The contribution which we publish is timely and highly suggestive. It opens Mr. JAMES' series of contributions on American Municipalities which he is preparing for THE ARENA. Following this paper, the contributions will deal largely with the artistic advance already made and the improvements under consideration in a number of prominent American municipalities. The paper on San Francisco shows what may be done and the importance of the exercise of wisdom and foresight in the present hour of supreme opportunity which is offered to the dwellers of the "City of the Golden Gate."

The Court is King: Our readers will find in the Hon. THOMAS SPEED MOSBY's contribution an exceptionally strong, clear and important paper. The author is a well-known member of the Missouri Bar. He is the author of a manual of Supreme Court practice, a thoughtful brochure on the Single-Tax and a novel of Western politics, entitled *Ben Blunt*. He was formerly the editor of a daily paper in Jefferson City, Missouri, and is now Pardon-Attorney for the State of Missouri, having been appointed to this important position by Governor FOLK. A phase of the important subject so ably handled by Mr. MOSBY in this contribution was one of the greatest living issues in the Democratic platform of 1896—the usurpation of the courts,—and there is probably no issue before the American people to-day so fundamental in importance to free institutions as this question of the arrogation by one department of government of powers never intended by the founders of the Republic and not rightfully belonging to the department. The dangers which have developed since corporate wealth, the trusts, monopolies and special privileged interests have largely dominated government, were clearly foreseen by JEFFERSON, JACKSON and LINCOLN, as Mr. MOSBY points out. Every thoughtful patriot of America should carefully read this paper. We hope next month to publish a companion contribution, entitled *Stock Gamblers as Managers of Railroads*, by STEPHEN H. ALLEN, a prominent Kansas lawyer and chairman of a committee, appointed by their State Bar Association to revise their code of procedure.

Our Next Ice-Age: The special attention of our readers is called to the remarkably interesting and suggestive scientific paper by JOHN C. ELLIOT, which appears in this issue. The contribution speaks for itself. It is deeply thoughtful and evinces wide study no less than a philosophical insight on the part of the author.

Common Ground for Socialist and Individualist: We take pleasure in welcoming back to the columns of THE ARENA one of the old-time contributors, JOHN W. BENNETT. In his discussion this month our readers will have a paper of far more than ordinary importance at the present crucial period in our political life. The steady advance and aggression of corrupt predatory wealth in recent years, the oppression of the people by the trusts, monopolies and public-service corporations, and the steady lowering of moral idealism in business and political life, have been rendered possible only by the division of honest and sincere reformers who have warred one with the other instead of uniting on those points on which all could heartily join without the sacrifice of principle, and which must be maintained and safeguarded in order that any great fundamental forward step may be taken in a peaceful and constitutional manner. The next great political battle will determine whether or not we are to have a plutocracy or a commercial oligarchy operating through political bosses and party-machines and dominating government even more completely than heretofore, or whether the fundamental principles of free government are to be reasserted and firmly entrenched, as must be the case before any other great progressive forward step can be taken in a peaceful manner. For this reason a great responsibility devolves upon voters, and especially is it important for those who lead the reform forces to cease from warring against each other and unite on common essentials where no sacrifice of principles is demanded. Mr. BENNETT's paper is as deeply thoughtful as it is timely, and should have the widest possible reading.

Alfred Russel Wallace: Scientist, Philosopher and Humanitarian: In this issue we have taken more space than usual for our regular book-study as the subject was one of such general interest to thoughtful people, and because the life of Doctor WALLACE has not, so far as we know, been dwelt upon at length in magazine literature. Doctor WALLACE, to a greater extent than any other of the great evolutionary scientists of the past century, has been under the compulsion of moral idealism and exalted humanitarian concepts. He is a practical idealist in the noblest sense of the term. His life, no less than his thought, is rich in suggestive lessons for our young men and women.

Picturesque Rothenburg: WILLIAMSON BUCKMAN's charming paper, which is semi-historical in character, cannot fail to delight our readers, dealing as it does in a fascinating manner with an Old-World medieval town and one of the annual fêtes commemorating an important historical event. Mr. BUCKMAN is a young man of much promise who has traveled widely and to some purpose. The paper has been beautifully illustrated by a series of photographs taken by the author, and we specially invite the attention of our readers to the ad-

mirable picture of the woman with the wheelbarrow, which we believe to be one of the most striking photographs taken in recent years—striking because it is so thought-suggestive and stimulating.

The Right of the Child Not to Be Born: LOUISE MARKSCHEFFEL in this issue, under the somewhat striking title of *The Right of the Child Not to Be Born*, presents a strong and, we think, fundamentally sound paper contrasting strikingly with much of the shallow and thoughtless parroting about race-suicide. It is one of the most important short essays of recent months, and should be read by all conscience-guided people.

The Spirit of American Literature: Another contribution of great general interest in this issue is WINIFRED WEBB's reply to GERTRUDE ATHERTON's recent criticism of our literature. Mrs. WEBB is as true a democrat as Mrs. ATHERTON is a reactionary who is out of sympathy with a government that is truly "of the people, for the people and by the people." Any one who has read the brilliant romance by GERTRUDE ATHERTON, entitled *The Conqueror*, in which she idolizes and glorifies HAMILTON in a most amazing manner, can easily realize how impossible it would be for her to deeply sympathize with the literature of democracy. Mrs. WEBB, on the other hand, is a daughter of democracy and a lover of free institutions, and her paper is a valuable contribution to the periodical literature of freedom.

Mrs. Trask's Paper: We call the special attention of our readers to the exceptionally strong paper in this issue of *THE ARENA* by Mrs. KATRINA TRASK, the gifted poet and author of the remarkably beautiful novel of New England Life in Revolutionary days, entitled *Free, Not Bound*. Many of our readers will not share the gifted author's views in regard to the Deity of the Great Nazarene, holding that he was the most perfect flower on the human stem and as such was preëminently the son of God, all men having the relationship of His children, rather than that he was in a special sense lifted up or removed from humanity. But for many who hold to the Trinitarian ideas this paper will come as a revelation and will serve to throw light on the otherwise perplexing and meaningless genealogy given by Saint Matthew, in which the writer attempts to prove the descent of Jesus from David through Joseph. This paper will doubtless awaken much discussion. It is in line with the broader and more rational views of the Bible which are everywhere gaining ground where freedom of thought and increasing intelligence obtain. Mrs. TRASK is one of the ablest thinkers among American women. She is deeply religious in the best sense of that word; a lady of broad culture, a clear and logical reasoner; while her writings always carry the moral uplift that comes only from writers of exalted personality.

Shall Prohibition Be Given a Fair Trial? In this issue we open a series of papers on the temperance question, which will appear from month to month in *THE ARENA*. The opening contribution has been written for us by FINLEY C. HENDRICKSON, National Committeeman for the Prohibition Party of Maryland. This paper will be followed

by a contribution favoring high license, by PHILLIP RAPPAPOORT, entitled *Social Conditions and the Liquor Traffic*, and in it turn will be followed by *Socialism and the Liquor Question; or, How Socialism Would Solve the Liquor Problem*, by W. H. WATTS.

Our Art Feature: Our readers will, we think, be deeply interested in the original allegorical and suggestive pictures painted by GEORGE TAYLOR, of Sydney, Australia, and contributed to *THE ARENA*. Mr. TAYLOR is one of the foremost art critics of Australasia, as well as an artist of no small reputation. He is also probably the most popular humorous artist or cartoonist in Australia.

Tried by Fire: WILMATTE PORTER COCKERELL this month furnishes another of those delightful Western stories of love and heroism in common life which cannot fail to win for her a popularity among all lovers of democracy and friends of the people's cause.

G. H. Wells: The Prophet of the New Order: Our readers will enjoy Rev. CHAUNCEY J. HAWKINS' paper on Mr. WELLS and his writings in this issue. The author of this contribution is a well-known New England clergyman of the Congregational denomination. It always affords us great pleasure to find ministers of the Gospel in active sympathy with social and economic advance and the cause of the struggling poor, not only because it indicates that they share in a vital manner the moral enthusiasm of the great founder of Christianity, but also because the church, if true to the ethical teachings of Jesus as expressed in the Sermon on the Mount and in the life and other teachings of the great Nazarene, could speedily overthrow the despotism of privileged interest and the democracy of darkness that is due to unjust conditions which foster vice, crime and misery at the nadir of society while favoring social degradation at its zenith.

An Answer to Mr. Grimke: In a brief paper Mr. ARTHUR M. ALLEN takes positive issue with Mr. GRIMKE on the race question. It is perhaps not necessary for us to state that we do not share many of Mr. ALLEN's views, but publish his contribution as expressing opinions opposite to those already given.

Food-Production of the Future: Mr. JOHN A. MORRIS, in his paper in this issue of *THE ARENA* presents some novel and thought-provoking ideas in regard to the food supply of the future that cannot but attract attention if only to show us that more than "skim milk masquerades as cream."

Byron: A Study in Heredity: The mournfully-patetic and prodigally-squandered life of the erratic genius who was in his own person the author of *Childe Harold*, the warrior of Missolonghi, and (if one may believe some of his enemies and most of his biographers) Europe's most famous libertine is made the subject of a keen analysis for causes by Mr. CHARLES KASSEL in this issue of *THE ARENA*.

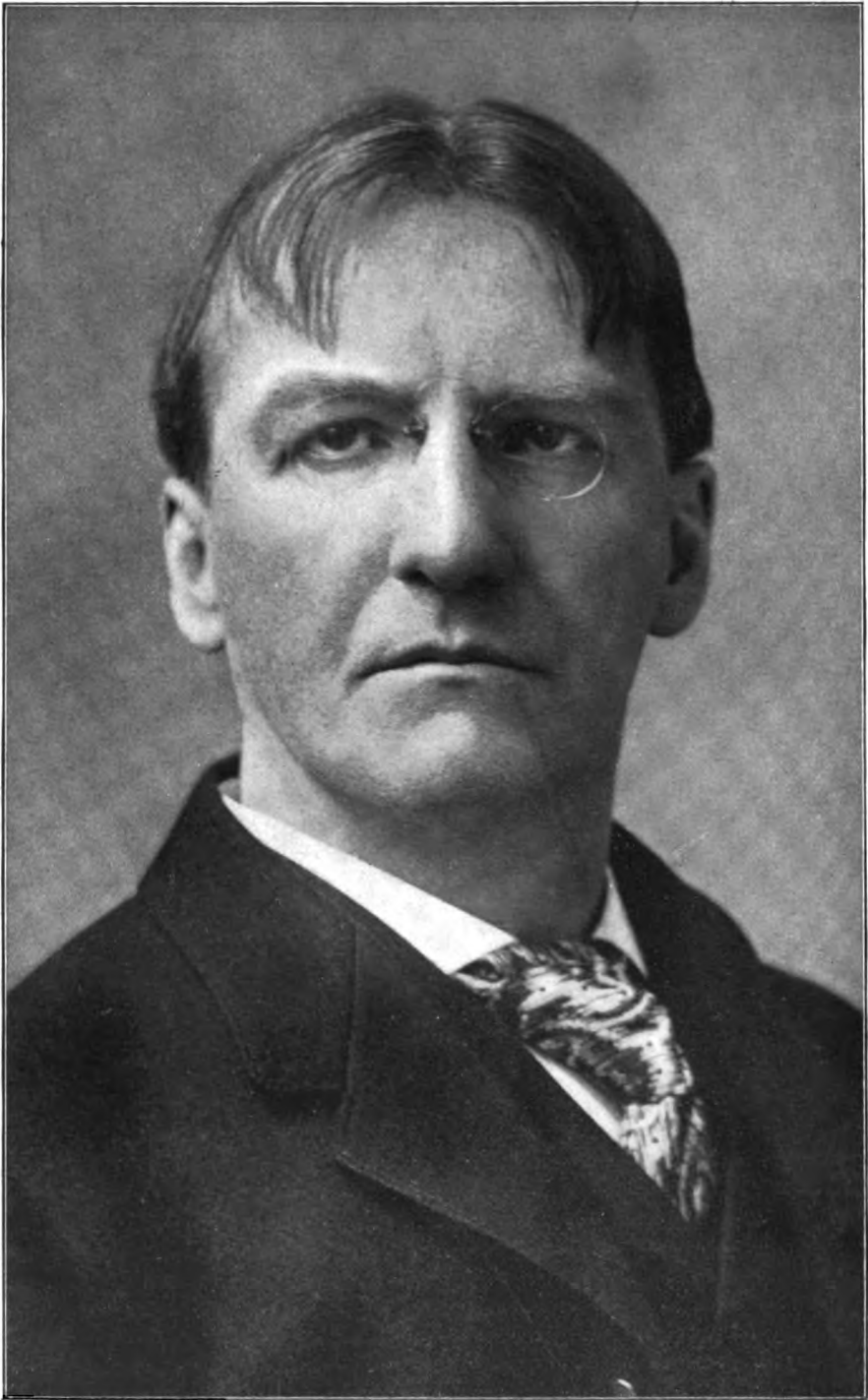


Photo. by Elmer Chickering, Boston.

HON. JOHN B. MORAN

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them,
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.*

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SHALL LYNCHING BE SUPPRESSED, AND HOW?

BY WINTHROP D. SHELDON, LL.D.,
Of Girard College.

IT WILL help the reader to appreciate the pertinency and pressing importance of these questions and to answer them aright, if we recall briefly some more or less familiar history; not so familiar, however, but that it needs to be rehearsed, until the American people awake from the easy-going, complacent indifference, with which they have so long been accustomed to treat this evil.

During the last twenty years, according to well-authenticated statistics, there have been over three thousand lynchings, very many of them accompanied with barbarities and atrocities which almost beggar description and hardly find a parallel in the world to-day and have seldom been matched or surpassed in the world's history. Our country stands to-day almost solitary and alone among the nations in these most horrible and revolting infamies of mob violence. Were it not for the stern, unimpeachable facts, it would be thought incredible—indeed, scarcely conceivable—that such things could occur, or that they would be permitted to occur, in this professedly civilized, law-governed and Christian land.

The average for the last twenty years (1885–1904) has been one hundred and forty-two; the average for the first ten

years (1885–1894) was one hundred and seventy, and for the second ten (1895–1904) one hundred and twenty-four; for the first five years (1895–1899) of this second period one hundred and forty, and for the last five (1900–1904) one hundred and seven.

The number has varied greatly from year to year, now rising to a very high figure and then slowly receding for several years to a much lower point, suddenly to mount up again. Thus in 1885 the number was one hundred and eighty-four, diminishing to one hundred and twenty-two in 1887, rising again to one hundred and seventy-six in 1889. Then it fell off to one hundred and twenty-seven in 1890, but in 1892 reached two hundred and thirty-five, the highest figure for any year. Again the wave gradually receded until the year 1896, when the number was one hundred and thirty-one. The next year it rose again to one hundred and sixty-six. In 1899 it dropped to one hundred and seven, but in 1901 advanced to one hundred and thirty-five. For the years 1902–1904 the number remained at about one hundred. In 1905 it fell to sixty-six, all, except one, negroes, several of whom were burned at the stake; and all but five lynchings occurred in

nine states, where the negro population is largest.

In the opinion of men whose long and intimate acquaintance with the conditions prevailing in the South qualifies them to judge, the statistics thus briefly summarized do not tell the whole truth. Every year there are very many lynchings, in out-of-the-way places especially, that escape the notice of news-gatherers and of which no hint reaches the outside world.

A review of the long catalogue reveals certain most significant facts. At first lynching as a rule was reserved as the penalty almost exclusively for one crime, which appealed for special vengeance, because of its deep-dyed villainy. In comparatively few instances was it resorted to as a punishment for other offences. Very soon, however, other forms of criminality came to be included, until in more recent years the mob has ceased to discriminate, and the list of crimes for which lynching has been administered now comprises also murder, attempted murder or threats to kill, burglary and thieving, insults to whites, arson, and other minor offences, and the general depravity or obnoxious character of the victim when there is only a suspicion of crime. Of late about four-fifths of lynchings have been for crimes other than criminal assault, which had hitherto been the ostensible justification of lynch-law.

Besides this growing tendency to add to the number of crimes which fall under the ban of lynch-law, there has also been a steady and decided increase in the ferocity and savagery of its execution, until already, it would seem, the climax of inhumanity has been reached. Years ago the mob contented itself with hanging or shooting the victim to death. But for some years past this mode of procedure has become altogether too tame and commonplace, and the mob has practiced the most fiendish cruelties, burning its victims at the stake, piling up faggots about them and pouring on

oil, stoning them to death, sometimes mutilating and hacking their bodies, and even carrying away the charred remains as souvenirs of these orgies of brutality.

In order to give authority and impressiveness to the doings of the mob, it has often been said that "it was composed of the best citizens of the community." This is undoubtedly a too sweeping statement and not to be accepted literally. But while it may be true that the "best citizens" do not actually adjust the noose, or fire the shot, or apply the torch, yet by excusing and condoning, by acquiescing in and countenancing, or even defending the action of the mob, by doing nothing to bring the guilty parties to the bar of justice or sometimes even shielding them from arrest or refusing to convict them when placed upon trial, the great majority of the best citizens, so-called, have practically made themselves accessories after the fact and morally at least *participes criminis*.

In not a few instances, no doubt many more than are known, the mob in its reckless fury has wreaked its vengeance upon persons altogether innocent of the offences charged. Indeed the guilt or innocence of the victim is widely regarded as a matter of comparatively little moment. The head of a prominent educational institution represented a not uncommon sentiment, when, as is credibly reported, he said to the young men under his charge: "The only way to get along with niggers is to hang a few once in a while, and if the man hung is not the man who deserved it, in that case you are not likely to be far wrong, and the moral effect is the same."

The customary verdict of coroners' juries is to the effect that "the deceased came to his death at the hands of persons unknown." And grand juries either refuse to indict those accused of mob violence or recommend their discharge, even when in one case a member of the mob had confessed his own share in the affair and had implicated others.

In some instances, even after the ac-

cused has been promptly tried and convicted by a court of justice and sentenced to be hanged, the mob has not permitted the law to take its course, but wresting the prisoner from his legal guardians, has punished him according to its own diabolical will.

As a rule, with some most honorable exceptions, the constituted authorities, both state and local, whose highest office is to defend law and justice, have been shamefully delinquent in their duty. Sometimes so feeble is their resistance that they seem to be in collusion with the mob. And after the lynching has been consummated, seldom is any serious, determined effort made to bring the participants to the bar of justice, even when the leaders of the mob are well known. A search of court-records will reveal scarcely any instances in which a lyncher has been brought to trial, convicted and punished as he deserved, not more than a beggarly twenty-five or thirty out of the tens of thousands concerned in these outrages. Public opinion in the communities involved is almost invariably on the side of the mob, or is so weak and cowardly as to reduce legal procedure to a farce and make it practically impossible to secure conviction.

In July, 1904, at Eutawville, S. C., a negro, charged with cursing a farmer, was arrested, tried and convicted, and fined by the village magistrate. At night a party of men—savage beasts, rather—took him from the jail, chained him to a huge iron grating, and rowing out into the middle of a neighboring river, pushed the grating and their prisoner overboard. His body was found a few days later with seventeen stab-wounds in it, the eyes gouged out, the scalp torn off, and the fingers severed. In the following December, through the energetic and persistent efforts of the governor of the State, aided by skilled detectives, a number of arrests were made, two of them village officials, for participation in the crime. One of them turned state's evidence and implicated the others in the affair, giving

a graphic account of how the victim met his death. Hundreds of farmers of the neighborhood, we are told, swore that they would not permit the accused to be found guilty or punished, and the man who confessed was threatened with death. Of course, when the case was brought to trial in May, 1905, almost a year after the commission of the crime, it was a foregone conclusion that the accused would be acquitted.

Months have elapsed since the wholesale lynching of eight persons in July, 1905, at Watkinsville, Ga., one of the most infamous outrages in the whole history of lynch law. But no one concerned in this affair has been punished or even arrested. The prisoners were murdered, regardless of the offences charged and in defiance of the sacred and most elementary right of American citizenship, the right to a fair trial, to determine the guilt of the accused.

Public indifference on the subject of lynching is almost universal the country over. The average American citizen, as he partakes of his morning roll and coffee and reads in his daily newspaper the sickening account of the latest lynching tragedy, is moved for the time being with a thrill of horror. He lays his paper aside, goes to his daily work, becomes absorbed in the business of money-making, and—that is the end of it. The incident is closed. It is only a few days' sensation and soon forgotten. It is none of his affair, he thinks, and he is satisfied to leave it to those who are immediately concerned, forgetting that not merely the community and state where the affair occurs, but our entire nation, is deeply disgraced and dishonored in the estimation of the civilized world; that the finger of reproach, even of scorn, is pointed at us,—of contempt for a people whose institutions and government are apparently impotent to put an end to such devilish scenes, or at all events make no determined effort to prevent them or to punish those concerned in them. The callousness of the American people in the pres-

ence of this evil is amazing. The fate of the victim himself may excite no special interest or sympathy; and many perhaps may feel that no punishment is too severe for the chief crime. But have we no regard for our reputation as a civilized and Christian people, no solicitude for the brutalizing influence of these scenes, not only upon those who take part in and witness them, but also upon the very race to which the victims for the most part belong and upon those in all parts of our country who are disposed to set law and order at defiance? All experience proves that such unusual and unlawful punishments have no virtue as a preventive of crime. Itself the height of lawlessness, anarchy and crime, lynching breeds these very conditions and aggravates the very trouble it was intended to correct. The lynching spirit is an infectious as well as a contagious disease. "Lynch him! Lynch him!" has come to be the common cry of the mob, wherever in the land it rears its portentous head. Even a gang of boys, catching the lynching spirit from the newspaper accounts of these affairs, has been known to perform a mock lynching as a sort of grim amusement, with what would probably have been a fatal result to a colored boy, had it not been for the timely arrival of the police. A mob of lynchers is seldom content with the death of the immediate victim. Other crimes of personal violence upon negroes who have violated no law, very often follow in the wake of a lynching. They are beaten, shot at and driven from their homes; their houses are burned to the ground and their property destroyed, in order to intimidate and terrorize the entire neighborhood.

Security for the whites as well as for the blacks depends upon the orderly enforcement of law and the equal protection of all under the law. They who take the sword of lynch-law may themselves at last perish by the same sword. Every close observer of the drift of public feeling has noticed a growing intensity of race-

prejudice and hatred, to which nothing ministers so effectually as the practice of lynching and its attendant cruelties. Hatred by one race begets hatred in the other. Unless the causes are removed, the breach will become wider and wider, and mutual animosity more and more pronounced, with results which it requires prophetic vision to foresee.

The situation, thus briefly sketched in its most salient features, should compel the attention of the American people to the question at the head of this article: Shall lynching be suppressed? And no excuses, palliating circumstances, or pleas in extenuation should be permitted to divert attention from the simple, plain, elementary issue involved in this question.

The truth is the American people have never given an affirmative answer to this question. They have never made up their minds that lynching shall be suppressed. Let us squarely face the facts as they are. Communities and states where lynchings have occurred or where local conditions make them possible have never determined to take every precaution and use every available means, even the most radical and drastic if necessary, to prevent them at all hazards; or if in spite of this they do occur, to employ all the resources at their command to ferret out the perpetrators and bring them to adequate punishment, no matter what their social standing may be. There have been now and then spasmodic efforts in these directions, but generally it has been only a spasm, and often only half-hearted at best, to preserve appearances, but with no real, inflexible purpose to accomplish anything.

And our national government which represents America before the world—what has it ever done to meet this insistent problem and show that it, too, is determined to suppress lynching? While under the peculiar conditions which prevail in the South it has been the misfortune of that section that a large majority of lynchings occur there, they also occur in the North and West. They are not

an affair of only one section of our common country. Only five States have had a clean record. No matter where they happen, the whole nation—North, South, East and West—the entire people have a common concern about them and a common responsibility which cannot be shaken off or be put aside. If they have not been suppressed, the nation as a whole must bear its full share of the disgrace and opprobrium, because it has never applied the power and resources of national authority to the problem.

It is one of the constitutional duties of the President of the United States to communicate with the Congress from time to time by message "information on the state of the Union and to recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." The prevalence of lynchings, with all their tragic incidents, is certainly a sufficiently important and menacing fact in "the state of the Union" to deserve urgent attention in a Presidential message. We could well afford to dispense with some of the long-drawn-out disquisitions on comparatively unimportant matters, that a little space at least might be devoted to this subject, that the President might arouse the national conscience, make practical recommendations to Congress and call upon that body to take such decisive action as would enable the Executive to use all the available resources of national authority for the suppression of lynching.

As a matter of fact no reference, we believe, of any practical importance has ever been made to the subject by any of our Presidents in their annual or special messages; and while several bills have been introduced, Congress has never taken any action, and the matter has seldom even been mentioned on the floor of either House. Aliens, as in the case of the Italians at New Orleans a few years ago, have on a number of occasions been the victims of mob violence. But no law has yet been passed authorizing United States officials to deal directly

with such cases; and our government has been left under the mortifying necessity of representing to foreign powers that it can do nothing of its own motion to bring the offenders to justice and can legally provide no money indemnity, such indemnity being given only as a matter of grace on our part, not as legally due.

Both the Executive and Legislative Departments and the American people have all these years practically ignored the whole subject, as if it were altogether outside of their province. Political platforms and candidates have taken as much pains to steer clear of this question as a battleship does to avoid a torpedo or a floating mine. Even the party of emancipation, while it talks and resolves about reducing the Congressional representation of certain States, in which it is alleged that the negroes have been disfranchised, utters as a party no word of condemnation for lynching and its horrors, no demand for its suppression, even if Federal power be required for this purpose.

Practically the American people and governments, local, state and national, have been cowards in the presence of this evil.

The first thing, then, to be done is to educate and organize public opinion by bringing the subject definitely and forcibly before the people of local communities and states and of the country at large, that they may be influenced to determine that this lynching madness shall be suppressed and to sustain the authorities in using the measures necessary to this end.

Perhaps no agency can do so much in this direction as the newspaper and periodical press. We believe that for the most part they can be depended upon to do their full share in awakening and shaping the opinion and will of the masses. Already many of them, even in sections most given to mob violence, have been most outspoken in its condemnation.

The political conventions of all parties

should not hesitate to take a decided stand before the people in behalf of law, order and humanity. They should nominate for public office those men only, who, if elected to executive positions, will use every lawful means to suppress the crime of lynching; or if chosen to the work of legislation, will put upon the statute-book all necessary laws; or if placed upon the bench, will deal out justice to lynchers to the full extent of the law and without fear or favor, and also to those who commit crimes that excite the lynching spirit.

Our common schools should so train their students in the principles and practice and necessity of government by law, and so cultivate in them the law-abiding spirit, that they shall always stand firm for law and order and against the anarchy of mob violence.

And this crusade should enlist the unanimous and active support of all churches and denominations. Through their clergy and millions of members they can, if they will, wield an influence against this evil that would be irresistible. For this is not altogether a political question, but one of common humanity and Christianity.

The churches and all religious people should stand unitedly and aggressively for the protection of the weak of every race. They should insist upon just, fair, Christian treatment for all alike, for the humblest, the most ignorant and degraded, the blackest, equally with the stronger and the more favored; upon their "right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" in their own way, so long as they do not trespass upon the rights of their fellow-citizens; upon common, equal opportunities for all and a fair chance in life to make of themselves what they can. They should set themselves against that prejudice and spirit of caste which relegates any class of our population to a state of hopeless inferiority. Our churches can have no nobler mission than to lift such out of the slough of ignorance, moral weakness and de-

generacy, wherein breed those crimes which afford the lyncher a specious excuse for his lawlessness.

Turning now to the duty and office of government in the prevention or suppression of lynching—in the first place, what course should be adopted by the authorities in those communities and states where lynchings have occurred, or where the conditions are such that they are likely to, or possibly may, occur?

"Be prepared for the unexpected, and take no chances" should be the guiding principle. Let the legislative department pass such laws as will give ample power to all executive officers for any and every emergency and shall hold them to strict account for failure to prevent the mob from accomplishing its purpose. Some of the States have already enacted such laws, imposing heavy penalties for any dereliction in duty. And what is perhaps the most important measure of all, the State should organize a state police, or constabulary, with special reference to the suppression of mob violence.

It has been proved over and over again that the sheriff and his aids are a feeble dependence in the face of an enraged mob of hundreds and even thousands of men, bent upon lynching the prisoner. They are too few to cope with the situation, or they lack the necessary courage and determination, and weakly yield. And the state militia can seldom be relied upon for effective service; for its members are scattered, precious time is lost in calling them to the colors and moving them to the scene of the outbreak; and meanwhile the mob has accomplished its purpose. It happens not unfrequently that the officers or men, or both, are more or less in sympathy with the mob and make no determined effort to prevent the affair, and have even been known to coöperate with the lynchers. Their guns are not loaded, or are loaded with blank cartridges; or the troops are forbidden to fire, lest somebody should be hurt; or they even permit themselves to be disarmed.

The only way, therefore, to meet effectively the sudden situation is for the state to organize a permanent constabulary of sufficient numbers, under regular pay, well drilled, armed and equipped, and ready at a moment's call to be hurried to the scene, with their guns loaded, and who will be ordered to fire, should the emergency demand it. In view of the great increase in our population and its heterogeneous elements and the consequent exposure to sudden outbreaks of mob violence, the time has now come when our larger and more populous states, especially where the gravest crimes tend to multiply, should provide a state constabulary to be on duty all the time as a guarantee of public order. As a rural police such a body in constant service, with detachments posted at convenient points in the state, would be most efficient in maintaining good order throughout its confines and in preventing the very crimes which arouse the lynching spirit. It should be provided for by law, that whenever a crime has been committed, that is likely to stir the feeling of the community to a white heat and possibly lead to an attempt at lynching, the state constabulary shall immediately be ordered to the place, to aid the local officials in capturing the criminal if he is still at large, or to protect him from attack by a mob, if he is already in the hands of the authorities. In this as in other things "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure."

But if in spite of these precautions the lynching is consummated, the state should then proceed with all the power the laws can be made capable of giving, to bring the lynchers to the bar of justice, be they "our best citizens" or the dregs of the community. The former who engineer a "lynching bee" are far more dangerous to society than the latter. No stone should be left unturned to secure the punishment of these enemies of social order, no matter who they are or what their social standing. The participants

are generally known in the community; or if they are not, detectives should be put upon their trail until they are rounded up and punished. Until this result is reached the authorities should not cease their most strenuous efforts.

Even the summary measures of martial law would be better than to allow lynching to continue or lynchers to go unpunished. A community in the North or South, in the East or West, that possesses all the machinery for the orderly and legal punishment of crime, and yet tolerates within its limits the infamous brutalities of the lyncher and even justifies and applauds his action, and permits him to walk its streets unwhipped of justice—such a community is a fit subject for the rigors of martial law.

If the programme thus briefly outlined is carried out by the authorities of the community and state, we may be quite certain that lynching will be quickly suppressed. But if the executive, legislative or judicial powers of the state, one or all, prove themselves unable or unwilling to accomplish this result, have the American people no recourse? Must they stand by and permit this national disgrace to continue? Is there nothing that can be done through our national government? It may be said that there is no precedent for national action. If so, it is high time that a precedent be established. Or it may be urged that the doctrine of state rights stands in the way. The friends of that doctrine will do well not to interpose it as a stumbling block in the way of national interference, when local agencies have failed in their duty.

What can the national government do in these circumstances? is a question that merits most careful consideration. We believe that a fair, common-sense interpretation of its constitutional prerogatives and of the spirit and declared purposes of the Constitution fully authorizes the national government, as a last resort, to use its power to suppress lynching. If it is so shackled and lim-

ited by constitutional regulations that it can take no effective action, surely the founders left it disgracefully impotent. We cannot believe that they did so. In the very preamble they declare that the Constitution was ordained "in order to establish justice and insure domestic tranquility." Where? Evidently in every state and territory within the jurisdiction of the government.

The first section of Article XIV., of the Amendments to the Constitution, provides that no state shall "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Now a state may deny such protection in two ways, directly, by statute, or, indirectly, by failure to pass the necessary laws or to use the powers entrusted to it by existing laws, to insure equal protection for all. If the state authorities, either through inability or through unwillingness, have failed to suppress lynching and its accompanying atrocities, they have practically denied the "equal protection of the laws" to those citizens who have been subjected to mob violence. In pursuance of Section V. under the same Article, which says: "The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this Article," Congress has passed several statutes, which, reasonably and fairly interpreted, apply to cases of lynching and read as follows:

Section 5508. "If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his so having exercised the same; or if two or more persons go in disguise on the highway or on the premises of another, with intent to prevent or hinder his free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege so secured, they shall

be fined not more than \$5,000 and imprisoned not more than ten years; and shall, moreover, thereafter be ineligible to any office, or place of honor, profit or trust created by the Constitution or laws of the United States."

Section 5509. "If in the act of violating any provision in either of the two preceding Sections any other felony or misdemeanor be committed, the offender shall be punished for the same with such punishment as is attached to such felony or misdemeanor by the laws of the State in which the offence is committed."

Section 5519. "If two or more persons in any State or Territory conspire, or go in disguise on the highway or on the premises of another, for the purpose of depriving, either directly or indirectly, any person or class of persons of the equal protection of the laws, or of equal privileges or immunities under the laws; or for the purpose of preventing or hindering the constituted authorities of any State or Territory from giving or securing to all persons within such State or Territory the equal protection of the laws; each of such persons shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$500 nor more than \$5,000, or by imprisonment, with or without hard labor, not less than six months nor more than six years, or by both such fine and imprisonment."

If these statutes are not sufficiently specific to authorize the Federal Courts to intervene in cases of lynching, then Congress should enact any further legislation that may be needful to carry out the plain intent of the guarantees of the Constitution. If the state courts fail in their duty, let lynchers be prosecuted before United States Courts, and let all the legal and judicial machinery of the national government be brought into action. Cases of peonage and "white-capping" have been taken into the Federal Courts; why may not also cases of lynching?

Justice and a common-sense interpre-

tion of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments justify the conclusion, that there is sufficient constitutional authority for national interposition. Will that step be taken? It will be, if the American people so determine. Let them say to local and state authorities: It is primarily your duty and business to put an end to lynching and its tragedies, and to maintain the supremacy of law. But if you will not or cannot do this, then we will make it our business to accomplish it through the constitutional and legal powers of the national government.

How can we tolerate within our own borders the savagery of what has come to be known distinctively the world over as "the American lynch mob," and at the same time have the face to lecture and rebuke other nations for the outrages which take place in their backyards? If we would escape the *tu quoque* retort and avoid being politely reminded to look at home and attend to our own affairs,—if we would make our influence strong and unimpeachable everywhere for law and humanity and against anarchy and cruelty, we should maintain law and humanity within our own bounds and extirpate the abominations which cry to heaven from our own back-yard.

There are many who would temporize with this evil. "Hands off!" they tell us. "Wait! Let natural and moral forces and influences have free course. Give them time, and they will gradually and quietly solve the problem." But will they do so? Have they accomplished very much during the last twenty

years? Are they likely, *by themselves*, to effect much more during the next ten or twenty? While the number of lynchings does not now reach the startling figures of fifteen or twenty years ago, yet for the last ten years, as we have seen, the number has seldom fallen below one hundred annually, race antagonism has deepened in intensity and there has been a marked increase in the violence and barbarity of its manifestations. But grant that these forces and influences will in time bring about a cure of the disease. While we are waiting, it will continue its ravages and add more to the number of its victims,—to be sure a slowly lessening number; but every new victim, every fresh exhibition of mob violence and brutality, will be adding to our national dishonor, when if our governing authorities would handle the evil without gloves, it could be suppressed almost immediately. No, we have temporized all too long. As well temporize with a frenzied mob of lynchers as with a jungle tiger just ready to spring upon you.

There is an old saying with more or less truth in it: "If you scratch a Russian with a pin, you will find a Tartar." If these scenes of mob violence, of murder, mutilation, torture and burning are permitted to continue, if the American people who can suppress them, if they will, do not stamp out this lynching frenzy, then we need not be surprised if an impudent world shall feel justified in the taunt—Scratch an American, and you will find a savage.

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ECONOMICS OF JESUS.

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PART I.

AT THE close of the series of articles on the "Economics of Moses" it was stated that Jesus, realizing the hopelessness of curing economic ills by the mere letter of law, sought the solution of the vexed economic problem with which Moses struggled by giving to the world a spiritualized ideal of economic life.

The burden of the articles on the "Economics of Jesus" must therefore be to show what this ideal is. This task may be best performed by giving in the first article its structure as derived from the teachings of Jesus and his first disciples, and in the second its function as derived from the history of attempts made to put it into practice.

This ideal has two distinct phases—the *psychological* and the *sociological*.

The *psychological* principle is found in the emphasis which Jesus placed upon Life, making no distinction between existence here and hereafter. Under the Mosaic dispensation there is but little record of consideration of any continuation of Life beyond the earth period. The limited conception of Life of the earlier times resulted in a low estimate of its value and possibilities. More importance was given to the pleasure of the hour and the material means of producing such pleasure than to the preservation of Life or the means of developing its fullness. Life, therefore, by most minds, was considered of less importance than body, food, raiment or houses.

As evidence of this we note that Life was often sacrificed by the individual to secure these material things even when their acquisition was not necessary to existence; the law prescribed the death penalty freely for interference with sup-

posed rights in these material things; and the lives of great masses of people considered the less fortunate were sacrificed for the pleasure of those considered the more fortunate.

There was but little conception of life as being a force greater than all material things, with power to control all such things, making them a means of its fuller and larger expression, or going on its way entirely independent of all visible adjuncts.

The economic laws of Moses grew out of the material conception of Life and were a laudable effort in the direction of regulating the ownership of the material things pertaining to life by external force, on the assumption that the life itself was beyond the possibility of being regulated so as to regulate from within the material things related to it. In the then state of development of the race that assumption was tenable; and the Mosaic system was probably the best that could be devised for its time.

Jesus assumed, whether correctly or not need not here be considered, that the time had come for at least the announcement of the dominant power of Life.

The following are some of the evidences of the emphasis placed by him on Life without in any respect discounting or depreciating the body or material things, as was the custom of the Ascetic Jews and the Stoic Greeks:

"I am come that they might have Life and that they might have it more abundantly."—John, 10:10.

"As the Father hath Life in Himself, (independent of material things), so hath He given to the Son to have life in himself."—John, 5:26.

"Therefore I say unto you be not anxious (R. V.) for your life what ye

shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for the body what ye shall put on. Is not the Life more than meat and the body more than raiment?"—Matthew, 6:25.

"I am the way, the truth and the Life."
—John, 14:6.

The clear meaning of the propositions quoted, stripped of all theological traditions, is that it is possible for the individual to so develop the life "in himself," which is possessed by all "sons of God," that he shall be able to control directly or indirectly all of the material things necessary for the proper development of his Life for this or any other world.

Otherwise it is not true that the Life is more—greater, more powerful—than the meat as the body is more—greater, more powerful—than the raiment.

A few strong individuals like the Nazarene Himself may be able to develop this conquering Life "in himself" with but little or no help from his fellowmen; but without social coöperation on a large plan the development of this psychic power in the mass of mankind must be delayed indefinitely. Hence, the necessity for the *sociological* phase of this ideal of Jesus.

This phase is clearly brought out in the teachings of Jesus concerning the Kingdom of Heaven, or, according to the later translations, the Kingdom of the Heavens.

The Greek "*Basileia*" carries the same meaning as the English "Kingdom." It includes both power and place—regal authority and territory ruled.

We must choose between the meanings, "the rule of the heavens or heavenly principles over the earth" and "the heavens as the sphere of Divine government," as our conception of what is meant by the "Kingdom of the Heavens." Not to choose the former is to reject the best Biblical scholarship of our times.

Daniel gave the key to the meaning of this term when he announced to

Nebuchadnezzar, "The heavens do rule" (Daniel, 4:26); and then proceeded to show him what kingdoms should succeed his, including the one represented by the "stone cut out of the mountain without hands" which should break in pieces all other kingdoms, and ultimately fill the earth. Whatever controversy there may be about the authorship or date of this Book, it is acknowledged by the best commentators that the verse quoted gives the key to the geography of the "Kingdom of the Heavens."

The Book of Matthew is distinctly the exponent of the Messianic Kingdom. The term "Kingdom of the Heavens" occurs in it thirty-three times, and nowhere else in the New Testament. "The Kingdom of God" also occurs five times in Matthew, and many times in other parts of the New Testament, but with a less definite signification, sometimes meaning the same thing as the "Kingdom of the Heavens," but usually having either a narrower meaning, as where it refers to the church or "Ecclesia," as a body, or a broader meaning as a state of blessedness or ethical and spiritual condition resulting from divine rule.

The prophecies alleged to refer to this Kingdom may have some weight on this point:

"And the government shall be upon his shoulder."—Isaiah, 9:6.

"And the stone that smote the image became a great mountain and filled the whole earth."—Daniel, 2:35.

"For the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord."—Isaiah, 11:9.

"And the rebuke of his people shall he take away from off all the earth."—Isaiah, 25:8.

"The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ."—Revelations, 11:16.

But the testimony of Jesus Himself as reported by Luke is conclusive:

"The Kingdom of God is among you."
—Luke, 17:21.

"Among" instead of "within" is a marginal reading and is preferred by the later translations. That this is the preferable rendering is clear from the fact that Jesus was addressing the Pharisees who were then attacking Him, and who, according to His own statement elsewhere could not be said to accommodate much of the Kingdom of God at that time as they were full of "dead men's bones."

When Jesus said in John, 18:36, "My Kingdom is not of this world," He referred to quality and source of power and not to location, as is clear from the last clause of the verse: "But now is my kingdom not from hence."

Having determined that the "Kingdom of the Heavens" always and the "Kingdom of God" sometimes, depending upon the connection, refers to a condition of human society on this earth, it remains to show what relation this Kingdom has to the economic life of the people.

The first fundamental principle of this Kingdom was announced in connection with the psychological teaching quoted above as from Matthew, 6:26, and shows the necessary connection between the *psychology* and *sociology* of the Kingdom by insisting upon the organization and establishment of a social and economic polity among those seeking to use their psychic power to conquer material conditions in these words:

"But seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you."—Matthew, 6:33.

But that this was a social and not merely an individual exhortation is evident from the expression, "For after all these (material things) do the Gentiles seek."

As if he had said, "You Jews who have had the law of Moses to teach you how to provide for the material wants of all should be able to conduct your

economic affairs so as to avoid the struggle for wealth seen among the Gentiles and you can do so by adopting the principles of the Kingdom of the Heavens which is now at hand."

The Sermon on the Mount given in the fifth, sixth and seventh chapters of Matthew is acknowledged to be the Constitution of the Kingdom of the Heavens. In this organic law we find, among other economic principles, the following:

"Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth."

In Luke's account of this Sermon the word "poor" is used instead of "meek," indicating that the disinherited class was referred to, and many late translations use the word "land" instead of "earth."

With this reasonable interpretation we find the Mosaic principle of land tenure approved in the matter of providing homes for all.

The application of this principle, however, is enlarged to include reasonably the common ownership of land in which all of the then disinherited, together with the few rich who were then monopolizing the land, should inherit all the earth as a common brotherhood property, regulated only as to equitable possession, instead of the private ownership by allotment under the Mosaic law, which, although better than land monopoly, resulted in much contention about titles and landmarks.

Jesus approves the Mosaic prohibition against taking interest in this same connection:

"Lend, hoping nothing again."—Luke, 6:35.

But here again He transcends the Mosaic ideal by advising the lender not to exact or expect the return of the principal.

He approves gratuitous lending to the needy, as provided in the Mosaic law:

"From him that would borrow of thee turn thou not away."—Matthew, 5:42.

Again He goes beyond the Mosaic law by leaving out all limitations as to the circumstances of the borrower, while the ancient law applied only in cases of distress.

He approves the principle of cancellation of debts in the prayer:

"Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors."—Matthew, 6:12.

All Bible scholars agree that "debts" here include financial obligations, and there is a strong suspicion that the ritual version which uses "trespasses," which word is not found in either of the two forms of the prayer, was influenced by the Mammon worship that filled the debtors' prisons of the times in which it was made.

His cleansing of the temple near the close of His career, which was one of the chief causes of his crucifixion, was an additional approval of the Mosaic principle of commercial equality and the climax of His condemnation of Mammon worship.

This was not an act of religious reformation, as such, but of commercial reformation. He did not call the money-changers and salesmen blasphemers. He called them "thieves."

The cause of His severe accusation deserves notice. The priests and money-lenders had made a tax which was levied in the time of Moses for a special occasion (Exodus, 30:18), a permanent institution, making it a temple tax which the two or three millions who attended the three great annual feasts at Jerusalem must pay before they could worship. Jesus condemned this tax as illegal. (Matthew, 24:27).

Not only was the tax illegal, but it was required to be paid in the Hebrew half-shekel, which, on account of the Jews having lost their sovereignty and power to coin money, had become very scarce. (Smith's Bible dictionary—"Shekel").

The people were compelled to exchange their every-day Roman coin for this Hebrew half-shekel, and from the best that can be known of the circumstances, it is probable that the money-changers were able to exact ten for one in the exchange, and did so.

Jesus announced the principle of economic equality in the parable of the vineyard workers to the effect that where all are willing to labor as ability may permit and necessity require, their material compensation should be the same, regardless of actual time spent in labor.

Upon this parable Ruskin in his *Unto This Last* founded his economic ideal, in which he insists that there can be no political economy until Economics is based upon Life as the only true form of wealth.

There are those who argue that these economic principles are practicable under no circumstances; and others who insist that they are practicable under all circumstances.

Both are wrong as regards complete compliance with these principles.

Jesus Himself made the social seeking of the Kingdom of God (not its complete establishment) a condition of the individual's ability to live up to this economic ideal; and even He found it necessary to modify the economic precepts given to His disciples on account of changed social conditions.

After the Sermon on the Mount the principles of the Kingdom were so willingly and widely accepted by the oppressed classes that He spoke of the Kingdom of the Heavens suffering violence; and He sent out His disciples with instructions to provide neither silver nor gold nor brass in their purses, nor scrip for their journey, neither two coats, neither shoes nor yet staves. (Matthew, 10:9-10.) The same precepts were given to the Seventy as to the Twelve.

These precepts were then practicable because the incipient brotherhood had become so extensive that there were

groups of converts everywhere to receive and provide for the missionaries.

After the crisis in His career, however, following the rejection, He gave instructions of a different sort without retracting any of the social or economic principles set forth in the organic law of the Kingdom:

"But now he that hath a purse let him take it, and likewise his scrip: and he that hath no sword let him sell his garment and buy one."—Luke, 22:35-36.

Here, it seems, the disciples were forced back into the individualistic struggle which was so fierce that not only were they justified in returning to the holding of private property for self-protection, but were even permitted to provide weapons for self-defence.

It should appear from the foregoing that instead of the New Dispensation abrogating the economic principles of the Mosaic system it introduced a still higher ideal of economic and social life, for Jesus Himself said:

"Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets. I am come, not to destroy, but to fulfill."

In view of this proclamation Christians could as consistently excuse themselves for theft, murder, and every other

crime under ban of the Decalogue, on the ground that they are "not under the law, but under grace," as to justify themselves for defending land monopoly, interest, and other extortions under forms of law.

Excuse may be made for not living up to the economic ideal of Jesus, and for even being forced by circumstances into violation of the economic laws of Moses on the ground that there is no sociological organization representing the Kingdom of the Heavens to enable the individual to live the new economic life; but Peter's temporary apostasy is moral heroism compared with the chronic infidelity of those who justify the annulment of the economic law of Moses, and brand the economic law of Jesus as an Utopian dream.

Having found the Economic Ideal of Jesus resting firmly on the two eternal pillars of *psychological* and *sociological* principles, it remains for the next article to show to what extent and in what manner it has gotten itself into the world's Life, and what are the possibilities of its dominating the social and economic Life of the race.

GEORGE MCA. MILLER

Chicago, Ill.

(*To be continued.*)

W. GORDON NYE: A CARTOONIST OF JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

I.

THE SUBJECT of this sketch is one of the most thought-compelling of the small but steadily growing band of American cartoonists and illustrators who place moral idealism above all material or personal considerations, and who are willing to make great sacrifices in order that they may be true to their

ideals of justice, faithful to the inner light, and thus true to the high demand of their spiritual nature.

Like Gerald Massey the poet, like Maxim Gorky and Jack London, the novelists, he learned to think seriously and fundamentally after he had fallen under the wheel of our much-vaunted

modern commercialism. Gerald Massey, it will be remembered, when a little sickly boy was forced to labor fourteen hours a day amid the unsanitary environment of the English factories, in a desperate battle to keep the wolf of starvation from the wretched little home. It was seeing and feeling all the bitterness of extreme poverty, and beholding with horror-dilated eyes the degradation that companions dire poverty when it exists side by side with wealth swollen to abnormal proportions by injustice, privilege, corruption and indirection, that called forth many of his most powerful and conscience-arresting poems. The knowledge gained by experience and observation of the nation-destroying influence incident to such injustice and inequality, and the great new hope born of the ever-broadening horizon which progressive democracy revealed, gave us such stanzas as this:

"When the heart of one-half the world doth beat
Akin to the brave and the true,
And the tramp of democracy's earth-quaking feet
Goes thrilling the wide world through—
We should not be crouching in darkness and dust,
And dying like slaves in the night;
But big with the might of the inward 'must'
We should battle for freedom and right!
Our fathers are praying for pauper pay,
Our mothers with death's kiss are white;
Our sons are the rich man's serfs by day,
And our daughters his slaves by night."

It takes the lash of adversity, the goad of hunger and want, to awaken most of us to a sensible realization of the fruits of injustice and inequality and the moral responsibility devolving on every man in a free state to think earnestly and funda-



Nye, in *Watson's Magazine*.

THE LONG CLIMB OF THE CENTURIES.

mentally on all great political and economic problems and to be eternally vigilant, in order that privilege or class interests may not gain a foothold of vantage and thus injuriously affect the interests of all the people. And in this respect Gordon Nye was no exception to the rule.

II.

He was born on a farm and his early years were spent in the wholesome atmosphere of country life. He attended the free schools until he was fifteen years of age. Then he did any kind of work he could obtain, sometimes selling papers,

Nye, in *Watson's Magazine*.

"WHAT HAS BECOME OF THE SURPLUS?"

sometimes painting fences, always seeking honest employment and never afraid of work. When seventeen years of age he had the opportunity given him to learn the machinist's trade. This he eagerly embraced and at nineteen he left home to battle for a livelihood. All went well for a time. Then came a strike, and the shop where he worked was closed. His little savings rapidly diminished. It was in a time of general business depression. The great manufacturing trusts and monopolies were well stocked with their products and they desired to raise prices. Hence they let labor become a drug on the market. It was the old, old story, the oft-played game, in which the few who controlled the markets and enjoyed monopoly rights have the producing and consuming millions completely at their mercy, and in which, coming and going, the privileged lords of the market and the street reap their millions out of the poor.

"For a time," said Gor-

don Nye recently, when in a reminiscent mood, "it seemed that everything went wrong. All doors of opportunity were closed. Everything seemed to conspire to press me downward towards the frightful abyss where exist the starving and the hopeless ones. I was hundreds of miles from home. I tried to get work at anything in order to earn an honest dollar. I tramped the highways day after day, but with no success. At length my last penny was spent. I was a common Hooligan, with nothing to eat and nowhere to sleep save on the bare ground. I lost flesh rapidly. But in this condition of wretchedness I was by no means alone. Numbers of men were like me vainly seeking work and slowly starving.

Nye, in *Watson's Magazine*.

MONEY MADNESS.



W. GORDON NYE



Nye, in *Watson's Magazine*.

"THE ARMOUR PACKING COMPANY WENT INTO OUR CAMPS AS FRIENDS."

Some of them fell by the wayside; others, after struggling desperately to maintain their self-respect and manhood, at last seemed to give up all hope and became

members of the vast family of human derelicts. I saw many such tragic spectacles. When at last I reached home I was so emaciated that my own friends did not recognize me."



Nye, in *Watson's Magazine*.

**"WE ARE WEAKENING THE MASSES TO CREATE
RYANS AND MORGANS."**

It was during this terrible experience that the soul of the young man awoke. He was a part of the democracy of the out-of-works. He felt the pangs of hunger which thousands of others were feeling. He did not desire charity. He only asked for the boon of an opportunity to earn an honest living, but this was denied him; while all around the thousands of starving and homeless ones he saw people spending more money on horses, carriages, luxuries and foolish extravagances than a hundred men like himself could hope to earn in a lifetime. This spectacle forced the young man to think and to think



W. G. Nye.

WHERE IS OUR BOASTED PROSPERITY?

"What a farce it is to talk of the schools providing equal opportunity for all when there are hundreds of thousands of children in our city schools who cannot learn because they are hungry!"—W. H. Maxwell, Superintendent of New York City Schools.

seriously and fundamentally. Here was something wrong; here was the fruit of injustice and inequality; here was want that was in no wise the result of idleness, shiftlessness or dissipation. On the other hand, was vast wealth, the fruit of privilege, gambling or indirection, and not the result of thrift and frugality on the part of those who had acquired it. It was the old story of human suffering on the part of the multitude that the few might unjustly acquire unearned and often undeserved wealth and power, against which the democratic revolution was a protest. It was precisely the same phenomenon as was seen in class-ruled

lands, where equality of opportunities and of rights was denied the people; where through special privilege, oppression and indirection the few were able to live off of the many.

Could this be the result of democracy in practical operation? Could a state where there was guaranteed equality of opportunities to all and special privileges to none present so hideous a spectacle as that which he perceived on every side? Or had the government become recreant to the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and the fundamental principles upon which the fathers builded?

It did not take him long to discern the fact that privilege, monopoly in land, monopoly in transportation, protective tariffs and other forms of privilege were the great feeders of inequality and the most prolific mother of misery and in-



Nye, in *Watson's Magazine*.

THE CARTOON WHICH MR. BELMONT DESCRIBED AS SEDITION.

justice experienced by the wealth-producing masses. It was recreancy to the democratic ideal and not failure of democracy. De Tocqueville was right: the cure for the evils of democracy was more democracy.

Heretofore the young man had drifted with the current, doing little or no thinking for himself and taking his views for the most part at second-hand, from editors of daily papers that were beholden to the privileged interests. Now, however, he began to reason for himself. He ceased to look through the spectacles of the paid attorneys and special pleaders of privileged interests. Slowly the light began to dawn upon him. He found that the taproot of social inequality lay in privilege and the practical denial of equality of opportunities and of rights which it involved; and with this new light came a resolute determination to battle for a restoration of the government to the people. "For," said he, "I saw and felt that false ideals were slaying the Republic, just as they had slain Rome long ago." He determined to devote his life henceforth to arousing the people. But how? The press was the greatest present-day opinion-forming



G. W. Nye.

R. D. MAC LEAN.

agency, and in the press the cartoonist was becoming one of the most potent factors in influencing the slow-thinking millions. He thought of Nast and his work, and he determined to become a cartoonist and illustrator who should fearlessly unmask the wrong and set over against the sordid materialism of the market the high moral idealism which is the hope of civilization.

But how could he obtain the necessary instruction? This was the problem which he determined to master. When he was strong enough to get work he succeeded in obtaining a position at his trade where he worked diligently during the day and at night he devoted his time to art. In order to do this he had to practice the greatest pos-



Nye, in *Watson's Magazine*.

"THE RAILROAD KING SITS AT THE HEAD OF THE TABLE IN THE FEASTS OF BOTH PARTIES."



W. G. Nye.

"McCURDY, THE MISSIONARY."

sible self-denial and overwork soon proved too much for him in his weakened condition. He was taken ill and for five weeks lingered between life and death. Then he rallied and with purpose unshaken he again set out to achieve success, working by day and attending the School of Industrial Arts of Philadelphia by night. For three years he thus labored with that splendid determination that spells success, and in 1901 he began his successful career as a cartoonist and a purposeful illustrator.

III.

His early work was on the *Philadelphia Telegraph and Bulletin* and on Macfadden's *Physical Culture Magazine*. Later he was employed as cartoonist for the Democratic National Committee during the Parker campaign. He accepted this position supposing that the party managers were honest in their

pretensions. Of his rude awakening we shall presently speak. During this period his drawings appeared in leading Democratic papers, such as the *New York News*, *Louisville Courier-Journal*, *Buffalo Evening Times*, *Brooklyn Citizen*, and several other prominent party-journals. Still later he became cartoonist for *Watson's Magazine*, in which monthly he has done much of his most fruitful and telling work.

Mr. Nye's experience as cartoonist for the Democratic National Committee is valuable as affording an additional illustration of the fact that has been recently emphasized by David Graham Phillips,—that the feudalism of wealth or the "interests" work together in both the old parties, first to deceive and then to plunder the people. It is all one whether it is Belmont and Ryan or Morgan, Rogers and Baer. They are patriots for plunder and they serve under the flags of the two old parties to make it possible for plutocracy to control government through the political merger. But Nye was unsophisticated. He knew the Democratic party claimed to be the poor man's friend; that it pretended to be at war against the trusts, and especially to oppose the high tariff; and he gladly entered this new field believing that it would enable him to strike some telling blows for the emancipation of the people from the thralldom of the trusts and protected monopolies. He supposed he was to have a free hand to make the most effective cartoons he was able to draw. He was told, however, that Mr. Belmont was to pass on all cartoons.

His first drawing was aimed against the high tariff, which he knew the Democrats had for generations pretended to oppose. He knew also that Mr. Havemeyer, one of the chief beneficiaries of the tariff among the great trust magnates, had admitted when a witness before the United States Senate Committee, that the tariff was the mother of the trusts. He knew that the great steel-trust was laying down its products in

England and Canada at from six to eleven dollars per ton less than it charged the American railway builders and other consumers of steel and iron. He knew that what was true of the steel-trust's extortions, made possible by the tariff, was true of many other trusts. Moreover, he knew that in the end it was always the consumers who paid for the extortions of monopoly. He had seen the frightful result of privilege granted by a recreant government, in the pitiful derelicts he met when he himself was starving and vainly seeking work. And as at this particular moment several of the Armour-Depew class of eminently respectable citizens, who in most instances were coining millions through extortion by virtue of the tariff, were clamoring for the election of the Republican ticket, he drew a cartoon into the making of which he threw his whole heart. It was an answer to the eminent citizens who were fattening off of the poor through the tariff and other privileges. In it a prosperous, self-satisfied citizen symbolizing the trusts held aloft a banner demanding that the men in his employ should vote for Roosevelt. In the background rose the tariff wall. The figure stood on bags of gold that rested on the bodies of the toilers,—the child-slaves, the sweat-shop girl, the over-worked and struggling miners and other day-workers. The cartoon pleased its author and he believed it would appeal to the leaders. But to his amazement Mr. Belmont eyed it with great disfavor. The longer he looked upon it the more excited and indignant he seemed to become. At last he turned sharply on the cartoonist exclaiming: "That is seditious! That is seditious!" Belmont wanted no cartoons that would hurt the privileged interests, undecieve the people or make them think. Nye was naturally as disheartened as he was astonished. His next cartoon fared no better. Taggart, catching sight of it before Belmont saw it, promptly condemned it.

These experiences served to open the



Nye, in *Watson's Magazine*.

"IT IS HARD . . . TO HAVE TO RETURN A
QUARTER MILLION DOLLARS OF
STOLEN MONEY . . ."

cartoonist's eyes. He beheld the hollow mockery of the pretensions of these political shysters and patriots for personal revenue. He at once wrote his father, describing the situation and urging him to vote for President Roosevelt. That hundreds of thousands of honest and patriotic Democrats saw the situation as did the young cartoonist and voted for Roosevelt, while other hundreds of thousands remained at home, the election showed. They voted for Roosevelt or refused to vote at all, not because they admired the President or because they cherished any less devotedly the fundamental principles of progressive democracy, but because they could not stand for the betrayal of a great party to the princes of privilege and the Huns of plutocracy.



W. G. Nye.

MR. MORGAN.

IV.

The general cry of prosperity was raised by the trusts, mining magnates and other beneficiaries of privilege which were at that time employing tens of thousands of children and coining millions of money from the slavery of these helpless ones who were being robbed of the rightful heritage of youth because their parents were underpaid; and at the same time in the great cities there were other thousands of underfed school-children, as had been pointed out by Professor Maxwell, Superintendent of Schools in New York, in an address delivered in St. Louis, this educator saying:

"What a farce it is to talk of the schools providing equal opportunities for all, when there are hundreds of thousands of children in our cities who cannot learn because they are hungry."

This spectacle suggested Nye's popular cartoon, "Where Is Our Boasted Prosperity?"

Among the cartoons which Mr. Nye has contributed to *Watson's Magazine*, to illustrate the gifted editor's trenchant comments on passing events, we have selected a few which well illustrate the artist's ability as a cartoonist. One of these pictures is symbolical. The background is Wall street, with Trinity Church in the distance. The dollar sun has hypnotized the multitude, who, having climbed to the top of the great buildings, press forward to the abyss under the spell of money-madness. They fall on every hand, and at the base are revealed the insane asylum, the poor-house and the potter's field.

A second drawing is entitled "What Has Become of the Surplus?" and was suggested by revelations in connection with the insurance companies. This cartoon is especially impressive just now, in view of the recent appalling revelations of immorality among the millionaire class of New York which have come to light since the murder of Stanford White by Harry Thaw.

A third cartoon represents the real power in American political life—plutocracy—thanks to the political merger or the partnership of the boss and the machine manipulators of both parties with the public-service corporations and protected interests.

"We Are Weakening the Masses to Create Ryans and Morgans," "The Armour Packing Company Went Into Our Camps as Friends," and "The Climb of the Centuries" are other highly suggestive drawings.

Mr. Nye has also been very successful in presenting a gallery of high financiers and pillars of the modern commercial feudalism. Of these we present four portraits, those of J. Pierpont Morgan, "Missionary" McCurdy, Chauncey Depew and John D. Rockefeller.

As an illustrator Nye has also done some excellent work. We give a characteristic example showing what he has accomplished in line portraiture.

v.

Like many progressive democrats, Mr. Nye distrusts Socialism while favoring many Socialistic measures. In this respect he resembles M. Clemenceau, the strongest man in the present French cabinet, who recently, when answering M. Jaurès' plea for a collective state, declared himself in favor of various Socialistic measures, such as popular ownership and operation of railways and mines, old-age pensions, etc. In discussing present-day political and economic conditions Mr. Nye recently said:

"While I am not a Socialist and do not believe Socialism possible until men reach a higher degree of intelligence in general and show more of that unselfish love for their fellowmen that was shown by Christ, yet I do believe that the common people are not receiving a just deal. How do I know this? By experience. By having worked five and one-half years shoulder to shoulder with my fellowmen as a machinist. Do I not know men—good men—my friends, who work for the 'Divine right' George Baer of the Reading Railroad ten and one-half hours per day for 90 cents to \$1.25 per day? And if there is any race-suicide in the country, here is where I find it. These men cannot exist on the wages paid them. Their children, ten or twelve years of age, are forced into the hungry mills, and there their young bodies are literally coined into dollars. From the mills they go in a small wooden box to the hillside. The state laws of Pennsylvania do not allow children to work in mills under fourteen years of age, and many a time I have asked these small, pale, yellow-faced lads the question: 'How old are you?' and always they reply: 'Fourteen.' And then questions like these present themselves to me: How long can a nation exist when it teaches its little boys to deliberately lie? Is it not horrible when we think that mothers must tell their little sons to lie in order that the family may live? Have I not



Nye, in *Watson's Magazine*.

"DOES IT PAY?"

seen all these things? Have I not seen my own friends work year after year for capital, and when the time came that they were all wrenched and twisted and torn out of shape by toil or accident, cast adrift by their masters like so many cattle? My heart cries out against these conditions. As I look into the premature old, wrinkled and careworn faces of these men, a great pity swells within me, for they never thought, never knew, how heartless men could be to men until they came face to face and began the battle

with poverty. After a while these men begin to think and talk, and if Socialism ever becomes a power, it will be because these men, driven by soulless capitalism and bitter poverty to the last stage, will turn and wipe capitalism out of existence, because they are forced to believe that capitalism forfeits its right of existence when it permits widespread bestial poverty.

"I have an intense desire to have the government brought back to the ideals of Jefferson and shall do all in my power to awaken the public conscience to the fact that men of the Rogers, Belmont, Morgan and Ryan type, who dominate American politics to-day, who control and nominate the candidates for the people, are neither Democrats nor Republicans. They are innocent of principles and their master-passion is to relieve the masses of what they earn. They show utter contempt for law, and when men, or a band of men, have no respect for law they become anarchists and must be treated as such. They are the real

anarchists. My ambition is to educate the masses to clearly understand this fact. I want them to take an interest in the welfare of the country, her laws and her free institutions. These are the things I am fighting for. The road is long, the climb is hard, but I shall do the best I can."

Gordon Nye belongs to the army of young American emancipators. He is doing a work for our time not unlike that which Massey and Mackay accomplished in the England of the forties and which Whittier and Lowell wrought in the great anti-slavery conflict in America. The hope of the Republic lies in such young men who fully realize the moral obligations they owe to the cause of justice and humanity and who are noble enough to rise above all sordid and selfish considerations and devote their lives to the advancement of the fundamental principles of democracy.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

AN ARTIST'S MESSAGE ON CHRIST AND CONVENTIONAL CHRISTIANITY.

AN EDITORIAL SKETCH.

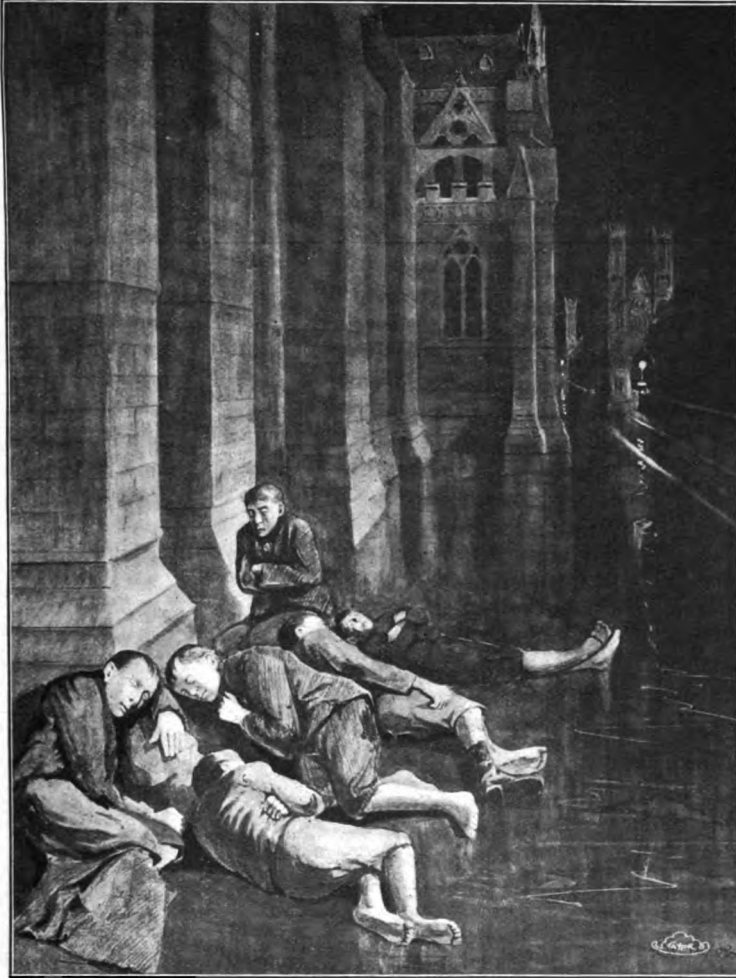
WHEN the Great Nazarene trod the sands of Palestine he found the church rich and powerful. Her rulers, elders and chief dignitaries were as greatly concerned with ritual and dogma as they were faithless to their most sacred trust—the real well-being of the people. Of the Pharisees Jesus said: "Ye compass land and sea to make one proselyte"; and referring to the death-dealing influence they exerted he added, "and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves."

The Pharisees, the pillars of the church

at that time, made long prayers in public. Uncious rectitude marked their ostentatious piety. They broadened their phylacteries. They gave alms in the most public places, to be seen of men and to silence the tongue of criticism which might otherwise be raised against their cruel injustice and usurious deeds; for Jesus adds that they devoured widows' houses and for a pretence made long prayers. Their pretentious zeal doubtless served to cloak their systematic practice of injustice and extortion against the disinherited mass of the poor and unfortunate ones. Being moral cynics

and evil-minded, they could not conceive of a pure and lofty soul associating with the degraded ones of earth for the noble purpose of uplifting them. Hence when Jesus mingled with publicans and sinners that he might touch the divine spark

but spirituality languished before an advancing materialism that has already fastened itself on the imagination of church and society. The religious organization was concerned with "mint, anise and cummin," while, as Jesus



George Taylor, Del.

THE TEMPLES OF GOD.

resident in every soul and by kindness and sympathy lead the erring ones into the light of a purer and truer life, the conventional religionists were scandalized. "This man eats with publicans and sinners," they sneeringly cried. "He is a wine-bibber and the friend of sinners."

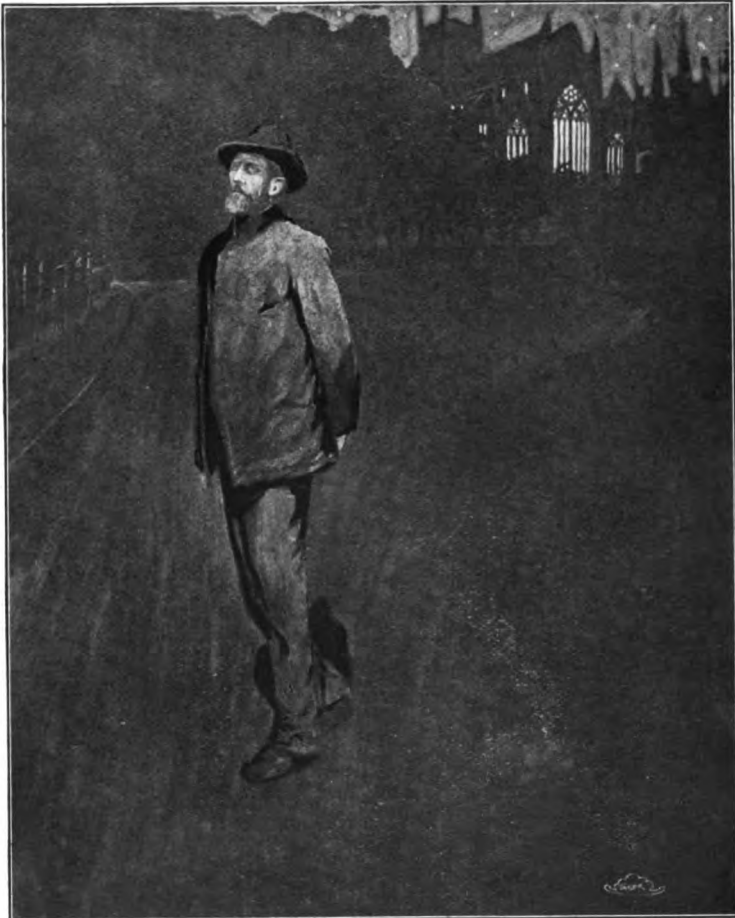
Splendid synagogues rose on all sides,

pointed out, it systematically neglected the "weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy and faith." Money-madness had seized upon the pillars of the church. They struggled for gold and station as starving men struggle for bread, and we doubt if anything weighed more heavily in the Jewish council that de-

terminated that Jesus must be put to death than the commission of that act of supreme courage—the denunciation and the driving out of the money-changers from the temple of God. And while the leaders of conservative religion flattered

and despairing, while He himself had not where to lay his head.

For two thousand years the generations of men have come and gone since then. The church that rose after the martyrdom of the Nazarene by the conserva-



George Taylor, Del.

BUT THE SON OF MAN HATH NO PLACE TO REST HIS HEAD.

the rich and powerful who liberally supported the church and upheld ritual and dogma though neglecting the struggling and sinking poor, the Founder of Christianity journeyed from hamlet to town, from village to city, ministering to the needy ones and to the afflicted, strengthening and encouraging the weak, hopeless

tive religionists of His time has grown from an infinitesimal beginning until it dominates Western civilization. It has grown rich and powerful, but to the artist and the poet with the seeing eye it has also become vain-glorious and worldly-minded, until the analogy between the national religion of the Jews in Jesus'

time and the conventional Christianity of to-day is as startling as it is humiliating and disappointing. Here we see on every side stately temples of God, representing millions upon millions of dollars, and almost under their very

shadow of these temples of God are the houseless children of God, exiles from the Father's bountiful board, denied the rights, the comforts, the happiness and the development that would be theirs but for special privileges acquired by



George Taylor, Del.

FIRE INSURANCE.

shadow, in all our great cities, are scores and hundreds, and sometimes thousands of God's images shelterless, hungry, hopeless, vainly searching for labor and finding none; striving for a foothold only to fall into the abyss of the slums; seeking for some hand to help them to the light, but finding none. Under the

the few, which destroy equality of opportunities and enable the protected ones to devour the sustenance of the many. On every side we behold the splendid cathedrals reared for the worship of the One who taught the fatherhood of God and the common brotherhood of man, and that the test of discipleship was not

to be found in professions or in ostentatious giving, but in seeking and saving the helpless and the lost, in ministering to the needy and in visiting the sick and imprisoned ones. And as he looks forth over the field of the world, our artist and

class-favoritism, that place the millions at the mercy of the few and render inevitable involuntary poverty while fostering and favoring the spread of vice and the increase of crime, sleek and well-fed priests and ministers are preaching serv-



George Taylor, Del.

IN HIS NAME.

poet of to-day sees that still the Son of Man hath not where to lay His head.

Nor is this all. Amid essentially unjust conditions—conditions which permit monopolization in the great free gift of the common Father to His common children—the land; conditions marked at every turn by special privilege and

the contentment to the slaves of the trust-magnates, the princes of privilege and the monopoly barons,—preaching contentment as a religious duty, when the poor men thus enjoined are receiving but a fraction of the wealth they earn, so little, indeed, that their tender children are compelled to work in factory, mill

and mine to sustain the life of the family.

On the other hand, the artist and poet also notes with horror and disgust the hope held out to the millionaire whose wealth is the fruit of indirection, corrupt practices and evasion of law, of unjust

the degradation of religion writ large in the eager striving for tainted gold by men of every church and creed—the readiness to become dumb or to openly defend iniquity as a price of gifts for church and school; yet he is not blind to the fact



George Taylor, Del.

FAITH—BLIND LEADER OF THE BLIND.

advantages taken and of extortion practiced, that by liberal donations to missionary causes, by princely giving to churches and religious schools, he can escape that retribution that is of necessity inevitable to the unjust and the guilty so surely as there is another life, if Justice sits at the helm of the universe. He sees

that there are many noble-minded clergymen who are loyal and true to the Christ ideal, and that there are millions of earnest, high-minded disciples whose lives are fine and who are striving to follow in the footsteps of the Nazarene. As there were the Gamaliels and the Josephs of Arimathea and the Nicode-

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muses in Jesus' time, so there are the Gladdens and the Pentecosts and the Cranes in the Christian fellowship to-day who are representative of scores upon scores of courageous Christian ministers who dare to be true to the vision.

Gladden voted down in the councils of Congregationalism; he sees Dr. Pentecost, after denouncing tainted gold in a great Baptist congregation, no longer desired as its pastor; he sees Chancellor Day of the great Methodist fellowship



George Taylor, Del.

PREACHING CONTENTMENT.

Still, just as the Nazarene, the prophets and the apostles of the elder day saw the soul-drugging and destroying influence of the materialism of the market, so he also sees the mania for gold on the part of the great conservative religious organizations, drugging, silencing and paralyzing the church. He notes Dr.

denouncing the President of the United States and all who criticize the criminal rich of the Standard Oil trust; and he notes the anæsthetizing influence in pulpit and press, where the gifts of the law-breaking rich are equally hoped for. And seeing all these things, the artists and the poets take up brush and pen and

become the prophets and teachers of our day.

In the striking and thought-stimulating original drawings contributed to this issue of *THE ARENA* by the brilliant Australian artist, Mr. George A. Taylor, great solemn truths and suggestive lessons are pictured in an impressive manner. Mr. Taylor has done with the brush what our great poet, James Russell Lowell, some years ago did with his pen when he wrote the following vivid lines, which were never more appropriate than they are to-day:

"Said Christ the Lord, 'I will go and see
How the men, my brethren, believe in me.'
He passed not again through the gate of birth,
But made himself known to the children of earth.

Then said the chief priests, and rulers, and kings,
'Behold, now, the Giver of all good things;
Go to, let us welcome with pomp and state
Him who alone is mighty and great.'

With carpets of gold the ground they spread
Wherever the Son of Man should tread,
And in palace-chambers lofty and rare
They lodged him, and served him with kingly fare.

Great organs surged through arches dim
Their jubilant floods in praise of him;
And in church, and palace, and judgment-hall,
He saw his image high over all.

But still, wherever his steps they led,
The Lord in sorrow bent down his head,
And from under the heavy foundation-stones,
The son of Mary heard bitter groans.

And in church, and palace, and judgment-hall,
He marked great fissures that rent the wall,
And opened wider and yet more wide
As the living foundation heaved and sighed

'Have ye founded your thrones and altars, then,
On the bodies and souls of living men?
And think ye that building shall endure,
Which shelters the noble and crushes the poor?'

'With gates of silver and bars of gold
Ye have fenced my sheep from their Father's fold;
I have heard the dropping of their tears
In heaven these eighteen hundred years.'

'O Lord and Master, not ours the guilt,
We build but as our fathers built;
Behold thine images, how they stand,
Sovereign and sole, through all our land.

'Our task is hard,—with sword and flame
To hold thine earth forever the same,
And with sharp crooks of steel to keep
Still, as thou leftest them, thy sheep.'

Then Christ sought out an artisan,
A low-browed, stunted, haggard man,
And a motherless girl, whose fingers thin
Pushed from her faintly want and sin.

These he set in the midst of them,
And as they drew back their garment-hem,
For fear of defilement, 'Lo, here,' said he,
'The images ye have made of me!'"

AYACUCHO: THE SPANISH WATERLOO OF SOUTH AMERICA.

WITH SOME FORGOTTEN FACTS ABOUT THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES.*

BY PROFESSOR FREDERIC M. NOA.

NOTHING so forcibly illustrates what the Hon. John Barrett calls "the lamentable ignorance" prevailing generally throughout the United States

*The material for the preparation of this article on the Battle of Ayacucho, and the career of its winner General Sucre, some years later foully assassinated, has been taken from two principal sources. The first of these is the comprehensive *Vida Del Gran Mariscal de Ayacucho (Life of the Great Field Marshal of Ayacucho)*, by Dr. L. Villanueva, published in Caracas, 1895, by order of President Joaquin Crespo, of Venezuela; the second source drawn upon has the title of *The Memoirs of General Miller, in the Service of the Republic of Peru*, by John Miller (two volumes), London, 1828.

in regard to Latin America and her history as the fact that scarcely any American knows anything about the gigantic and heroic war for independence lasting fif-

The American Quarterly Review (September, 1829) has an excellent analysis of Miller's work. General John Miller, a British veteran of the school of the Duke of Wellington, took an active and leading part in the decisive battle of Ayacucho, which forever assured the independence of the United States as well as of the whole of the vast Latin-American Continent, from the Rio Grande of Texas down to Cape Horn, at the southern extremity of South America. Miller's excellent account is the only authentic one hitherto published in the English language.

teen years, from 1810 to 1825, which the revolted colonists of Spain in Mexico and South America maintained until at last victory crowned their efforts at the final epoch-marking battle of Ayacucho, Peru, won by General Sucre, December 9, 1824. This is all the more surprising because there is constant glorification in what is known as the Monroe Doctrine, reinforced by the Roosevelt Doctrine, while Americans in general have completely forgotten that neither would to-day be worth the paper upon which it is written had not General Sucre won a decisive triumph for liberty and enlightenment on the plateau of Ayacucho, in the loftiest Andes of Peru. If, on the other hand, the tide of battle had turned, eighty-one years ago, against Sucre and the South American patriots, the Holy Alliance of Continental European monarchs would have intervened to partition Mexico and South America among themselves, and the United States would have probably lost their dearly bought independence, and have long become as much of an enslaved geographical expression as Poland is in the midst of the Russian Empire.

The history of the events leading up to the battle of Ayacucho cannot be clearly outlined without some brief summary of the life and career of the illustrious General José Antonio de Sucre, the dearest bosom-friend of the Liberator Bolivar, and the contemporary of President Monroe.

General Sucre, born in Cumaná, Venezuela, on the 3d of February, 1795, came from distinguished Spanish parentage and from a long line of ancestors who, for many generations, had held high military positions under the viceroys of the South American colonies of Spain. His opportunities for education were extremely limited, and mainly of a military nature. At the age of fifteen, he received his first baptism of fire under the venerable General Francisco Miranda, fighting in the sacred cause of Venezuelan and South American liberty. He re-

mained true to his commander-in-chief, in spite of the terrible earthquake of 1812 and other unexpected reverses which completely shattered the bright hopes of the patriots of Northern South America, and led to the capture of the saintly Miranda, shortly afterwards transported in chains to Cadiz, Spain, where he languished in a dark, loathsome cell until death mercifully relieved him, four years later, from his undeserved martyrdom.

Young Sucre now shared the fortunes of Bolivar and thousands of other Venezuelan exiles, encountering a number of vicissitudes, yet serene in spite of accumulated misfortunes, generous and merciful notwithstanding the ruthless slaughter of many of his nearest relatives by the Spanish authorities, and firm in his unshaken conviction that the cause of liberty in South America would finally triumph. This sublime faith saw itself justified when at length, through the matchless military genius of Bolivar, the tide of victory began in 1819 to turn steadily in favor of the patriots of Venezuela and Colombia. In this great work, Sucre, whose extraordinary talents Bolivar had long ago perceived, played a most prominent part, and, in 1820, brought about a most liberal convention with the royalists that thereafter both sides should conduct the war according to the laws of humanity and civilization.

Hostilities, after a six months' armistice, being resumed in April, 1821, the victorious armies of President Bolivar bore the banner of freedom and light, under General Sucre, southward from Colombia into the regions of the equator and liberated from Spanish thralldom the extensive territory of Quito, afterwards renamed Ecuador. Meanwhile, General San Martin, the illustrious liberator of the southern half of Spanish-speaking South America, that is, Argentina, Chile and Peru, was approaching the same region of Ecuador. Bolivar and San Martin, the two greatest military geniuses of Latin America, held, in July, 1822, a three days' secret conference in

Guayaquil. Unfortunately, it was impossible for them to reach an agreement, and San Martin, rather than endanger the liberties of South America by domestic rivalries between himself and Bolivar, resigned his unlimited power as Protector of Peru, and shortly afterwards retired to Europe.

San Martin's sudden retirement into poverty and private life left the Peruvian patriots without any statesman of commanding influence, and led to a year of anarchy and civil strife in the ancient and extensive Viceroyalty of Peru, so that the powerful, compact armies of Spain descended from the lofty Andean plateaus, and swept everything before them, reoccupying Lima, the capital, and Callao, then the Gibraltar of the Pacific coast of South America. With such advantages, they menaced Argentina and Chile on the south, and Ecuador and Colombia on the north.

Bolivar, with that eagle glance which genius always possesses, perceived that only speedy and radical action could preserve and maintain the emancipation of South America. A commissioner in whom all parties and factions should have absolute confidence, could alone save the situation. There was but one man who possessed the necessary qualifications, and accordingly, he selected General Sucre as his special envoy to Peru.

Sucre, then, in 1823, at the age of twenty-eight, crossed the equator southward and entered, with a Colombian army, into Peru, the land of the ancient Indian Inca civilization. Peruvians of every shade of opinion welcomed him with an enthusiasm such as has rarely been accorded to any military commander, in either antiquity or modern times. His rare modesty and tact, lofty ideals of humanity, combined with a loving yet firm nature, and his spotless public and private integrity, smoothed over all difficulties. He also showed astonishing executive ability as a civil administrator and speedily converted the territory held

by the patriots of Peru into a compact, well-regulated, constitutional republic. This accomplished, and with a united nation back of him, he reorganized the Peruvian army, subjected it to severe yet salutary discipline, provided it with everything it required for the highest efficiency, and then rapidly marched against the Spaniards in Upper Peru, the most mountainous portion of that country, and gained several notable victories over them. He so well held his ground, in spite of the treason of certain trusted Peruvian officials, which caused him momentary reverses, that he was enabled, with the cordial approval of the Peruvian Congress itself, to invite the great Liberator Bolivar to come in person from Colombia to Lima, with several thousand reinforcements, during the summer of 1823.

With the arrival of Bolivar, who was immediately invested with dictatorial powers, as chief executive of Peru, the campaign against the royalists was renewed with increased vigor. On the 7th of August, 1824, he won the battle of Junin, in the central Andes of Peru, one of the most remarkable of all the great Liberator's victories, the royalist cavalry, hitherto regarded as invincible, fleeing in the utmost disorder, a result also largely due to the Peruvian cavalry, commanded by General John Miller, a British veteran who had served in Spain, under the Duke of Wellington, against the French armies of Emperor Napoleon I.

With this splendid achievement, the ground was prepared for the final campaign of Bolivar and Sucre against the Spaniards, who still possessed a powerful, thoroughly disciplined and equipped army of from ten to fifteen thousand men, largely encamped in what were regarded as the impregnable loftiest Andes mountain chains of Upper Peru.

We shall now consider, as briefly as possible, this campaign, which was to end, four months later, in the magnificent and epoch-marking victory of Ayacucho,

Peru, forever assuring the freedom and independence of the American continent, from the frozen Arctic down to the Straits of Magellan.

A glance at the map of South America, from the Isthmus of Panama on the north down to the northern boundary of Chile, following the Pacific coast down to latitude 25° south of the equator, shows that what are now the republics of Peru and Bolivia lie in the central portion of western South America. To the north of this vast territory, which is included within twenty degrees of latitude or 1,400 miles, are Ecuador, Colombia and Panama, and, to the south, Chile and Argentina. The western boundary is the Pacific ocean, and the eastern the immense imperial realm of Brazil. Here was a region of over a million square miles, for the possession of which the forces of Spain and her revolted South American colonists were to contend in a final life-and-death struggle.

The territory of these two adjoining republics is one of the most difficult in the world for military operations.* From northeast to southwest, several chains of the loftiest Andes skirt the Pacific slope, absorbing every drop of moisture from the atmosphere and leaving extensive arid deserts, 'not a particle of drinking water being obtainable unless it is distilled from the salt waves of the Pacific itself. With the exception of Callao and one or two minor ports, there are no good harbors. The Andes are widest towards Bolivia, where two gigantic ramifications meet and form the apex of an acute angle. There is nothing to relieve this desolate region of eternal snows, gloomy mountain slopes, frightful precipices and impetuous streams, liable to be swollen by torrential rains, save where an occasional fertile valley or plateau intervenes.

The actual theater of the four months' campaign of 1824, leading up to the battle

*A few Americans, who served with the armies of Peru and Chile, during the Chilo-Peruvian War of 1879, will vividly recall the hardships and difficulties of campaigning during the three years of that conflict.

of Ayacucho, covers an extent of 27,000 square miles. Roughly speaking, it may be described as a triangle in form, the apex being towards the south at the meeting point of the two towering ramifications of the Andes already referred to, and the base an imaginary straight line of three to four hundred miles, drawn from Cuzco, the ancient capital of the Inca Empire, to Ayacucho.

The two powers which were now to contend for the mastery of this territory were led by veteran generals thoroughly versed in the complicated art of war and commanding armies of seasoned and disciplined troops. On the South American patriot side were Bolivar, Sucre, Cordova, the Peruvian La Mar, and the gallant British General John Miller. Opposed to them on the Spanish side were the white-haired Viceroy of Peru La Serna, the dashing Cantarac, one of the most daring and resourceful cavalry raiders in history, and a number of other experienced officers who had fought in Spain against the French armies of Napoleon.

In the final struggle for supremacy, the chances were overwhelmingly in favor of the Spaniards. They were encamped in positions in the Andes of Upper Peru which were by nature well-nigh impregnable. Their army was ten thousand as compared with the six thousand of the South American patriots. They possessed superior artillery, an excellent, well-furnished commissary department, a complete knowledge of every inch of the territory in dispute, and valuable auxiliaries in the Indian tribes who were hostile to the patriots.

It was Bolivar's ardent desire to conduct, in person, the campaign against La Serna and the royalists. He reluctantly gave up all thought of doing so, on the urgent representations of General Sucre and other advisers, who besought him to content himself with maintaining in Lima and lower Peru an army of reserve, so that, in case the patriots were defeated disastrously, the magic name

of Bolivar might yet bring fresh legions into life to uphold the cause of freedom and independence in South America. The great liberator perceived the force of this reasoning, and commissioned Sucre to carry on the campaign against La Serna.

Three distinct phases mark the closing military operations of the fifteen years' Latin-American War for Independence.

First. The encampment of Sucre's army of liberation, from the beginning of October until the beginning of November, 1824, in the provinces of legendary Cuzco, Peru, on the banks of the Apurimac river, under a torrid, burning sun, with the enemy confronting them.

Secondly. Sucre's masterly retreat of three hundred miles from the Apurimac to the Andean heights of Huamanga, afterwards rechristened Ayacucho, accomplished in thirty days.

Thirdly. The Battle of Ayacucho, December 9, 1824.

In the first portion of the campaign, both Sucre and La Serna displayed the most consummate generalship. The aim of the latter was to wear out and destroy in detail his antagonist in a tropical wilderness and jungle. He planned clever ambuscades, which only Sucre's unceasing watchfulness could avoid. He then made a wide sweep westward and northward, in the endeavor to place the Spanish army between Sucre and the western slopes of the Peruvian Andes, and thus cut him off from Bolivar. Knowing his ground, he marched with extraordinary rapidity, but Sucre quickly penetrated his design and speedily caught up with him, daringly crossing with his entire army a broad, impetuous river.

From this moment began the second portion of the campaign, lasting thirty days, which may perhaps best be described as a race over three hundred miles of tropical plains and forests and through the gloomy recesses of the frozen Andes to the heights of Huamanga or Ayacucho. In this marching, sometimes the two armies would come in

close contact, and then be separated by one hundred miles of wilderness and mountains. Sucre's humanity hampered him; he refused to follow the example of the Spanish cavalry general Cantarac, who killed off his wounded, sick and prisoners, in order to move faster. Sucre, however, never swerved from principle, and, if merciful, he possessed a daring genius which, on one occasion, impelled him to absent himself completely from his army, and for several days, attended by only a few sharpshooters, to intern himself into the deepest recesses of the Peruvian Andes where he made a personal reconnoissance of the enemy's position. When least expected, he returned to his army, whose sorrowing generals had given him up as captured or killed, and were on the point of selecting a new commander-in-chief. Only once did it happen that he was completely deceived by the movements of the Viceroy La Serna, and suffered a considerable reverse at the latter's hands, with the loss of all his artillery except one field-piece.

Sucre, however, knew the material out of which his soldiers were made, who went on for days, uncomplainingly, though often deprived of proper food, and who were not deterred by dark ravines, frightful precipices, and the indescribable horrors of campaigning in the highest and most difficult portion of the Andes.

At length, at the beginning of December, both armies reached the coveted village of Huamanga or Ayacucho, and Sucre had the satisfaction of finding La Serna and the royalists exactly where he wanted them, although the latter held the far more advantageous position, high up on the mountain crest of Condorcanqui. La Serna could now make only one of two moves: either to retreat southward whence he came, with the chances of demoralization and being cut to pieces, or else descend from his mountain eyrie and risk the hazard of an appeal to arms. He decided to choose the latter course, relying on the superiority of his forces,

ten thousand against the six thousand of the patriots, besides which he possessed an effective artillery of fourteen cannon against the single field-piece of Sucre's army.

Ayacucho, where, on the bright, cold morning of December 9, 1824, the future destiny of North as well as South America was to be decided, is an Andean plateau in Central Peru, twelve thousand feet above the level of the Pacific. It is a narrow district, the chief characteristics of which may be described as follows: On the south of this colossal amphitheater are the gloomy frozen and almost inaccessible heights of Condorcanqui, where the Spanish army lay securely encamped. At the foot of this natural fortress, extending from east to west as far as the Indian village of Quinua, lies the smiling, fertile plain of Ayacucho, watered by the river Pampas, a favored spot of perpetual spring in the southern tropics. Its dimensions are about a mile long from south to north, and half a mile wide. It is bounded by an extremely deep ravine on the north, another wholly impassable limits it on the south, while still a third rocky ravine crosses the plain, from north to south, in its greatest width. The towering heights of Condorcanqui dominate it completely, but possess one defect from a military point-of-view, namely, that a retreat southward and east to Cuzco is fraught with extreme danger and difficulty.

A word as to the derivation of the name Ayacucho. It means in the Quichua language of the Peruvian Inca Indians, *The Place of the Dead*, because at the time of the Spanish conquest, four centuries ago, a bloody battle was fought, which filled the plain with heaps of slain Indians. And now, at the close of 1824, the spot was to gain anew a grim significance.

As the sun gilded the peaks of the surrounding Andes, on the bright morning of December 9th, La Serna began the battle by arranging the disposition of his forces preparatory to a descent into the

plain of Ayacucho. At nine o'clock the first real shock of battle began when the Villabos division of five battalions of infantry, led by the Viceroy La Serna, descended from Condorcanqui into the plain and advanced towards the center, where their progress was momentarily stopped by the uneven ground and the river Pampas. Two of these royalist battalions effected a crossing, but were instantly confronted by four Colombian battalions of 2,100 men under the intrepid Cordova. Meanwhile, another Spanish infantry division, that of Monet, also of five battalions, had descended and deployed to the left of the battlefield. They were speedily checked by the patriot cavalry (780 men) under the British General Miller, and composed of veterans who had served in northern, central and southern South America, for fifteen years, under the Liberators Bolivar and San Martin.

This stage of the three hours' battle may be regarded as its crucial point. It was then that Sucre ordered Cordova and two regiments of cavalry to advance to the charge. The hostile bayonets crossed, and for some moments the issue was doubtful. Then the Colombian cavalry, headed by Colonel Silva, charged. The brave officer fell, covered with wounds but the intrepidity of the onset was irresistible. The royalists lost ground and were driven to the heights of Condorcanqui with great slaughter, and the Viceroy La Serna, severely wounded, was captured. This reverse appeared about to be retrieved when the Valdez division of four battalions of Spanish infantry, supported by two of cavalry and four field-pieces, opened a heavy fire on the patriot right, and compelled two divisions of Peruvian infantry to fall back. A Colombian battalion, sent to support the Peruvians, also began to give way. Two of the royalist battalions crossed the ravine and advanced in double quick time in pursuit of the retreating patriots. It was at this critical moment that General Miller led his cav-

ally against the victorious Spaniards, and by a timely charge drove them back across the ravine. The artillery of Valdez was taken; his cavalry retired; and his infantry dispersed.

The royalists had now, by noon, virtually lost the battle. They fled in disorder back to the gloomy towering heights of Condorcanqui, where the dauntless Cantarac strove to rally them, and actually succeeded in prolonging the conflict, with all its agony, until sunset, when the Spanish commander-in-chief sent a messenger to General Sucre to arrange the terms of surrender. The magnanimous conqueror treated the humbled foe with every consideration, attending to the wounds of the white-haired Viceroy La Serna, granting the officers all the honors of war, ordered Christian burial for the two thousand royalists slain, and instant liberty to four thousand prisoners, including fifteen general officers, with perfect freedom to return to Spain or remain as peaceful inhabitants in Peru, engaging in whatever occupation they chose. Nay, more, it was stipulated that the Peruvian government should defray the expenses of those returning to Spain. Rarely in history, and perhaps only in the case of the Confederates as dealt with by General Grant, at the close of the American Civil War, has such generous treatment ever been accorded to a beaten enemy.

The victory of General Sucre at Ayacucho was of international significance. In this decisive triumph for liberty on the American Continent, veterans participated who had fought in every portion of Spanish-speaking South America. "Among these devoted Americans," says General John Miller, in his *Memoirs*, "were a few foreigners, still firm and faithful to the cause in support of which so many of their countrymen had fallen. Among these few survivors were men who had fought on the banks of the

Guadiana and of the Rhine, who had witnessed the conflagration of Moscow and the capitulation of Paris. Such were the men assembled at what might be considered a fresh starting point of glory. Americans or Europeans, they were all animated by one sole spirit, that of assuring the political existence of a vast continent."

After the battle of Ayacucho, the victorious yet modest Sucre would have retired to private life, but he was called upon for six years longer to occupy the highest posts, among them, that of being, for two years (1826-1828) the first constitutional President of the newly-born Republic of Bolivia. He administered that country with an eye single to the public welfare, held himself strictly bound by the constitution, and conferred innumerable benefits on the grateful inhabitants he governed. Still more honors might have awaited him, had not a fatal destiny led him to retire to private life in 1830, and to travel, unguarded, save by a few faithful friends, through the dense tropical forests of Ecuador, on his way to rejoin his young wife, whom he worshiped, the Marchioness of Solanda. At a spot called Berruecos, on the 4th of June, he was foully assassinated by the bullets of an ambushed band of six bandits, evidently hired by his implacable private enemies who hated him as well as his bosom friend, the Liberator Bolivar. A strange fatality willed also that his remains could never afterwards be found, and that only one of the assassins, confessing the crime, should be executed nine years later.

Such, at the age of only thirty-five, was the tragic end of this saintly martyr, the Abraham Lincoln of Latin America, to whose memory the government of his native land Venezuela has consecrated, in her beautiful capital Caracas, a splendid sarcophagus. **FREDERIC M. NOA.**

Malden, Mass.

THE THAW-WHITE TRAGEDY.

BY HENRY FRANK.

WHAT IS the lesson in the Thaw-White tragedy for common-sense people and people of progressive ideals? Is there here any lesson at all for us; or shall we regard it as of no consequence to plain and sensible folk?

Thaw, a mere boy, reputed to be worth his forty millions—a worthless and vacuous-pated idler—a gilded fool—shoots down in cold blood a victim who is at once an intellectual genius and a whited sepulcher—a man of vast practical value to the world, but (if we are to believe the papers) a moral pervert, a lecherous degenerate, “procurer to the lords of hell”! And yet, he is so rich withal he leaves his wife, whom he is alleged to have faithlessly outraged, the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in life-insurance policies.

The only really startling feature of the tragedy—for murders to-day are so common they cease to be sensational—is that two men so well bred in what are called the social amenities, the niceties of good manners, so rich, so free from necessitous toil, of such enviable privileges, should, at the critical moment, reveal all the ferocity and bestialness of the grossest natures.

To those who live in what is supposed to be the under-world, the world of grinding poverty and corroding toil, the world where necessity invents deceit, theft, quarrelsomeness, and sometimes savage butchery, the flash of the pistol shot at Madison Square Roof Garden must have revealed a world of amazing familiarity, howbeit glossed with the dazzling splendence of the social upper-ten.

They learn from this revolting tragedy that riches are not the most to be coveted of all earth's blessings. They learn that the selfsame sort of monsters that haunt and horrify their own lives are to be found

likewise among those dowered with wealth, only they conceal them in closets, while the poor can ill afford to purchase coverings for their crimes.

The brute who has been begotten of coarse and carnal parentage learns in this deed that criminality is no less offensive in the public eye if perpetrated by a gold-garnished revolver than by a rusted iron horse-pistol.

But we who may live neither in the upper nor lower stratum of the social layers, but in the middle ledge, may learn from this mortal fray that everywhere the heart of man is the same, and the veneer of culture cannot remove its innate brutality, which some crisis calls to the surface.

But first and foremost we learn that what passes for “culture” in this artificial and pretentious age is the sheerest bluff—the most blatant hypocrisy.

Of what avail is the culture of a university product whose only intellectual asset is his capacity to spend the millions his worthy father left him?

Of what advantage are the polish and finish supposed to be acquired by a university training if it inspires nothing higher in its possessor than an ambition to entertain the painted beauties of the Parisian boulevards at a midnight carousal which cost him some fifty thousand shekels?

Of what avail the culture of a genteel idler—in common parlance “loafer”—if his highest achievement is to be infatuated by an abandoned girl who undertakes to drag the sinuosities of “tenderloin” fascinations and blandishments on to the much-abused theatrical stage, that she may catch in her snares the shallow-pated offspring of silly mothers who put in their hands elastic purse-strings that they may stretch indefinitely?

In short, the "culture" that presumes to elevate and refine the brain of a cad with Greek roots and the pompous eloquence of Cicero, and sends him adrift to disport himself as an intellectual dude and an educated fool, is an imposition on the age.

The culture that does not train its recipients to *do* something for the world, either with hand or foot or head, is a vain pretence whether it be Harvardesque, Princetonesque, or backwoodseseque.

Had this university "Bottom" been taught the dignity of work while he was still an undergraduate, he would never have been crowned with the head of an ass by Parisian boulevardesque Titanias!

Thaw is a failure, a renegade, a degenerate, despite his manifold millions, because when his *alma mater* had the opportunity to make a man of him she could do no better than build him into an asinine biped.

And the reflection is not so much on Thaw as it is on the existing type of so-called education after which the young men are patterned who, if haply they are unfortunate enough to be born rich, attend our famous universities.

And White, the victim, presents no better preachment.

When death revealed the naked body of his sins, it was but a proof that genius of the highest order halts not often to make its bedfellows of the vilest moral vermin among mankind.

If there be anything baser and more irredeemably depraved than the lecherous degenerate who lures to his den innocent and erubescant maidenhood, to deflower it of its beauty and honor, human experience has not yet revealed it.

I do not mean by this to excuse the too-often knowing "innocence," that covers itself with the gown of chastity in order that it may blackmail its alleged abductor, and relieve his purse of its contents.

If White was that incarnation of iniquity and defilement that the papers paint him to have been, then he was but a human basilisk, the splendor of whose

charm blinded the innocent who fell into his embrace.

Of what avail, then, was the glory of his brain, the magnificence of his genius, the monumental resplendence of his achievements, if he had not learned to hold his passions in a leash—to save himself from the dry-rot disease of the degenerate?

Fie upon the feeble plea, that asserts we must gaze alone upon his physical and intellectual works, and shut our eyes at the moral rottenness of his character!

The matchless glory of Greece, Palmyra and Babylon shriveled and decayed beneath the deteriorating elements of ethical and social depravity that environed them.

The building of a character that can stand against the destruction of time is a greater work of genius than the most immortal triumph in art or literature statesmanship.

However, the amazing and revolting tragedy in "high-life" teaches us perhaps above all things else the folly of the thing commonly called "love" for which men and women foolishly and too often lose their senses if not their lives.

True love is never associated with jealousy, hatred or vengeance. In self-defence a man may slay another; or in defence of the honor of a defenceless kin, as in the pathetic story of Virginus.

But such cases are rare, extremely rare. Mostly, love is romantic, neurotic, carnal, lustful. It is the offence and disgrace of our civilization. But it is true.

As society is at present constituted, every woman is forced to have her price; for she sells herself, under the strain of existing civilization, either into matrimonial bonds or open prostitution.

This is a hard saying; but it is true. How many young women to-day seek marriage for the sake of the glory and joy of the soul the union of two happy hearts creates? How many marry with the single desire of finding in another the soul-mate that shall make a spiritual paradise of the nuptial matings?

Do not most girls marry chiefly to escape the dreariness of a monotonous home-life, or to free their parents from the necessity of supporting them, or because of the implied disgrace of becoming an old maid?

The intensest pressure of all is the pressure of economic necessity. The girl, or the woman, to-day, is not possessed of the capacity, properly developed, or granted the opportunity, of making her own living as freely as the boy or man, or to live out her own independent aspirations and purposes as her male fellows can.

Therefore, she marries to get someone to earn her living for her, while she is not permitted to do it for herself.

Hence, she sells herself in marriage.

Here we put our finger on the sorest spot of civilization.

But I hear some stout defender of the present conditions shout derisively in reply: "Vain and vapid nonsense! Are there not thousands and thousands of girls and women actively engaged in the industrial world, who are making their own living, and who, therefore, if they marry, must marry for some other reason than you assert?"

Granted. They are employed. But at a *living wage*? Ay! There's the rub! Work; they do. But as *white slaves*; countless numbers of them forced to earn enough outside, by devious and discerning ways, to save their frail cadavers from the potter's field.

Evelyn Nesbit was a model. Alas! A physical, but how gross a moral model!

Her life but proves the necessities to which countless models of cloak and gown factories must stoop, if not the more Ariel-like models of the studios, to earn a sufficiency wherewith to keep the flesh clinging to their almost exposed skeletons.

Hers, it is true, was a life of wilful abandonment. Relaxing from the painful pose of an artist's demands, her gaze fell on the basilisk-eye of Stanford White, and for the nonce her fate was sealed.

But how many are there among the

toiling mass of women who are driven by gruesome necessity to court disdainfully what Evelyn Nesbit hugged so cheerfully!

Not until we learn that all alike we must be free in life, in industry, in privilege and opportunity, both men and women, to evolve the full and complete purpose of their own individualities, will society be void of the moral blemish of the opposite poles of economic indecency, namely, women who, on the one hand, are forced into hazardous marriage, and on the other are exploited in coerced prostitution.

Nevertheless, in the words of Hotspur: "A plague on both their houses!" Who cares whether Thaw was justified in slaying White, or whether White deserved the crashing bullets that sent him dishonorably to his untimely grave?

A plague on both their houses. For such as they are in their inner lives but a plague upon the world. They are all a "bad lot," these society queens, whose coruscating crowns of beauty overawe and defile the envious poor, and their lolling lords of idleness and leisure-wealth, who pose as custodians of good manners and ethical propriety.

Society rots as the trees from the top down. Enough, that the ornamental branches have already begun to reveal their decay. Let them be hewn off; let the moral vineyards be pruned, that the harvest be a vintage of purity and sweetness, and not venomous and destructive.

Let this tragedy teach us that we need a radical revolution in thought, in education, in culture, in economics, in the social order!

If this harrowing murder shall but assist in exposing the hypocrisy and internal degeneracy of those who pose as the true teachers of the race; if it will teach us that the theory of a Baer and a Parry in industrial economics is as false and vicious as the moral economics of the personnel in this tragedy enacted by auriphrygiate anarchists, it will mayhap have been enacted not in vain.

Coming at a time, and the climax, of a series of social eruptions and moral upheavals, it may but emphasize the atrocity and perverseness of our superficial and self-satisfied civilization.

Corruptionists and legislative boodlers, insurance thieves and premium purloiners, frenzied financiers and kerosene capitalists, have all of late lent their lives to illuminate the enormity of our present moral misconception and the disparity of social amenities in the existing order.

This savage, startling, sensational murder, is but a fitting climax. That pistol flash has at last laid bare the hollowness of "respectability," the indecency and purulent degeneracy of that class which should be the noblest and most exemplary because the most highly favored and carefully nurtured of the entire human family.

Thaw's madness is the reformer's opportunity *par excellence*!

HENRY FRANK.

New York City.

THE CAUSE AND CURE OF OUR MARINE DECAY.

BY WILLIAM W. BATES, N.A.

Ex-United States Commissioner of Navigation, President The Shipping Society of America.

IN COLONIAL times our forefathers comprehended commerce and knew the sailing ship full well. At first, supplies of all sorts had mainly to be imported by small British vessels. Many generations passed before "America" could feel even partially independent of the factories and the shipping of England. To keep our country dependent has always been a British idea. As no dependent country can be prosperous or wealthy to the full, the true American idea is *independence*—to rule ourselves, to supply our own wants, to build and sail our own vessels, transact our own commerce, and owe nothing to the world.

Forbidden to manufacture; at one time not allowed to carry cargoes to England, except in "sloops" (of 70 tons or less); restricted to British markets, mainly, the American colonies were exploited right and left. Generations lived and died as toilers for British predominance. British Tories were our merchants; British *ships* were our carriers with few exceptions. Export freights of tobacco took *one-third*, and of lumber, *one-half*, of the cargo. Import freights ranged from *fifteen to forty* per cent. of

the cost of the goods. This state argued the importance of manufacturing and navigation; for it could be seen that, if these industries, besides farming, were carried on by our own people, our country could not help getting rich.

The day came when relations with Great Britain had to be broken off. The War of the Revolution compelled our people to help themselves in many ways—to diversify employments and furnish their own supplies; and, especially, to trade more and more between the States. This, together with fishing and privateering, called for the use of shipping. The advent of peace found the country prepared to consider the *sea*, as well as the *land*, an arena for enterprise and the pursuit of wealth. Having attained political independence, it was seen, more clearly than ever before, that navigation and commerce must cut a large figure in American business, ere there should be *industrial independence*. The British had a maxim that the control of trade and transportation was a means of ruling the world. They made a treaty of "peace," but refused to make one of *commerce and navigation*, with the "Uni-

ted States of America"—such as France, Holland, and Sweden cheerfully gave us; and down to the present day *have not done so*. They meant to get back the carriage of our commerce, and thus regain the control of our external business, and one day to be in position to resume their rule of the "States"—one or more—which had been their "rebel" colonies.

AMERICAN SHIPPING A NECESSITY.

Thrown upon our own resources, whither could we trade? With shipping of our own, the world was open to us. Without our own marine, we could not command a single market. The British intended to have our trade; but, under their navigation act (1651-60), their ports were not open to the ships of any country of America (Asia or Africa). Our ports would, logically, before long, be closed to British vessels, unless ours were admitted reciprocally. In 1783, the King issued a proclamation opening to us the *home* ports, but closing all in the loyal Provinces and the West Indies. Into these harbors, the vessels of our rival flag could not venture on penalty of confiscation. We could not land a box of herring from a boat. British ships would kindly bring our imports—all of them—and take away our exports—some of them—no others should. Thus considerable of "Yankee" trade would be grasped and held by our covetous "kith and kin." (Of our rights in this trade, the British deprived us unjustly until 1830, when we passed a special act for them.)

To meet the situation, the Confederate Congress asked the several States for leave to enact and enforce *regulations of commerce*, calculated to encourage the shipping of all the States, and to protect it from imposition of all kinds by foreign nations. This authority was not fully given, but the States, themselves, set about the work. Discriminating duties, both of *tonnage* and of *tariff*, were resorted to. We had a dozen different

sets of "navigation laws"—all aiming to protect against foreign shipping, but acting also against the vessels of the several States—making it very important to regulate commerce "among the States," as well as "with foreign countries." While little good was accomplished, the plan of every State protecting its own vessel-interest—an interest that was of general concern—soon condemned itself. But our experience paid. It demonstrated to the country the absolute need of national law on the subject; and thus *the protection of shipping* became recognized as one of the principal factors in the "closer union," which followed the founding of the Federal Government.

PROPER PROTECTION FOR AMERICAN SHIPPING.

General Washington, in his letter transmitting the Constitution to the Continental Congress, observed:

"The friends of our country have long seen and desired that the power of making war, peace, and treaties, that of levying money and *regulating commerce*, and the corresponding executive and judicial authorities, should be fully and effectually vested in the general Government of the Union."

One of the five principal objects of the Constitution thus declared to be the regulation of our foreign and domestic trade—in other words, the establishment of a system of protective "navigation laws"—it was natural that in the Convention, this sentiment should be general. Some have supposed that the extreme Southern States, having but a scanty shipping, took no interest in provisions for a merchant marine. This is a mistake. Mr. Charles Pinckney's plan for a Constitution had a clause for the *regulation of commerce*; and Mr. Rutledge, in a speech, "reminded the House of the *necessity* of securing the West India trade to this country, . . . and a navigation act was *necessary* for obtaining it." These dele-

gates were from South Carolina. The only question was whether a two-thirds' vote should be required for the passage of shipping acts. Against this point, Mr. Gorham, of Massachusetts, thus closed the debate:

"If the Government is to be so fettered as to be unable to relieve the Eastern States, what motive can they have to join it, and thereby tie their own hands from measures which they could otherwise take for themselves? The Eastern States were not led to strengthen the Union by fear for their own safety. He deprecated the consequences of disunion, but if it should take place, it was the Southern part of the continent that had the most reason to dread them. He urged the improbability of a combination against the interest of the Southern States, the different situations of the Northern and Middle States being a security against it. It was, moreover, certain that foreign ships would never be altogether excluded, especially those of nations in treaty with us."

The motion for striking out the section of the report, requiring two-thirds of each House to pass a navigation act, "was agreed to, *nem. con.*"

THE COMPACT FOR NAVIGATION LAWS.

In pursuance of this vote, clause 3 of section 8 of Article I. of the Constitution, empowers Congress—

"To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes."

Thus, we have the solemn guarantee of ship protection, by navigation laws, in the Constitutional compact, that established the existence and function of Congress itself. We have more. From the debate it is clear that this "enumerated power"—(clause 3)—was *one of the bonds and conditions of the Union*. Without its insertion in the Constitution, that instrument would not have been

adopted. Massachusetts had most shipping, but Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland and Virginia had respectable fleets under protection of local navigation laws, which would have to be given up. In fact, clause 2 of section 10 of Article I. provides that "no State shall, . . . lay any impost or duties on imports or exports." And clause 3 of said section and Article provides that "no State shall . . . lay any duty of tonnage." Thus, in consideration of the promise to enact and maintain protective navigation laws each of the States gave up its power to protect its shipping by discriminating tonnage or tariff duties. In other words, the general Government *took over* the encouragement and protection of an *American marine*.

There is ample evidence that no little of the popularity of the Constitution resulted from the shipping engagement. When the adoption of the Constitution was before the country, an orator of Pennsylvania held this argument:

"Every person must long since have seen the necessity of placing the exclusive power of *regulating the commerce* of America in the same body—without this it is impossible to *regulate* their trade. The same imposts, duties, and customs must equally prevail overall. . . . Whence comes it that the trade of this state, which abounds with materials for ship-building, is carried on in foreign bottoms? Whence comes it that shoes, boots, made-up clothes, hats, nails, sheet-iron, hinges, and all other utensils of iron, are of British manufacture? Whence comes it that Spain can regulate our flour market? These evils proceed from a want of one supreme controlling power in these States. They will all be done away with by adopting the present form of government. It will have energy and power to *regulate your trade* and commerce—to enforce the execution of your imposts, duties, and customs. Instead of the trade of this country being carried on in foreign bottoms, *our ports will be crowded with*

our own ships, and we shall become the carriers of Europe. Heavy duties will be paid on all foreign articles which can be manufactured in this country, and bounties will be granted on the exportation (?) of our commodities; the manufactories will lift up their heads and rise to opulence and wealth."

RATIFICATION OF THE SHIPPING COMPACT.

James Madison has been called the "Father of the Constitution." He kept a private record of the debates of the Convention. With Alexander Hamilton, he shaped and arranged the provisions of the Constitution; and as leader in the House of Representatives, he offered the original measure for ship encouragement and protection—a *heavy discriminating tonnage duty*, calculated to favor the up-building of an *American marine*. The very first revenue act contained tariff discriminations in aid of tonnage duties, and a complete protective system was evolved in the course of time, thus *ratifying and honoring* the work of the Constitutional Convention. By the close of Washington's administration, the percentage of our carriage in our own commerce had risen from less than 25 per cent. to over 90. It became the talk of the country, that our successful navigation was the "child of protection."

In a pro-tariff speech in 1828, *James Buchanan* declared that "no interest belonging to this or any other country ever received a more continued or a more efficient protection than the navigation of the United States. I heartily approve this policy. I would not, if I could, withdraw from it an atom of the protection which it now enjoys." . . . "What, Sir, was the object of this legislative protection upon our tonnage and navigation? Let *Mr. Pitkin* and *Dr. Seybert* answer this question. *Mr. Pitkin*, in his *View*, declares that 'these extra charges on navigation and commerce of foreign nations, were sufficient to drive from our ports the greatest proportion of the for-

eign tonnage. All foreign nations were affected by the system we had adopted in favor of the shipowners in the United States. The diminution of the foreign tonnage employed in our trade was, with very few exceptions, rapid, regular, and permanent.' *Dr. Seybert*, in his *Statistical Annals*, bears the same testimony. He states that, 'our discriminations operated powerfully in favor of our shipping. . . . All foreign nations were affected by the system we had adopted—it seemed to operate like magic in favor of the shipowners of the United States.'" (1817-19.)

VIOLATION OF THE SHIPPING COMPACT.

As previously stated, the ports of the British West Indies were closed to our shipping. In 1818, our ports were closed to all vessels coming from ports or places not open to ours. By this *regulation* Congress intended to cause the British to respect our rights—if they received our products, to allow our vessels to take them. In 1820, a supplementary act was passed to meet a dodge of our adversary. The contest went into diplomacy, and into Parliament. In 1823, Norway passed an ordinance, and proposed, if we would meet it, to permit our vessels to enter Norwegian ports with cargoes from all the ports of the world—Norwegian vessels to be conceded a reciprocal privilege. Congress refused, it being then the law that foreign vessels could come from *home ports only*, this being found an *essential protection*. The British borrowed the idea of reciprocation and applied it to the West India dispute. Parliament enacted, in 1825, if we would admit British vessels with cargoes from all the ports of the world, then the King would open to our vessels certain ports of the West Indies, in *direct* trade. This proposition, so unfair as to be unvalued, was refused by Congress. Imagining that, if Congress would enact a measure honestly and fully reciprocal, the British ministry would accept it, and close the

controversy, the President, John Quincy Adams, urged Congress strongly to pass a bill, which became law in May, 1828, offering complete reciprocity to any country that would accept the principle of an open trade for vessels and cargoes from all parts of the world, *no protective duties of tonnage or of tariff* to exist on either side—nothing said about protective devices. It was an offer to all nations, but in particular to Great Britain, to suspend or do away with *ship* protection. It was argued that our vessels no longer needed protection, while Great Britain had so much advantage in her commercial relations everywhere, it was thought she would jump at the proposition, and Mr. Adams would go down in history as a masterly statesman—with Henry Clay. But Britain kept out of the trap for twenty one years, and until it was certain that the new policy suited her exactly, and was *damaging*, and would ultimately *ruin* the marine of the United States.

At this time, 1849, eighteen countries had made reciprocity conventions, and our percentage of carriage in our own commerce had fallen as follows:

1827, import carriage, 94.3; export carriage, 87.5
1849, " " 81.4; " " 68.9

BRITISH STATESMEN TAKE ADVANTAGE.

From these figures any one could see that the loss of our carrying trade was plainly indicated. David Ricardo pointed out in Parliament that the *indirect* voyages of ships paid the best, and England was losing much profitable business by not accepting the principle of our act of 1828. British merchants were established in every port of the world, and, if they made shipments to the United States from non-British ports, they were obliged to freight American vessels. So the British "navigation act" was "reformed," we reciprocated, and with the following immediate results to our carriage in our own commerce:

1849, import carriage, 81.4; export carriage, 68.9
1850, " " 77.8; " " 65.5
1851, " " 75.6; " " 69.8
1852, " " 74.5; " " 66.5
1853, " " 71.5; " " 67.1
1857, " " 71.8; " " 60.2
1861, " " 60.0; " " 72.1

In four years our loss of import carriage was *ten per cent.*; in *twelve* years (before the war) it was *over twenty-one per cent.* Some uninformed people say: "Oh, yes, British iron tonnage played the mischief with our wooden ships." But any one can see, it was no merit of iron or demerit of wood that won or lost the contest. It was the senseless statesmanship of the Act of May, 1828, on the one hand, and the shrewd generalship of men like Ricardo, on the other, that held our government up for the world's derision. And now, the suffering of forty years finds the brains of legislators so dense that no one can feel assured that *a thorough cure* for our shipping malady will *ever* be administered. For, notwithstanding the tentative character of our act suspending—not repealing—our original policy, it is proposed by the party in power to abandon constitutional principles, old land-marks, solemn compacts, and successful precedents, and adopt un-republican and un-American measures—a policy of *gift and graft*.

Our "maritime reciprocity" conventions—(we have none with Great Britain for *indirect* trade)—provide for termination on a year's notice by either party. We are the only nation continuing these conventions at a sacrifice of its marine. We are the only nation honestly observing their spirit as well as letter. No nation is openly asking us to continue the "reciprocity" system for its benefit. An unmistakable reason for wanting the new-fangled policy is private interest, not the public good; selfish considerations, not the national welfare. In plain words, the Republican platforms of 1896 and the work of its candidate, favored returning to regulations of commerce, but after the election an influence ap-

peared that dictated a "subsidy" policy in lieu of the discriminating-duty plan, publicly promised before election. Ten years of delay—precious time taken from our own people and given to foreigners—have supervened, Congress trying meanwhile to please, not the convention delegates and voters of the country, but the appreciated people that furnished campaign contributions for the defeating of "Bryan and silver." A policy thus introduced cannot be good.

SUBVENTION AND ITS COSTLINESS.

It is pretended that a "subvention" or gift system will bring forth and maintain an adequate marine in a way quite pleasing to our rivals. *If it will make good, will it not cost more than our taxpayers will consent to spend?* It is no answer to allege that our country is rich and our people can afford the expense. The maritime States of our Union were promised a *special sort* of ship protection, which history proves was satisfactorily effective, and which *cost nothing*. Besides this, *that promise and agreement are the only grounds for the action of Congress*; for the shipping trade cannot say to all other occupations: "Put your hands into your pockets, and support me," and have the country pay attention to it. The "Hanna-Payne" bill, 1898, did thus lift up its voice, but its day soon passed. It mattered not to its sponsors and expectant beneficiaries that the will of the people was *adverse*; they wanted "aid" from the Treasury by fair means or *foul*. They pointed to the ability of the country to stand the drain as sufficient answer to all objections, while this fact should cut no figure at all. The prospect of expenditure killed the bill.

Let us now inquire the cost of the pending plan. Taking an adequate marine at 7,000,000 tons, at \$5 per ton, the "subvention" would be \$35,000,000 annually. Adding for mail lines, we might have about *forty millions* annually for entire marine in foreign trade. In two

and a half years this would amount to \$100,000,000; in twenty-five years, to \$1,000,000,000; in a century, to *four billions of dollars!* Ship protection must be *perpetual*. An end to the system at any time will put an end to growth; decline will come, and ruin follow. Would there be any wisdom in establishing this system, for *a while*, even if it worked admirably? The first war of any consequence with a rival would cause suspension of the subvention for years, and make an end of it, with ruin to the shipping interest, and waste of millions to the Government.

But, say the advocates of this scheme, less than \$10,000,000 will be required for subvention in any year. This sum would pay owners of 2,000,000 tons only. We had over that registered as in foreign trade in 1854. In 1860, we had 2,379,396 tons—requiring \$11,896,980—engaged in carrying an export and import commerce of \$507,247,757. In 1905, our foreign commerce amounted to 2,636,074,349 tons. Two millions of tons would carry less than 20 per cent. of it. Any one may note, that subvention advocates are either underestimating the *efficiency* of their system, or calculating that it will ease the passage of the bill to hoodwink Congress and the country as to annual expenditure; or acknowledging that the method will not make good to the extent of a proportionate carriage of 70 to 80 per cent. of our own commerce, and a consequent expenditure of *thirty-five to forty* millions of dollars. If it is to prove of little efficacy, then it will not be worth enacting. On the other hand, if the system operates effectually, its cost alone should prevent its adoption—as a source of evil, without a justification under the Constitution.

THE CHARACTER OF THE SCHEME.

There is no denying the fact that the character of the scheme is plutocratic, whereas the constitutional plan is democratic. The President says, we are not

to be ruled by "plutocrats," but he should have a care, for he seems partly converted to their shipping remedy, notwithstanding its unconstitutionality; its irrelation to the cause of disablement; its want of adaptation and of power; its cost if successful; and in spite of the fact that its adoption would make permanent a pernicious change in our Constitution; would endorse and ratify its violation in 1828; and virtually says to foreign nations, "You may have and enjoy our commerce and navigation if you please—all we will do about it is to operate a gift policy, and let it go at that. No *regulations* shall incommode you, we will cut out that part of our Constitution for the love of liberal government."

Is this a proper attitude for the head of the Government of the United States? We can imagine the people of the maritime States responding: "*Mr. President,* we ask for *upright dealing* on the part of the Federal Government; we entered the Union under a *compact* for ship protection by the regulation of commerce; we have observed our part of this compact, by surrendering our right to make regulations for ourselves and turning the matter over to the nation; but in violation of this compact and of our *sacred right*, the Government, in 1828, suspended our lawful ship protection, and has since allowed our marine to be ruined for want of it, our carrying trade going to our rivals. Take notice, *Mr. President*, that *now, and henceforth*, we demand our constitutional rights; we insist on 'navigation laws,' proper and effectual. The proposal to pay subvention money is a snare and delusion, and an imposition upon the taxpayers. Do us *justice*, *Mr. President*, or resign the chair of Washington." Does any one think the people will not say "Amen!" to this accusation?

THE INUTILITY OF SHIP SUBVENTION.

The theory of a subvention system is that the freights of the world go to the

lowest bidders. This is now far from being true. It is nearer the truth to say that *preference* rules engagements. Suppose the subvention enables an American ship to compete in rates as low as any other, then, unless she have the *preference*, the owner or underwriter of cargo, controls the choice of vessel. A British owner of cargo, or a British underwriter, prefers the British ship; and so of other nationalities. All the subvention can accomplish in such a case is to put the American ship on the freight market. But she cannot exist on subvention, and must have work to do. Nor can she use her subvention to underbid her rivals, for she must have that to compensate her economic disability, according to theory.

Suppose, on the other hand, an American ship was in an Argentine or Brazilian port, and our commerce was *regulated*, as prior to 1828, so that only Argentine, Brazilian or American ships could bring cargoes from those countries; or we had a protection by tonnage duties so that British and other foreign ships would be limited in their competition with ours in such cases; then, practically, all foreign competition would be with the vessels of Argentine or Brazil, as the case might be. Our ship, thus having a fair chance, would then get work, as of old, without cost to the people.

As the world's freighting stands to-day, in every port there is a "combine" or "ring" that has secured all the business, either by *rebate*, or "chartered ahead," or long-time contracts; and outsiders of whatever flag have no chance to compete. What can subvention do in such cases? Really, the freight market is *only nominally* open. Proper regulations of trade would break up all combinations and rings formed to control transportation, by closing these markets. Subvention with *prayers* can do nothing towards this work. Indeed, these be the days of contracts in the commercial world. All the exports of any country may be contracted for by merchants—British

mainly—owning the tonnage to carry the merchandise to its various markets. What chance will there be in a struggle for freights under these conditions by the subventioned American ship? About as much chance as a hawk has to subsist by picking the talons of an eagle.

If the freights belonging to our vessels shall not be regulated into them, as in our coastwise, lake, and river service, we have now nearly as much of a sea-going marine as we shall ever obtain. Concerns like the Standard Oil, or the Sugar-Trust, or a few transcontinental railroads, will be the principal beneficiaries of a subvention system, as they are situated to furnish or command employment for their vessels. But it is not for concerns like these that the Government should go out of its way to "aid" from the Treasury. A sufficiency of postal lines should form a part of the marine, but with the foregoing we would not have *one-fifth* of an adequate capacity.

THE SUPREME QUESTION.

So it comes to this, there will be no adequate marine until the Government of the United States takes up again *the specific performance of its compact with the people*. Foreign shipping is now carrying 93 per cent. of our commerce—last year amounting to \$2,636,074,349. A high British authority, M. G. Mulhall, estimates average sea-freights at 8

per cent. of value of goods. This would make our freight-bill \$210,835,951, and the amount paid foreign shipping \$196,123,934. The subvention bill would not reduce this drain to any extent. Talk about "reduction of the tariff"—until we have an adequate marine, only the tariff maintains our balance of commerce, by keeping out the flood of imports, that would quickly destroy all our boasted "prosperity." While we carried more than two-thirds of our commerce, we could import beyond our export mark, *now we cannot with safety*. It takes over *four hundred millions* annually to balance our commerce—in exports or money. This measures the penalty that our country must pay for the disgraceful *dependency* induced by bad faith on the part of our Government—violating its solemn compact to protect our shipping and continuing a ruinous unprotective policy—in the interest of foreign nations. Ever since the Civil war, we have stood where we stand to-day, in dependency and peril, knowing not the time when a movement of the nations may bring disaster and dismay, solely for the want of a merchant marine of our own, and held to this hazard simply because our servants of the House and Senate will not repair a breach of compact with their own people. Americans! *the supreme question is, WHAT SHALL WE DO ABOUT IT?*

WILLIAM W. BATES.

Denver, Colo.

STOCK-GAMBLERS AS MANAGERS OF RAILROADS.

BY STEPHEN H. ALLEN.

THE INEFFICIENT management and unjust discriminations of great railroad corporations are the natural results of rulership by a small coterie of stock-gamblers, who by operations in Wall street have become the holders of controlling interests in the companies.

These men are not skilled in the business of conducting or operating railroads, but in the art of stock-gambling. Their vast wealth has not come to them as a reward for meritorious service in managing the transportation of the country. but through ability to forecast the fluctuations in the

prices of stocks and to make others believe that prices are about to fall when they in fact will rise or will rise when a decline is coming. There is not a leading railroad magnate in this country who can make even a plausible claim to having earned his millions. All have derived their vast wealth either through their own speculations or by inheritance of the winnings of ancestors. Gamblers study their calling and become expert in it. Wall street is a school which has developed the most expert manipulators of the stock market, and most of the multimillionaires who now have controlling interests in the great thoroughfares of the country are post-graduates of it. They are not educated to build and manage railroads or transact any other legitimate business, but to acquire stocks and obtain proxies.

The widespread demoralization of the passenger and freight service, now painfully apparent throughout the whole country, the wholly inexcusable destruction of life by train disasters, and the corrupt discriminations by which some shippers are enriched and others impoverished, are the legitimate fruits of a system through which gamblers dictate the policies of the railroad companies.

The people interested in railroads may be divided into three classes: 1. The owners; 2. The operators; 3. The patrons. In power they rank in the order given, but in numbers and importance they rank in inverse order to that stated.

The owners, though least in numbers, are the rulers. The great manipulators of the stock market control the elections and choose for directors men who will be subservient to their interests. All the man who invests his savings usually does is to give his proxy to some prominent stock-gambler.

The operators are mere employes of the company, who earn their daily bread in its service and greatly outnumber the owners. They are vitally interested in everything pertaining to safety of operation, but have no voice whatever in the

selection of the managing board or chief officers. Through their various organizations they exert some influence on the management in matters affecting their wages and the conditions of their employment, but none in other respects, and this much only because they are an essential part of the machinery.

The patrons, the great public, for whose accommodation the corporations are allowed to exist and operate railroads, have no voice whatever in the election of the board of directors or the selection of officers or employes of any grade. The board of directors holds the governing power in the corporation. The men it designates for the purpose, fix the rates to be charged for all services, determine the number and manner of operation of the trains, the location of all depots and other conveniences and everything else of any importance to the public. The living law-making and law-enforcing power resides in the management of the railroad companies, not in the general public as is fondly imagined by some. There is an old theory that the law is superior to the rules made under the authority of the board, and that all charges made by a common carrier for the transportation of person or property must be reasonable, but like many other old theories it is essentially obsolete.

Railroad companies are not often greatly concerned with the election of other than judicial and legislative officers. They take an interest in members of congress and the state legislatures; generally greater in the senators than the representatives, because the number is less and the term of office usually longer.

The pivot on which the public force of the country turns, so far as it affects railroad interests, is the United States Senate. When a legislature is about to elect a senator the tug-of-war comes and the railroad lobby, acting under the direction of its shrewdest schemers, combines on its candidate and exerts whatever influence appears likely to be most efficient to secure the choice of its man. It is responsible for most of the corruption which

has so scandalized the state legislatures. Having secured a majority of the United States Senate, either before or after election, it is secure against regulation by federal law.

This, however, is not the only, nor even the chief advantage gained. Federal judges are appointed by the President, "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate," and when once in office hold for life. With the aid of the senators from a state where a vacancy occurs, the railroads usually find no difficulty in procuring the appointment of the man of their choice. Here the utmost vigilance is used by their law departments. It is of vital importance that their man be named, and no stone is left unturned to gain the result. They alone of all the people are alert and vigilant in the matter. They appreciate its importance to them, while the general public leave their interests to the care of the President and the politicians, without giving them any impulse in opposition to the railroad influences. Having their fast friends on the federal benches they have little to fear from Congress or the legislatures. Laws duly enacted by the bodies named by the people to make laws may be "unconstitutional." They are so if the courts say they are, and a court so selected will say so whenever they seriously affect the interests of the great gamblers to whose underlings the judges owe their places. The federal courts can and do annul substantially all acts of the legislatures of the states which affect the revenues of great corporations. There has as yet been no occasion to annul any act of congress attempting to regulate transportation charges, for none has been passed. The interstate commerce law, designed to give a commission power to correct some abuses, has been emasculated by the constructions placed on it by the federal courts. Through either a declaration that an act is unconstitutional or a construction taking the vitality out of it, the court can easily defeat any law. The great railroad corporations, through the influence they exert on leg-

islatures, congress and courts, come much nearer ruling the people than the people do to making laws for them.

If railroad stocks represented merely the savings from honest industry, and railroad directors were fair representatives of a great number of citizens who had contributed their means to build the roads, there would be a better basis for the exercise of their authority. But the fact is that most boards of directors are made up in great part of lawyers and other favorites and dependents of the chief gamblers who control a majority of the stock. When the interests of the masters require an alternation of favorable and unfavorable showings of results from operation to raise and depress the prices of stocks, boards of directors must be made up of men who are not too deeply interested in efficient management, but understand also the opportunities afforded by disaster. So it has happened and is the fact that very many men sit on boards of directors who have no stock or interest in the company worth mentioning, no knowledge of the practical operation of railroads and no real manhood leading them to insist on good service and just dealings with the public. So long as great gamblers name the governing bodies of the railroads so long they will follow gamblers' standards of morality.

No one need hope for substantial reform till an element of society having higher moral standards names the directors and dictates the policies of the railroad companies. With the United States Senate made up in large part of men possessed of ill-gotten millions and purchased seats, and federal courts constantly recruited from the law departments of the railroad companies or their special friends, the schemes of gamblers and monopolists will continue to prosper in spite of public sentiment and legislative attempts at regulation. There can be no permanent or effectual remedy without dethroning the gamblers.

STEPHEN H. ALLEN.

Topeka, Kansas.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND THE LIQUOR PROBLEM.

BY PHILIP RAFFAPORT.

IF EVER any effort has been made by any temperance organization to find the connection between inebriety and social economic conditions, and to treat the former as a symptom of the latter and not as a phenomenon of itself, such an effort has remained unknown to me. And yet, it seems to me that all attempts to suppress habitual drunkenness must be futile unless the social conditions surrounding the great mass of the working population are improved. More than that, it seems to me that the improvement of the conditions of the working-classes would be the only reasonable and effective temperance reform.

The temperance question is preëminently an economic question. It is part and parcel of the great social problem of a proper distribution of the products of the labor of human society, and there is no solution outside of the solution of the great general social problem.

In a little book of Bishop Henry C. Potter, entitled *The Drink Problem in Modern Life*, I find the following wise words:

"We progress steadily and splendidly in the fertility of our inventions; but, as the cleverness and adroitness of machinery rises, the demands upon the cleverness and adroitness of the workman diminish. And yet they cannot diminish without leaving his task more circumscribed, more mechanical, and more monotonous. Do we know how mechanical and monotonous, at last, it may become, and do we know what a mechanical monotony at length takes out of a man? For, until we do, we are in no position to judge our brother, who, at the end of his day's tasks, turns to stimulants or narcotics which to us may be abhorrent. His home and yours—have you ever compared them?

His leisure and yours, his environment and yours, his food and the conditions of its preparation, his recreations, companionships—in one word, his resources and yours—do you know, not how like, but how utterly unlike they are? And yet, when you talk to this brother man, you are surprised, it may be, to find in him tastes and sympathies and aspirations not unlike your own! What chance have they, and what warrant have you and I, for criticisms, behind which has been no single effort to better the habits which they assail, or the conditions out of which those habits have sprung?"

The poor man or woman whose earnings are too meager to provide sufficient food, and who tries to cheat nature by the attempt to draw strength from the use of alcoholic stimulants, is the victim of our economic conditions.

The squalid home, be it in a miserable shanty or in a filth-reeking tenement-house, from which the poor laborer flees to the saloon to seek warmth and light, recreation and companionship, is the product of economic conditions prevailing in human society.

The meager education of the laborer, his bad habits and his want of manners, his coarseness and brutality are the result of a system which drives children into the factory and into environments which injure their young impressive souls. The child is deprived of a better education, and the foundation is laid upon which the future drunkard grows. A brute is created who commits excesses, when drunk. Drinking, even excessive drinking, does not make a man a brute who is not already one. It only makes him act as a brute, by taking from him the power of self-control.

If a laboring man should happen to

lose his job, and if, as sometimes happens, he searches in vain for weeks or months for another, so that at last despair seizes upon him, or if, in moments of loneliness, he should think of his future, and the entire hopelessness of his condition should dawn upon him, if then in his despair he should take recourse to drink, who is to blame for it? Is not the cause for his efforts to drown his sorrows in drink in our economic conditions?

Nobody has a right to judge the drunkard who is unable to read in his soul. With the exception of comparatively few cases of heredity, the drunkard is the victim of economic social conditions, and where the vice is one of heredity, the ancestor was the victim.

Sometimes poverty is the result of habitual drunkenness, but such cases are individual. As a social factor, poverty is a cause of habitual drunkenness, and it is the cause in probably ninety cases of a hundred.

Yet, in an age in which the inventive genius of man has created such facilities of production that the productive power of man has increased, twenty, fifty or a hundred fold, and has far outgrown his natural power of consumption, poverty is a social crime.

There are also rich drunkards, of course, but as a result their families do not suffer from want of the necessities of life. The cause, however, may also be ascribed to economic conditions. For a life of idleness and affluence easily leads to dissipation. So does the life of a gambler, and a large part of modern business is nothing but gambling.

To meet such conditions with prohibitory laws is the height of absurdity. The theory of prohibition is born of ignorance and short-sightedness. Ignorance is creative of fanaticism. Knowledge never creates fanatics, but it creates liberation of thought, broad-mindedness and a thirst for more knowledge and tolerance.

The absurdity of prohibition becomes so much more apparent, when we reflect

that it affects millions of good people who have a natural desire for a light alcoholic stimulant, such as beer or wine, it being as cheering and harmless to them as the cup of tea or coffee to the woman leading a temperance crusade. Why should one drink tea or coffee, if they were not cheering, exhilarating, stimulating? It cannot be said of them, as of wine or beer, that they contain some nutritious elements, but their active principle is poison as surely as alcohol. They must be used with moderation or they become injurious. And there are, beyond question, many men who exercise in their occasional, or even daily use of light alcoholic drinks more moderation than many a woman in her habitual use of tea or coffee.

Moderation is an attribute of culture. Just as the cultural progress of society would have been impossible without material progress, so is individual culture impossible without the possession of the necessities and comforts of life in a degree which allows ample time for study, education, leisure and the creation of pleasant surroundings. Intellectual culture creates moderation, but prohibition never. Culture creates moderation, not only in the use of stimulants, but in everything else. Moderation and refinement are pretty much the same. Poverty never creates them, but on the contrary kills them where they exist.

There is only one reliable, radical temperance measure, and that is the betterment of the economic condition of the masses, brought about by a change of the economic system which makes extreme wealth and extreme poverty equally impossible, and secures a distribution of the products of human industry in a manner more just than the present.

Material changes in social systems, however, coming only gradually, and being only the result of a slow process of development, and all our prohibitive and coercive legislation, having not only proven futile, but injurious to public and private morals, the question natu-

rally arises: Can nothing at all be done by legislation toward the elimination or, at least, the decrease of inebriety? An answer to this question has been given about twenty years ago by the government of the Swiss Republic. It appointed a commission to investigate the liquor traffic. The commission, in connection with the Swiss Federal Bureau of Statistics, instituted an exhaustive inquiry, extending it over all civilized countries, and laid down the knowledge and experience gained in a very voluminous report. It was certainly the most earnest and exhaustive investigation of the subject ever undertaken. The commission stated as a fact that it had found the evil effects of alcoholism most prevalent in the localities where the number of drinking places was smallest, and as a conclusion that the reduction of the number of drinking-places tended not to a restriction of the consumption of ardent spirits, but that, on the contrary, tipping at home and the use of strong drink in place of light drinks were generally the result of reducing the number of conveniently-located drinking-places.

From the report of the commission the government evolved the following principles for liquor legislation as the only ones which promise wholesome effects:

1. Taxation ranks foremost among the measures calculated to restrict the

excessive use of ardent spirits. They should be taxed at as high a rate as is compatible with revenue considerations and the possibility of collecting the tax.

2. A systematic diminution and the ultimate abolition of taxes upon wholesome beverages, in which the percentage of alcohol is small, as in light wines and malt beverages.

3. The suppression of technically imperfect distillation, and governmental supervision to prevent adulteration.

Swiss legislation has since been based upon these principles, and they are surely more democratic and more in consonance with human nature than the theories of our well-meaning but overzealous, because misinformed, prohibition enthusiasts.

A society which produces multi-millionaires and paupers with all that these terms import, will produce inebriates with the same certainty with which it produces thieves, grafters and gamblers.

I venture to say that among those people who follow a congenial occupation that enables them to procure a reasonable amount of comfort, such as modern civilization requires, without being overburdened with work and cares, drunkards are almost as rare as cherry-blooms in mid-winter.

PHILIP RAPPAPORT.

Indianapolis, Ind.

OUR NATIONAL LIBRARY.

BY FRANK VROOMAN.

ONE CAN not speak of the sentimental side of our national library without reference to New Hampshire. Not only was this the first state to found a library supported by a universal compulsory tax, but the granite of our national library building lay in the hills of Concord, when, in 1825, the father and creator of our national library, Mr. Ains-

worth Rand Spofford, was born nearby amidst the New Hampshire hills.

Until 1864, when Mr. Spofford became chief librarian, the development of the congressional library was a pathetic struggle of a feeble organism with an inadequate environment. If other things than flowers grow only in the gardens of those who love them, perhaps Edward

Everett's complaint three-quarters of a century ago that we were the only civilized nation that had never founded a literary institution would throw some light on this national regret. Before 1800 A. D., Congress relied entirely on the Library Company of Philadelphia, while sitting there, and on the New York Society Library while convened in New York. Several attempts failed prior to April 24, 1800, but on that day an act was passed appropriating \$5,000 for the purchase of books and for fitting up an apartment in the Capitol to contain them. Two years afterward a librarian was appointed at two dollars a day during days of necessary attendance, presumably on such days as a statesman might want a book. In two years the United States government accumulated 964 volumes, including pamphlets and 9 maps, and then issued a catalogue.

In a report to the Senate Library Committee in 1806, stating the aim in purchasing books, it was reported by an eminent senator that it was "to furnish the library with such materials as will enable statesmen to be correct in their investigations, and by a becoming display of erudition and research give a higher dignity and brighter luster to truth."

Mr. David Hutchinson, in his interesting sketch published in the report for 1901, says that the wide range of subjects covered by the small collection of less than one thousand volumes shows that a well-directed effort was made to place in the library the best standard works on law, archaeology, history, geography, political economy, theology and translations of the Greek and Roman classics. Light reading is represented by the British essayists. Fiction is entirely absent and the only poet admitted is Burns.

The library, with its subsequent additions numbering in all three thousand volumes in fourteen years, was destroyed by the British soldiers August 24, 1814.

Later in the same year Ex-President Jefferson sold his library of about seven

thousand volumes to Congress for \$23,950. Jefferson himself prepared the catalogue of what he called "The Library of the United States." This was probably the most appropriate title that could have been given to this library then or now, for its scope has been from the beginning something more, and ever increasingly more, than a reference library for Congress. Congress has always been liberal in this respect in its appropriations and in the administration of the appropriations. Early in May, 1815, the Jefferson Library was hauled to Washington in sixteen wagons and in thirty-six years the library numbered 55,000 volumes.

In 1840 Congress took steps to establish a system of international exchanges of public documents, a system which was perfected in 1867 under an act setting aside fifty,—since increased to one hundred,—copies of all government documents, to be exchanged through the Smithsonian Institution for their equivalents, to be placed in the library of Congress. This has secured a collection of documents and parliamentary publications of forty-eight governments and many municipalities, with which we are carrying on regular exchanges.

The beginning of a modern and useful working-library dates from the appointment of Mr. Spofford as librarian in December, 1864, when there were three assistants, one messenger and three laborers, with a salary-roll of \$10,500 and a total appropriation of \$9,000 for the purchase of books, including law, and for contingent expenses.

At this time the institution started in with a new impetus and power. Its development and growth have been remarkable. There are two hundred and thirty persons engaged in the care of the library materials and their service to the public, one hundred and twenty in the care of the building, seventy in the copyright-office, about ninety in the printing-office and bindery, the total number employed being about five hundred people. The copyright-offices are self-sustaining. The

printing and binding department is provided for by a special allotment, while the government is spending on the other functions about a half million dollars annually.

There are ninety persons engaged in classification and cataloguing alone. Much of this labor is spent on a half century of arrears, during which time Congress accumulated books faster than it was willing to appropriate money for the housing and classification of the materials. There are additions now of about 80,000 volumes a year, with 45,000 other items, including the most scholarly material in a hundred different languages and dialects.

In two years after Mr. Spofford became librarian, the library, which was then in the Capitol, was so crowded that two new wings were constructed, encroaching on clerks' offices, committee-rooms and storage space. These, though having a capacity of 75,000 volumes apiece, were no sooner completed than filled, partly with the accession of the great scientific library of the Smithsonian Institution of 40,000 volumes, which was moved to the Capitol in 1866.

In 1867 the Peter Force collection of Americana, 60,000 articles, was purchased for \$100,000, and in 1874 one hundred newspapers were subscribed for, including two from each state in the Union, representing different political parties.

Mr. Spofford, in 1871, called attention to the crowded condition of the library and recommended the erection of a new and separate and adequate building. After fifteen years of discussion it was decided to construct a building in charge of a commission, consisting of the Secretary of the Interior, the Architect of the Capitol Extension and the Librarian of Congress, and \$550,000 were given for the site and \$500,000 for the beginning of the building. Excavations were made during 1887 and 1888. Later the construction was placed under the charge of General Thomas L. Casey, Chief of En-

gineers of the Army, and upon his death in 1896 the charge of the construction devolved upon Bernard R. Green, under whose superintendence the building was completed February 28, 1897, at a cost of \$6,347,000, exclusive of the land which cost \$585,000.

In the plans and construction of this building the counsels of Mr. Spofford have been followed with reference to the development of another century. It has a potential capacity of five or six millions of volumes. During the thirty-year *régime* of Mr. Spofford the library increased from about 70,000 to about 1,000,000 volumes. And during the fifteen years of discussion before it was decided to erect a new and separate building, and during the years of construction, confusion was heaped on confusion, caused by the rapid accumulation of books, etc., without corresponding increase of room and facility. Here the genius of Mr. Spofford was a national benefaction. Perhaps no other librarian of any age has had the memory of books and location which then stood between so many statesmen and tribulation, for he knew where to dig in the nameless and non-classified heaps to find any one of the million books that had passed through his hands. But for this one book-genius the legislation of this country would have been of a lower tone for two decades.

No adequate word can ever be written about this noble pile of books, and no future American history can be written without reference to the magnificent service of this one man to his country and to American literature and scholarship.

The present library facilities of the United States government are in some ways the most extensive of any national equipment in the world. There are only two libraries larger than the library of Congress proper, the British Museum and the *Bibliothèque Nationale* (at Paris), but neither of these is as large if we count the other national libraries, all free, and all easy of access to the scholar. It must also be remembered that as a national

library for anything worthy of that name it is less than a half-century old. There are many libraries, if not of private ownership, at least in our smaller cities with larger collections than the nation had fifty years ago. We add more books now every year than the whole library held on the advent of Dr. Spofford. The working library of the nation now stacked in its new home consists of 1,350,000 books and pamphlets and 750,000 other articles, not counting a million others in the files of the copyright-offices. Some of the department and bureau libraries, that of the Surgeon-General's office on surgical and medical literature, the library of the Geological Survey and that of the Agricultural Department are the finest collections in the world in their respective fields and all of them are government libraries and free, and are preparing not only to exchange materials but service; in other words, to form an organic national library system, with the library of Congress filling as far as possible the remainder of the field.

The larger government collections, outside the library of Congress, include about 1,201,000 books and pamphlets as follows:

lead. While some of the European libraries containing the accumulations of centuries have collections which can not possibly be duplicated here, no other library facilities on earth are so scientifically catalogued, available and up-to-date. The British Museum has printed catalogues. It loans no books. It is useless outside the walls of its own building and it issues no bibliographical literature. Compared with our national library, although its collections are the most valuable in the world, from the standpoint of availability it is already antiquated. It was established in 1759, over forty years before ours, having started in with 80,000 volumes of priceless materials, of books and chronicles, rolls, charts, etc. A hundred years later we had not much more than half as many volumes as the British Museum started with.

The great libraries of continental Europe are even more than the British Museum vast catacombs of unmarked literary graves. The *Bibliothèque Nationale* is the largest single book-collection in the world. But this does not mean that it is the largest library. The American conception, which is bound to dominate the libraries of the world, is that a library's

Subject.	Library.	Volumes and Pamphlets.
Agriculture.....	Department of Agriculture.....	68,000
Meteorology.....	Weather Bureau.....	23,000
Education.....	Bureau of Education.....	221,000
Geology.....	Geological Survey.....	120,000
Technology.....	Patent Office.....	74,000
Law.....	Department of Justice.....	30,000
Labor.....	" " Labor.....	11,000
Diplomacy.....	" " State.....	65,000
Nautics, Navigation, etc.,.....	" " Navy.....	33,000
Astronomy.....	Naval Observatory.....	24,000
Geodesy.....	Coast and Geodetic Survey.....	22,000
Military Affairs.....	Department of War.....	42,000
Medicine and Surgery.....	Surgeon-General's Office.....	364,000
Hygiene.....	Museum of Hygiene.....	11,000
National Science.....	National Museum.....	55,000
Fisheries.....	Fish Commission.....	22,000
Ethnology.....	Bureau of Ethnology.....	16,000

This gives a grand total of about three and a quarter millions of volumes and items, not counting the million volumes on file in the copyright-offices, bringing the collection numerically in the world's

supreme test, after material, is availability; that there is an intensive as well as extensive value to miles of book-stacks, and that is facility for maximum use. The mechanical handling of books for

readers, as well as perfect cataloguing for researchers, are elements in this idea. The present catalogue of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* was only begun nine years ago and they have got to the letter C. If they live and keep their health they will finish the catalogue, provided they make no new additions, in about eighty years, and store the contents in a 230-volume catalogue, when of course, if not long before, they will have to do the work all over again under the card system and do it right.

Here, with the work of cataloguing already well under way, the reader in a few minutes has any number of books on his desk, brought through the chutes from the stacks, or in serious and scholarly work he may have access to his scientific or historical material in a very short time. In short, any book out of the three millions of the government libraries may be had with no loss of time.

Our national library is in one sense first a Congressional reference-library. Second, it is for the use of the supreme court, the executive departments and scientific bureaux of the government. But in another sense, and increasingly so, it is first a national repository of American literature and American sources for national scholarship and research. But this is not all. Over and above all this Mr. Putman, the present librarian, is planning and carrying out a colossal and systematic organization of all the library material of the United States with reference to economy and availability in its highest possible use.

The idea that the national library should be the conservator of all American literature was inaugurated by Mr. Spofford, supported by Congress in passing the copyright act, conceived and secured by Mr. Spofford and carried out by the present librarian.

"Let all other libraries," says Mr. Spofford, "be exclusive, but let the library of the nation be inclusive." "In the republic of letters no censor can possibly exist whose judgments as to what should

be saved and what abandoned to destruction would stand for a moment." "It is no new doctrine that posterity may be more interested in the 'trash' which falls with such profusion from the press than those contemporary with it. The national libraries of Europe have been for years buying up at something like their weight in gold the chap-books, pamphlets, broadsides, etc., of their respective countries, printed in centuries that are gone. It is the unconsidered trifles that teem from the press which helps to illustrate the character and spirit of their epoch. It is to those that the most philosophical of modern historians have been largely indebted for the new light which they have shed upon the annals of the past."

Mr. Putman has recently said in an unpublished address: "It has indeed a primary duty growing out of its privilege as depository under the copyright law—to reserve as complete as possible a record of the issues of the American press. This is its duty as a library of record; but I refer now particularly to its duty and its opportunity as a library for research. Its function is not primarily to entertain, or even by the literature of power, to influence, although in fact it affects a considerable local constituency in both ways. Its great and varied service will be to furnish the literature of knowledge to those engaged in serious investigation calculated to widen the boundaries of knowledge.

"In five directions it has already distinctive strength: (1) It has already the largest single accumulation of Americana, including not merely books, but maps, music and prints, and through copyright; is certain to continue this preëminence (2) it has an extraordinary collection of files of newspapers—over 40,000 volumes—with copious accessions from among the thousands it currently receives; (3) it has a collection of official documents of all countries not to be paralleled elsewhere, since it has the benefit of an exchange with foreign governments based

on a hundred sets of United States documents assigned to it for the purpose; (4) it is the custodian of the Smithsonian Library, a superb collection of publications of learned societies growing out of the Smithsonian Institution, and (5) it has been made the depository of certain great collections of historical manuscripts, bought by the government in years past; it has recently become the recognized depository of the government for other historical manuscripts in its possession, of other invaluable manuscript material lately in private hands—the largest and most important collection of ‘sources’ for American history now gathered in any one place.”

It is the hope of Mr. Putnam to so thoroughly organize the national library field that any scholar in any part of the country may be able to lay his hand on any book or collection within the limits of the United States in the shortest possible time. Such is the splendid conception our national librarian has of his office, and such are the tremendous outlines of the task he has set for himself. “Suppose,” he says, “there could be at Washington a central bureau, with adequate methods, standard forms, adequate editorial capacity and liberal facilities for publication—which could organize and coördinate this work among the libraries of the United States and represent them in such of it as, like the new Royal Society Index, is to be international? Suppose there could be at Washington a bureau which would serve as a clearing house for miscellaneous duplicates as the Bureau of Documents? It might accomplish much without handling a single article.”

Mr. Putnam is establishing, in connection with the national library, a bureau of bibliography on a universal scale. There are special collections in various libraries of the country not duplicated in Washington, and which can not be duplicated. A comprehensive catalogue, not of every book but of every book available to the investigator in the United

States, is a part of this universal plan.

The outline of this national programme, whose profound and vital significance will appear to every scholar, can not be better described than in the words of an address made by Mr. Putnam at Waukesha, Wisconsin, and reprinted in the *Proceedings of the American Library Association*, August, 1901:

“In some respects the federal government of the United States has already influenced the constitution, resources and service of our public libraries. It has favored public libraries by exempting from duty books imported for their use. In its executive capacity it is itself investigator, author, publisher, manufacturer, distributor, statistician, bibliographer and librarian. It maintains at Washington, with a generosity not paralleled by any other government, bureaux for scientific research; it compiles, publishes and freely distributes the results of this research. It is the greatest publisher in the world, and the largest manufacturer of books. In a single publication repeated each year, it consumes over a million pounds of paper-stock, and it maintains a bureau whose purpose is to replenish the forests which as publisher it thus depletes. It distributes gratuitously to the libraries of the United States each year over 300,000 volumes, embodying the results of its research, its legislative proceedings, and an account of its administrative activities. It maintains a bureau for the investigation of problems in education, for the accumulation and dissemination of information concerning the work of educational institutions; and it has included the public libraries of the country among such educational institutions. In its bureau of documents it is seeking to widen and adequately to exhibit its own publications, to facilitate their distribution to libraries and to afford to libraries as to federal documents a clearing-house for duplicates.”

The library publishes all the time bib-

liographic aids, which are sent out all over the United States to other libraries and individual researchers, and sometimes information from books not to be sent away. In addition to this is the growing and important function of loans. Books on all sorts of remote and technical subjects, not available in the other libraries, are sent out from this library all over the nation, and this system of a national circulating library, of books not likely to be in use in Washington, is becoming one of the most interesting and valuable features of the work. Inquiries are answered freely out of its own books or directions are given where to find the information, if it can not be found here. The library of the Surgeon-General's office also sends its books out to members of the medical profession of the United States, and has published a catalogue covering practically the entire field of the medical sciences, making a duplication unnecessary. The national librarian has said this catalogue has conferred a general benefit not equaled by any bibliographic work within any other department of literature and is the most eminent bibliographic work yet accomplished by any government. The cost of its publication has already exceeded \$250,000.

The extension of the loan and inquiry system and bibliographic information bureau, as it were, is duplicated in no other place in the world.

The work of the ninety cataloguers of the library is peculiarly interesting in that, on a self-supporting basis, it is offering help in the printed cards, to seven hundred different other libraries in the United States. It costs from twenty-five to fifty cents a volume for an expert cataloguer's service, and from fifteen to thirty-five cents for each card in a catalogue. The library has instituted a system by which new books are catalogued and the cards printed and cards furnished to such libraries as are putting the books in question on their shelves. These cards are furnished as reprints to these

libraries for two cents for the first copy and one-half cent for each other copy, or five copies for five cents for all necessary entries, which would have cost them from twenty-five to fifty cents. The receipts of the national library from this source last year were about \$17,000, enough to pay the expenses of the whole work, and something like \$100,000 were saved to those libraries which have availed themselves of this national library service.

In this highly differentiated organism, after the vast materials are acquired and catalogued, they are classified in groups for the convenience of readers; documents, law manuscripts, prints, periodicals, music and maps. Outside this there is a service of scientists to scientists and of specialists to specialists.

As the fountain-head of national scholarship and research, it is the representative library of America. Its treasures of Americana are not complete but rich and it seeks constantly to render it complete in all that relates to discovery, settlement, history, biography, topography, geography, national history, etc., etc., on the continent.

Another example is the map division, which contains 70,000 maps, including 10,000 insurance maps of 60,000 sheets, giving every structure, with height and character of each, where fire-risks have been placed. This constitutes a history of the structural development of most of the towns of the country, and have not been saved by the publisher or insurance companies but have been saved by this library.

The librarian told the writer of this paper of an incident, two days before this writing, of a New York lawyer who had looked everywhere for certain maps of real estate in New York state, and came to Washington "day before yesterday." He found seven maps upon which the issues of a great case depended. One of Mr. Putnam's assistants accompanied the lawyer to New York with the maps and doubtless has them in court "this morning."

Some time ago two antiquated and superseded maps saved the government some hundreds of thousands of dollars, enough to run the whole map-department for a generation. 25,000 head of cattle were run off a Texas ranch in the sixties. The eye-witnesses swore they drove them fifty miles to the left of Twin mountain. The issue of the case depended on whether they were driven by friendly Indians, for whom the government was responsible, or hostile Indians for whose action the government, having given warning, were not responsible. The direction would decide whether they were friendly Apaches or hostile Comanches. No modern maps showed Twin mountain. Two old maps of 1867 and 1869 showed Twin mountain and decided the direction in the Comanche country and the government not responsible for the payment of damages for 25,000 head of cattle.

Many interesting illustrations of the inevitable value of remote and modest material might be recited. In the case of reserving newspaper-files, an interesting circumstance is related of the purchase of the file of the *Charleston Courier* for \$5,000, beginning in 1800. Reference to these papers upon filing of claims of citizens of South Carolina has given conclusive proof that many claimants were confederates and had taken part in confederate meetings during the war, saving hundreds of thousands of dollars to the government.

There are hundreds of volumes of the *London Times*, the file being complete from the beginning, 1795.

The *London Gazette*, dating from 1665, is the oldest complete English newspaper in the library and the only complete file in the United States. Yellow with age, its first numbers are still clear and the ink good. There are 40,000 volumes of newspaper-files, including two from every state in the Union, and many papers and magazines from every civilized country in the world.

The manuscript division is a creation

of 1897. Before this date there were very few collections of manuscripts. The earlier collections were in the libraries of the executive departments, principally that of the Department of State. This division now occupies commodious and beautiful quarters in one wing of the building, which has been filled with every modern convenience and appliance for receiving, repairing, cataloguing and storing manuscript material, which is all kept behind locked doors, some of the most valuable of it in large burglar-proof steel safes with combination locks.

A great many of the papers have been received in a disordered condition, damaged by fire, moisture, insects, careless handling, wear and tear. These papers are put under heavy pressure for two months, then patched with infinite care and covered with a transparent silk gauze, four thicknesses of which would not render a manuscript illegible. Covered on both sides by this gauze, the manuscript is mounted on a page of thick strong paper in a huge leather volume and indexed and cross-indexed, catalogued by dates and subjects and authors and is then ready for the biographer, bibliographer or historian. A number of repairers are at work all the time in making practically indestructible for ordinary library purposes these original materials without which no future American history can be written.

Prominent among the collection is, of course, that of George Washington. There are here, though still uncounted, approximately five to seven thousand pieces in George Washington's hand, including many volumes of diaries and account books, and these, not one-third of those still extant, show the prodigious care he took of every detail of life, how he knew to a penny what everything cost him, knew every hour every slave he owned worked or "nigged." One reads at random seventeen shillings and six pence lost at cards,—an off-day for him. Here is an entry in 1756, when he loaned three pounds to his mother, then five

pounds, and then ten shillings, and thirteen or fifteen years after he charges it to profit and loss with the line "I suppose she never meant to pay it."

If a visitor from Mars were to reconstruct George Washington from his own extant manuscript, without reference to

another source of information, he would give us a figure without much of a halo on his brow, but perhaps it would not be more like the George Washington who was.

FRANK VROOMAN.

Berkeley, Cal.

LIBERTY, LAW AND LABOR.

BY FANNIE HUMPHREYS GAFFNEY.

Honorary President of National Council of Women of the United States.

GREAT human questions are slow in formation. Events, time, conditions, environment, weld them together as words form sentences. When they reach the point of utterance, they have become truths. It is not possible to unsay them once they have been born into life and expressed in speech.

The labor problem is a great human question. Stripped of its unions, disturbing influences, arbitrary domination, ill-advised strikes and crimes, which have attached themselves to it really as barnacles, but acting as fetters,—the labor problem stands before us, a Man, and puts to us the simple question:

"Is not the value of human liberty as great as the value of property?"

To this question there can be but one answer: Yes.

Yet, in point of fact, property and human life in the eye of the law are in many cases better protected than the essential rights of man, for whose benefit property and life have been thus protected.

One of our journals lately offered the following definition:

"A fact is a dead thing; Truth is a live thing. The fact must be warmed and vitalized in a human soul before it becomes a truth."

This is a wholesome and timely explanation of the difference between two words often misapplied the one for the other, or oftener misused so as to imply that they are interchangeable.

It is a fact that the strong arm of the law protects property. It is equally a fact that the same strong arm falls with authority upon any man who by physical violence and certain other proscribed acts disturbs the public peace.

Yet these two facts may not necessarily have arrived at the dignity of truths.

In our civilization fact often precedes truth.

Long ago public opinion pronounced that property and life must be protected and public peace preserved. It now remains for public opinion to rouse itself to further utterance and pronounce that there are other forces which disturb the peace as banefully and inevitably as physical violence and brute force.

What has been a fact should now warm into a truth. The administration of law should include in its punishment *all* breaches of public peace, of whatever nature.

At this day to discriminate and count the public peace disturbed only by the offender who resorts to brute force, is to hark back to ages when men seized whatever they could take by the strong arm, and so held it.

The human spirit has not changed. Theoretically, man has evolved away from the land baron; but practically it is only a change of base. The land baron has been succeeded by the commercial baron. The power of possession and property still rules, and right and

wrong are yet flexible standards, according to interpretation and the application of power.

Among facts unfortunately attaching themselves to the labor question, there stands forth prominently the one that labor, more than any other class of interests, is continually disturbing the so-called public peace. Last year, or year before last, the coal miners in Pennsylvania stirred up the country. This year the mine workers of Colorado are roused to the point of desperate resistance against certain conditions connected with their employment. The only answer to the Why of this situation is this:

So long as the law provides no court for effective settlement of these troubles, the only weapon labor has for the defence of its interests, is refusal to work except upon agreed conditions.

Hence arises all the difficulty of the labor question and here it will remain until we offer labor some efficient substitute to which it can trust for its defence.

As it now is, once the laborer refuses work on the employer's terms, he sees other men slipping into his place, thus rendering his one weapon powerless. What wonder then that, confronted by such defeat and with hunger threatening their helpless families, some in the ranks lose self-control and resort to acts of violence?

The fact can not be gainsaid that the letter of the law, as interpreted in recent strikes, has actually ranged all the forces of law and order on the side of employers as against strikers. Yet it cannot be admitted by any course of reasoning, that the spirit of the law was intended to lend state aid to one party in a controversy, as against another, without trial and before judgment.

It matters not what violence and bloodshed the state aims to prevent by intervention, or by protecting non-union men in the right to labor, this greater fact overshadows all: that by such protection employers are given not only moral support in conducting their business in their

own way and for their private profit, but the state actually by such protection becomes an ally of employers while the strife or controversy continues.

Let employers be forced to manage their business during strikes without the aid of the officers of the law, and the country would not so often be disturbed by strikes. It is the menace to life, and not the protection of it, which makes the National Guard useful to employers. They keep the strikers at bay.

Human equality does not agree with any such one-sided aid being rendered one belligerent, since the other is equally a citizen, and should be favored with all the rules of neutrality—at least in a republic. I neither commend anarchy nor condone the violence resorted to by desperate strikers. Neither do I pretend to deny that the arbitrary dictation of unions has in many cases been a blundering abuse of power and an unbearable menace to the freedom of employers.

I do not enter into this phase of the question. I simply wish to suggest that the labor question has advanced to a point where it demands that facts give place to truth—truth in the administration of justice, so that inordinate desire for wealth or power and its attendant evils, greed, fraud, oppression, shall be equally dealt with as disturbers of the peace and instigators to crime—as much to be feared as physical violence and other results of untamed human passion.

Without prejudice, let us calmly ask ourselves: "Is the principle right that the National Guard should be at the call of employers to uphold their dictum against another class of citizens who may have an equal or better right to aid and support in their contention?"

Has not the government alone the right to deal impartially with both sides in such a controversy? And facing the ever-recurring attitude of employers against strikers, can we honestly say that the sole reason of dragging the National Guard into the controversy is not based upon the one fact of menace?

In our attitude toward labor, in our fear of strikes and their accompanying loss and violence, we seem quite to lose sight of the fact that in a republic such as ours, past conditions for the workman must yield place to present ones.

We invite and receive upon our shores, weekly, thousands of immigrants from the monarchies of the old world. They leave the monarchy and come here—for what? For work, yes—but above all, for more pay. At once they get more pay. Later, Freedom is dinned into their ears and finally the vote is placed in their hands and they are told they are men and citizens. We glory in the freedom and hope America offers to the world; and yet when the question is raised as between master and man, some old instinct of domination rises and we expect the worker to yield a docile submission. At once we forget that we are in a republic, and refuse to consider that we are responsible for conditions, in that we have fed our workmen on meat and roused in them the spirit of independence.

It is idle in this day and country to reason that workingmen should be satisfied, and that the world used to roll round more smoothly when master alone, and not man, dictated terms of labor. Master has changed, as well as man, in the passing years. Why expect labor to abide under past conditions while the rest of the world moves on?

If a money crisis arrives because circulation is clogged by money stored, cornered, or otherwise withheld from public use, the owners seeing fit to keep it idle, we do not call out the National Guard to menace or the police to arrest the owners of such funds, on the ground that they are disturbing the public peace, causing bankruptcy and inducing suicides.

Yet is it not a fact that a money-panic is a disturber of public peace in each of these ways?

I fear that we are prejudiced in our fair judgment by our point-of-view. We have looked so long upon possession as nine-tenths of the law that we have sur-

rendered the other tenth, or lost sight of it.

If capital does not come out and invest, we can't force it. Yet we reason against labor withheld as if it were a public servant which should continue on in the steady duty of work, whether it pays the laborer or not.

In general the public thinks little of the laborer. It calmly accepts the results of labor; it uses, enjoys and sometimes absorbs these results as a sort of natural right quite as God-given as sun and air. Therefore, when labor stops, when work is thrown aside, when the human worker questions, and pauses until his questions are answered, the public is angry and even fancies its rights invaded.

Equally false is the pretence advanced by many that they are against strikes because the labor union is wrong on principle. How?

If organization is right for one class of interests, it should be right for all. It can not be just to permit some people to organize for some purposes of fair profit or interest, and then refuse the same privilege to others. Surely the laborer has the highest right to set a price upon his labor and to have a voice as to the conditions surrounding his work.

The surest weapon labor has for its claim is refusal to work except upon agreed conditions. If it kept right on working, its demands would seldom, if ever, be agreed to. Certainly in no other instance of dispute would we expect that one party or side continue to aid and serve the other, just as if no question was in dispute, no concession demanded.

Labor must have the right to give or withhold its service, or labor ceases to be recognized as the work of citizens and becomes the toil of serfs.

Admitting union in other interests, we must allow it to labor. To fight labor unions in the present is to fight windmills. The most we can hope to do is to control them.

No element of power in the world is without its attendant danger. Because

powder sometimes spontaneously explodes, we don't prohibit the use of powder. The proper application of powder is what all our civilization strives for.

All unions or federations, whether of capital or labor, are a dangerous element to all outside such union. They are allied for defence but occasion may arise when the alliance makes for offence. Colorado points a flagrant instance of this when the citizens, as against miners' unions, formed themselves for defence into a citizens' alliance and in the power thus gained, decreed that union workers must be deported from the state.

This action offered no remedy for the evil. It simply substituted one class of oppressors for another. The country has no more to fear from labor unions than it has from any other form of organization.

Labor has an equal right with any other interest to unite, protest, and even resist conditions which press unduly upon it.

And a condition which now presses heavily upon labor is that in its conflict with capital, it is harried and menaced by state forces which should be wholly neutral and lend their weight to neither one side nor the other in the controversy.

The labor problem in this country demands a fair court of arbitration,—a court presided over by judges as invulnerable to bribery as the Supreme Court of the United States. Here the claims of employer and employed should be impartially weighed and adjusted.

To evade such a public adjustment is not only to fasten strikes upon us, but it is to nullify our republican boast of equal citizenship.

The public should demand some general arrangement and adjustment by which no class of worker or owner will be given discretion to err on the side of injustice. A code of equity, as between employer and employed, must be established. I believe this to be inevitable.

The labor question will not be settled without a satisfactory answer to its claims. It demands a fair share of the prosperity of the century.

Bias to one side or the other of the problem only puts off the evil day.

The answer given to the miners in Pennsylvania only staved off the day of reckoning. The answer of Colorado is a threat of anarchy which has set many minds thinking that there may be two sides to this as to most questions.

But perhaps the most decisive answer of all comes from Illinois. Here one man owns the whole town of Zeigler. Land, homes, business, mines, are his by holy right of possession.

He proposes to manage the town according to his own will. In his mines he has reduced the scale seventeen cents per ton, and insists that those he employs shall work ten hours a day. Those who refuse to accept these conditions are ordered to leave his town. To enforce his ruling he has imported police and detectives from Chicago to protect *his* town and guard *his* plant. Is not this a jump back to feudalism under state or city protection? Then the feudal lord maintained his own—now the state defends while the lord owns.

The labor question will not be dismissed by such exhibitions of abuse of power. Prejudice will not cause it to disappear, nor evasion make it dissolve itself into thin air.

The question will remain with us until it is answered with dignity, truth and justice.

"I can call spirits from the vasty deep."

"Aye, but will they come when you do call for them?"

So we may say that we dismiss the labor question. But the counter question confronts us: "Will the labor question dismiss at your command?"

FANNIE HUMPHREYS GAFFNEY.

Larchmont-on-the-Sound, N. Y.

A CURE FOR MUNICIPAL BRIBERY.

BY GEORGE CRANE.

I.

TO A LARGE extent the prevalence of bribery in this country is due to the imperfect and inefficient means provided by the law for its detection and punishment. And such provisions as have heretofore been enacted are primarily directed against and have for their chief object or purpose the punishment of the parties who received the bribes. While such punishment is altogether proper and judicious in itself, it is far from being the sole or even the chief basis on which legislation against bribery should be founded. Neither is it the most efficient method of screening the community from the evil and corrupt practice against which it is directed. On the contrary, the chief purpose of the lawmaker should be to strike down the bribe-giver and to take from him as far as possible all incentive to the perpetration of his evil deeds.

The strength of the motive to corruption, like that to an investment, is measured entirely by the chances of gain or profit, that is to say, as you diminish the opportunities for gain or multiply the probabilities of loss, you weaken or decrease the motive to either corruption or legitimate investment. Hence the rascal in weighing in the balance the prospects of gain through his corruption and the chances of escape from all punishment by imprisonment, should be compelled on the other side to consider the probabilities of an equally great loss or detriment in the event his rascality should be discovered.

In the further discussion of this subject our observations will be applied especially to city councils or municipal corporations, since a very large percentage, perhaps a majority, of the corruptions in this country occurs or takes place

in connection with the transaction of the business of these corporate bodies. In this class of cases of course the primary object of the bribe-giver is gain or the accumulation of wealth, the enrichment of himself and his associates.

II.

Assuming that the offence of bribery has been committed, the first requisite is to discover the evidence necessary to prove the facts constituting the offence, and to establish the identity of the parties charged with its commission. To this end the law should provide and hold out a strong and powerful motive to induce the bribe-taker, or any one cognizant of the facts, except the party furnishing the means of corruption, to come forward and make a complete disclosure of all the circumstances connected with or pertaining to the offence. In short, to any one who voluntarily comes forward and divulges to the mayor or other proper authorities of a city, or to a resident taxpayer of the city, such knowledge or information as will lead to the establishment of the charge of bribe-giving against any person, company, or corporation, a large pecuniary reward, in addition to exemption from punishment, should be given. In all such offences there are necessarily two parties to the transaction, and both should be made the victims of the law's avenging power whenever possible; whether the degree of moral turpitude is the same in both or not is a purely academic question. If only one of the parties can be brought to suffer proper punishment, certainly that one should be the bribe-giver, the party who receives the chief fruits of the crime and furnishes the sole means of its commission.

This view is sustained and justified

by the fact, that to punish and get rid of the briber is the most direct, practical and effective way to rid the community of the evils of bribery. In this connection it must be remembered that the number of bribe-givers, in comparison with the number of parties who are ready and willing to receive bribes, is relatively very small. The former in addition to being destitute of all moral principle or honor, must possess the wealth or pecuniary ability to provide the funds necessary to achieve or carry out his nefarious purposes. It is no doubt true that a vast majority of these offences against the cities are perpetrated by and in the interest of corporations, and of these generally by public-service corporations. This fact shows how very limited is the number of bribe-givers in comparison with the number of bribe-takers. One successful prosecution against a wealthy corporation followed by the infliction and collection of a heavy fine, as well as by the deprivation of all boodle or stolen property obtained through its villainy, would do more to check or stamp out bribery than a hundred successful prosecutions against the petty, obscure and insignificant bribe-receivers. Whenever one such bribe-giver is driven or frightened from the field of corruption, at least fifteen, twenty or thirty bribe-receivers are driven out at the same time. Their occupation is gone.

Under the influence of a reward it would not be unreasonable to expect that sometimes a member of the city government would be willing to play the rôle of a detective and in such character would accept the briber's gift with the intent and for the express purpose of making a full disclosure of the corruption. Furthermore, when the guilty parties are numerous, each one is under a strong temptation to be the first to go forward and make a clean breast of the whole matter and thereby not only secure exemption from punishment, but also establish his claim to the exclusive ownership of a valuable reward. Each one

knows that the only thing that will prevent such a disclosure from being made by some one of his comrades in guilt, is the so-called principle of "honor among thieves." That a strong pecuniary temptation would generally prove a fatal strain upon this attenuated principle can be hardly doubted.

Another fact to be considered in this connection is that the briber would never know just what kind of a man he is dealing with. He would never know but what the party to whom he is paying his money or is arranging to make payment in the future, is adroitly and deliberately scheming to get him and his associates into the clutches of the law. This very uncertainty would of itself prove a potential factor in preventing or restraining recourse to the practice of corruption.

III.

However, city authorities should not be wholly dependent for their evidence on the free and voluntary action of the parties involved in the guilt. On the contrary the law should authorize every city or a resident taxpayer thereof to go into a court of justice and file an *ex parte* application or petition in the nature of a bill of discovery alleging in general terms the facts constituting the charges of bribery and asking the court to order an investigation to be made, and to issue all processes necessary to render such investigation complete and effective. This method of procedure is suggested as an improvement on the slow and cumbersome proceedings before a grand jury. But strict secrecy, as in like proceedings before the grand jury, should be enforced and all the witnesses examined separately. The chief advantages of such procedure are, that it can be instituted at any time, and can be adjourned or suspended if necessary, and all questions touching the relevancy or competency of the evidence, or the self-crimination of witnesses can be decided without delay or serious interruption of the proceedings. In such investigations whenever a witness claims

exemption from testifying on the ground that he is not bound to criminate himself, the court should have the authority to grant him a full pardon at once, and to order that in no proceedings, either civil or criminal, shall his testimony be used against him except in a prosecution for perjury in giving such testimony.

IV.

The most effective safeguard that the law can furnish when a corporation is the bribe-giver or the recipient of the stolen property, would be to impose upon the guilty company, or the corporate body itself, a very heavy penalty, say a penalty not less than one thousand dollars nor more than twenty per cent. on the capital stock authorized by its charter or articles of incorporation. Obviously such a penalty could not be justly regarded as excessive when considered in connection with the overwhelming strength of the motive operating upon the company, and the magnitude of the wrong and injustice done to the people of the city when the efforts of the corruptionist are crowned with success. A penalty to be truly deterrent or repressive in its operation, should have some relation or proportion to the extent or magnitude of the evils it is designed to mitigate or prevent.

V.

As a further safeguard to the cities, the law should provide that where any person, company or corporation has obtained a franchise or other valuable property from any city or other municipal corporation and has in connection therewith or as a means thereto bribed any member of the city council or other officer of such city, and said city or municipal corporation has by reason of the granting of such franchise or other valuable property sustained any loss or damage whatever, such city should have the legal right and authority to sue for and recover from such person, company or corporation all loss or damage so sustained, and in addition thereto whatever exemplary

or vindictive damages the jury in the exercise of their discretion may deem proper. To establish a complete *prima facie* right to recover it should be sufficient simply to show that bribery was used in connection with, or as a means of acquiring such franchise or other property. Proof that a single member of the city council or other officer was paid or received a bribe of any kind, should of itself establish a basis for the recovery of damages. The legal presumption should be that the party receiving and enjoying the stolen property directed and sanctioned whatever means were employed or steps taken in its acquisition.

This right of action should remain absolutely intact, no difference what the terms and conditions of the agreement or arrangement between the city and the other parties may be, all provisions, stipulations or covenants to any extent in conflict with or designed to take away, frustrate or destroy this right of action should be declared and held to be absolutely null and void. Neither should the city through its council or otherwise have any right or power to either defeat or destroy or to compromise, adjust, settle or waive this right of action except under the authority and sanction of a court of justice.

VI.

Another means of protecting cities against the evils of corruption, would be to invest the courts of equity with full power to annul and set aside any grant, transfer or conveyance of any right, franchise or other property of a city when the same has to the loss or detriment of such city been to any extent procured through or by means of bribery practiced by the grantee. To what extent and under what circumstances courts of equity would interfere in such cases under existing laws and grant to the cities the relief here suggested are questions whose answers are still involved in a greater or lesser degree of doubt and uncertainty. Hence specific legislative enactments au-

thorizing these courts to declare void and annul all fraudulent, corrupt or collusive alienations of any of the rights, franchises or other property of cities, would at once sweep away all such doubt and uncertainty, and at the same time add greatly to the safety and protection of the interests of municipal corporations.

When a city in such cases fails, neglects or refuses to institute proceedings for relief, any property-holder or taxable in-

habitant of the city should have the right to bring an action in his own name on the ground that he has an indirect legal interest in the preservation of all the rights, franchises and other property of the city, and will sustain loss and damage in case the corrupt and fraudulent actions of the city officials are not rendered void by the rulings of the court.

GEORGE CRANE.

Dubuque, Iowa.

THE PRIMARY CAUSE OF ALTERNATE ACTIVITY AND DEPRESSION IN TRADE.

BY SAMUEL BRAZIER.

INDICATIONS are not wanting that what has been so generally proclaimed to be "our great prosperity" is about to be succeeded by a period of trade depression. A correct view of the causes which produce alternate periods of good and bad trade is of interest, not only theoretically, but materially and financially, to every investor, to every capitalist, and to every workman in the nation.

Trade is simply the exchange of commodities for commodities. It derives its incentive from the wants and desires of human nature. So long as men seek the gratification of their wants there can be under normal conditions no such thing as depression in trade. During what is known as a period of trade depression human desires and wants are as active and urgent as ever. Depression, therefore, cannot originate in any diminution of demand. It can only originate when potential demand is unable to find means of gratification; that is to say, when there is a failure in the supply of those commodities which are necessary to be exchanged for others, that human desires may be satisfied. Clearly it is at the point of production, not at the point of

consumption, that depression in trade must have its originating cause. Demand is perpetual and constantly tends to increase. Each succeeding age requires more than the former age, more and better clothing, more and better food, more and better accommodation, more and superior gratifications of every kind. Human desires and requirements tend to increase with their gratification, and the luxuries of the past generation become the necessities of this.

Any actual decrease in demand can only occur, therefore, when there is a failure in the means to pay for the desired gratifications. When people retrench their expenses in food, clothing, furniture and other necessities, or when they cut down their expenses in luxuries, it is not because they desire such things any less than before. It is because they lack the means to pay for them. And they lack the means to pay for them only because of the lessened production of those things on which they depended for obtaining the means. Lessened demand is always preceded and caused by lessened supply. Whenever demand is lessened without human wants being fully satisfied, it is absolutely certain that produc-

tion has first of all received a check somewhere. Depression in trade, or reduced demand, is impossible till production has been somewhere first of all reduced.

To find the ultimate cause of that widespread cessation in demand which we speak of as stagnation in trade, we must trace it back to some point where the first step is taken in checking production. At some point in the complicated system of production and exchange the first hindrance to production must occur which creates the first failure in demand and communicates itself ultimately throughout the entire world of industry and commerce.

The primary industries are those which operate directly with land, which extract wealth directly from nature,—agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining. These occupations produce the demand for all others. The tailors and shoemakers follow the miner. The storekeepers follow the farmer. Miners and farmers do not go to a new place because carpenters and blacksmiths are there, but carpenters and blacksmiths go because miners and farmers are there. The pyramid of human industry rests absolutely on the land. All industry is practically the application of labor and capital to land, or to materials obtained from land. All industries of every kind whatever require the use of land. The first check, therefore, in the long chain of causes which produce depression and stagnation in trade must be found in some hindrance which discourages or prevents the free application of labor and capital to land. That hindrance is the speculative advance in land values which always precedes and mainly causes successive periods of business depression. That there are other minor subsidiary causes is not to be denied, but they are altogether inadequate of themselves to produce bad trade universally in any country.

Overproduction is sometimes regarded as the chief cause of trade depression. Stores and warehouses are filled with goods which cannot be sold; and many

mills and thousands of work-people are put on half-time or are altogether idle. This is so, it is said, because production has exceeded the demand for consumption. Yet there has been no single hour when the people have had as much of this piled-up wealth as they desired and could have consumed. They still want more than they can obtain. During the period of supposed overproduction thousands of idle men have vainly offered their labor for the purpose of obtaining some of this wealth. When the period of activity in trade has gone by their number is increased. While the stores are full of goods which cannot be sold, the streets are full of involuntary idlers who want the goods but cannot buy. Overproduction will not bear examination in the face of the fact that the people have at no time received half as much as they could consume.

Then we say, "Money is scarce"; "people have no money." But why have they no money? Simply because they are not able to produce those commodities which they exchange for money in order that they may exchange this money for other commodities which they desire. Produce of one kind is unsalable because produce of another kind is scarce. The people who would be buyers have no money, because the production has been checked by which their money is obtained. A check in production and a check in consumption stand in the relation of cause and effect. But it is not a check in consumption that first causes a check in production; it is a check in production that first causes a check in consumption—always. A falling off in demand is a result of diminished production. Overproduction, overconsumption and some other reasons commonly assigned as causes of bad trade no doubt contain some element of truth and have some force; but they do not explain the situation, and as explanations of the phenomena of recurrent periods of activity and depression of trade they are entirely inadequate. After a period of prosperity

the desire to consume remains unabated; the willingness to consume remains unabated; and the ability and will to produce remain unchanged. Why, then, should a period of inactivity succeed good times?

The main initial cause is doubtless that check to production which is brought about by the increase in land values which invariably and inevitably results from a period of prosperity. It is the operation of a natural law. It is not produced by land owners nor by capitalists nor by government; and all the governments on earth cannot prevent it. This increase in ground-rents is the result of a natural law which determines the growing wealth of a nation to rent; in other words, rent like a huge sponge absorbs advancing wealth. Material progress does not tend to increase interest nor wages, but it vastly increases land values. The wealth of a nation registers itself in rent. Increasing rent is the increasing charge which capital and labor must pay for the use of the earth. During a period of prosperity this increase in rent proceeds till a point is reached at which production is checked. This stoppage in production is the first step in the succeeding period of stagnation. Concurrently with this increasing charge which capital and labor must pay for their opportunities, another and probably the most important result is brought about. A large volume of capital is tempted into land investment by the increasing land values. This capital being withdrawn or withheld from productive enterprises, the check on production is greatly intensified. In this manner is produced the first diminution in production which creates the first diminution in demand, and results in dull trade, involuntary idleness and increased want and poverty throughout the civilized world.

During every period of trade activity the rent of land increases beyond its normal value, and reaches a speculative value which rules universally. It is only when this speculative value is reduced,

actually or proportionately to the total wealth production, that capital will again be turned into productive channels, and the period of depression will pass away.

The speculative advance in land values alone explains the period of bad trade which regularly succeeds a period of good trade throughout the industrial world. As already stated, this advance in rents is not brought about by the will of land-owners, who are no more responsible for it than other people. It is none the less of the nature of a lockout against capital and labor, and in these days of rapid material progress it produces results more disastrous than were possible in quieter and less progressive times. If our perceptions were not dulled by familiarity, how astonishing and unnatural it would seem that many thousands of willing workers, able and anxious to produce wealth, should remain in enforced idleness. These men desire wealth. The earth is full of it. The price to be paid for it is labor. These men are offering the price, but there is no opportunity for them to satisfy their wants. They are excluded from the source of all opportunity, the earth itself. When many thousands of men of all trades and occupations are seeking work and cannot find any, it is certain that the ultimate cause can only be that labor is shut off from land somewhere. It may be on either side of the earth; it may be in Europe or in the United States, or both. Somewhere the first check has been given to production by speculative advance in land values, and the effect, a check in demand, has propagated similar checks in a thousand occupations till the final result is felt in widespread depression, commercial failures and involuntary idleness.

It is said that one million work-people are constantly out of employment in this nation, even in moderately good times. These involuntary idlers produce no wealth. Their enforced idleness entails a greater loss on the nation than the cost of a large standing army. It is not neces-

sary to suppose that were every obstacle removed which prevents free access to land these idlers would all become miners or herdsmen or farmers; but it can hardly be doubted that a sufficient number of them would do so to give employment to the rest, and to create a demand for more. And their employment would not fail to bring advantage and profit to every merchant, manufacturer and tradesman in the nation.

Apart from any theory or theories, it is clear and undeniable that throughout

the industrial world speculative advance in ground rent or land values, which includes and controls franchises, invariably precedes a season of commercial depression. That advance in land values is the main cause which brings about depression in trade is scarcely less clear. And it is the only explanation which accounts adequately for these alternate periods in the world of industry and commerce.

SAMUEL BRAZIER.

Boston, Mass.

AN UNCONSCIOUS RETURN TO TYRANNY.

BY FRANK MUNRO.

THE DEVOLUTION of legislative and judicial functions upon boards and commissions, and even upon private or semi-private corporations, contrary to the tripartite scheme of rational government, is a tendency of the times which may be held to imperil the liberties of the people.

It seems desirable and relevant to recall briefly that men, in the development of democratic society, conceived of a legislative department, a judicial and an executive, each to be supreme in its own sphere. It was never contemplated that the powers of legislation should be exercised by the judiciary, for obviously the courts would not be directly amenable to the authoritative people; neither was it designed that the judicial function should be transferred to the private citizen, not even excepting a "commission"; for the lay class, even if accomplished and upright, would still be without the complete mechanism and power of judicial tribunals to compel the fullest testimony, and thus secure exact justice.

Nevertheless, it would appear that legislators and citizens in general do not always apprehend these primary political

distinctions. Laws have been passed, commissions appointed and license-boards created which override, with many potentialities of injustice, what may be called the constitutional principle of specialization.

When the high tribunal of Massachusetts declared recently that the Metropolitan Park Commission, acting under a new law, could not proscribe certain inartistic advertising signs, the ground of the opinion was that this interference constituted a violation of the rights of property. The soundness of this view is not questioned; but if, discursively, a maxim be enunciated—and it arises most logically—that legislative and judicial functions cannot be transferred or delegated, and on this alone the act in question be disallowed, will not a blow be struck at the fundamental error of the legislators, and perhaps something be done, by suggestion, to prevent a recurrence of this dangerous class of law-making blunders?

It must not be assumed, in this connection, that a state legislature itself could constitutionally pass such a proscriptive measure. Apparently it could

not. The proceeding is repugnant to the idea of liberty; and it requires but little examination to prove that the alleged offence to the esthetic would be of slight consequence compared to the evils, hardships and injustice that, if the principle were widely applied, would result to the people as a whole.

Perhaps a still more striking illustration of the irregular devolution of legislative authority is noted in the proscription, by many towns, of a circus. It may not be permitted in certain places because it "takes away money"; or brings a horde of roughs, necessitating extra expense for police; or causes the poorer and less morally robust citizen to neglect the payment of his grocers' bills. Hence, the license-board, selectmen or aldermen, as the case may be, refuse to grant a permit. They have come to believe that the extraordinary power of prohibition belongs to them by virtue of charter from the legislature, oblivious to the fact that the law-making body itself is impotent to prohibit a legitimate business, and certainly could not transmit extra-physical functions to its creature. They overlook the fact that the essence of the license principle is, after all, regulation, not prevention. They propose, in effect, in the specific case of the circus, to punish a body not for evils inherent, but belonging to the imperfect community in which it temporarily abides. They do not heed the caution that in dealing with an evil we must not destroy liberty, but merely the parasites of liberty.

Rather should the people know and understand, not necessarily the evanescent circus, but the living principle comprehended in its existence as a legitimate institution. They must see that it has the rights of trade; and that it is infinitely better for the developing human nature of a community to have large freedom of choice than be bound and find an apparent compensation in—neighborhood serenity!

But any indirect weakening of character is secondary to the direct injustice and harm likely to be inflicted upon business enterprise, if powers of proscription and interference are devolved from their proper spheres upon politically isolated and irresponsible persons, however well-meaning they may be.

An important correlated matter is the bestowing of judicial functions, notably in the large cities of the state of New York, upon a semi-private corporation, the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. With full sympathy for the objects of the organization, may it yet not be said that the act empowering the society to take an unlicensed dog, and in default of the license fee, and an added money penalty, confiscate and perhaps destroy the animal, is not only *ultra vires*, but specifically unconstitutional? "Nor shall any person be . . . deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law," says the fifth amendment of the American Constitution; "Judicial powers cannot be delegated," says the potential maxim. Yet in the Empire State, and elsewhere, this is done, and the lawmakers have said that it is all right!

With a scarcely wider application of the new doctrine of every corporation its own judiciary, there well may be the spectacle of a department store arresting a shoplifter and putting her forthwith into a cage, or inflicting other monitory degradation. (The equitable possibilities of inequity are almost appalling!) The machinery of the courts, designed to secure protection to the accused, completest information and judicial guidance in the meting out of justice, would largely rust away, and a diversified tyranny of autocracy, some of the forerunners of which have been noted, would press heavily upon the people.

FRANK MUNRO.

Boston, Mass.

THE MIRACULOUS FOREST.

BY DR. FREDERICKA C. ZELLER.

I HAD come to spend the summer in the Swiss village of Lorne lying close to the heart of the mountains.

I thought that the other guests of the little hotel where I was staying had come for the same purpose until I went for a promenade on the veranda. Here I saw groups of people, and could hear them animatedly discussing the forest close at hand.

"Can this be an enchanted forest," soliloquized I, "and I not have known it? I will try to find out something about this mystery into which I have unconsciously come," I thought, and approached a group of ladies standing near. Addressing a young woman, I said: "Pardon me, Madam, may I ask you about the forest; is there any strange history connected with it?"

"Oh, do you not know?" she replied pleasantly. "Certainly I will tell you then. This is the forest that gives clear sight to every one who walks through it, no matter how blind he may have been."

"Indeed, are all these people blind whom I see about me?" I inquired.

"They do not see truly," she returned.

"I do not quite understand you," I said. "Must one walk in any special path or in any special direction?"

"Yes, in the unbeaten and unfrequented path, and in the *right* direction," she responded.

"Can you describe the path to me?" I asked. "I see very well, but if I could gain a clearer vision by a walk through the forest, I would gladly go."

"You will know the path when you find it; every one else does," she replied. "You will feel amply repaid for your walk," she added.

"Thank you very much," I said, and left her.

Early the next morning I entered the

forest, determined to find the secret it contained. I found numberless paths going towards the interior. While I stood and debated with myself which path I should choose, I remembered that I had been advised to take the unbeaten path.

To the right the moss grew very thick; there were no footprints, and the shadows were very deep. I began my walk at this place, and soon fell into a deep reverie as I walked slowly along. I did not notice anything until I stumbled and was startled by the sudden rustle of the leaves. I stopped, and saw a few steps ahead of me a tiny wood sprite shivering and chattering with cold.

The air was soft and balmy; hence, I could not but wonder why the little creature shivered. Moved by curiosity, I drew a little closer, carefully looked it over, and saw that it wore a large cloak which it drew closely and entirely around its meager form. The garment was made of a peculiar coarse fabric and its color was exceedingly ugly. Looking more attentively, I could see, now and then, a slender white thread woven throughout the entire cloth. I was strangely impressed with this unusual sight and especially with the fact that the elf pulled constantly at the cloak in the effort to wrap itself more closely in the folds, and the closer the mite drew the cloak, the colder it seemed to grow.

I did not know whether this elf creation could be spoken to or not. However I tried to address it, and finally said: "Little one, why do you not leave this shadow? Go out into the sunshine, and into the beautiful world. They are but a step away, and there, it surely will not be so cold as here."

The sprite did not answer me but quietly passed out to the edge of the for-

est into the flooding sunlight. I followed, and saw that the light seemed to dazzle it. Instantly it held its little withered hands across its eyes to shield them. Then it leaned against a tree. At this moment a voice said: "I am weary, and lonely, and broken-hearted! Will no one hear my cry?"

The tiny dwarf opened its eyes again on hearing these sounds, and when it saw that some one was near, it uttered a short shrill cry and was about to flee again into the shadow. It stopped, though, when it heard the voice a second time: "Oh, do not leave me!"

It was a young and beautiful woman who had spoken, and she spoke farther. "I have everything that money can bring except love and human sympathy, the most priceless things on earth, which all my wealth has not availed to buy. For these I have hungered all my young life. For these I have sought so long that now I have fallen by the wayside, too tired, too faint to go farther."

The fairy seemed frightened for a moment to hear itself thus addressed and thought to run away again. Then it appeared to remember something and, hurrying over, knelt beside the prostrate girl tenderly saying: "Journey no farther, my tired friend, for I will give you gladly

and freely what you are seeking. In overflowing measure I will give to you."

Almost instantly the cloak around the sprite began to change its ugly color for a delicate light blue, and the white thread became a shining silvery band. The little creature, too, appeared to change, for it had grown in size, and its small pinched face became large and beautiful. The midget rose from its kneeling posture, and as it did so, its hands released their clutch upon the cloak, which fell a heap of rags beside the path.

Pointing at them, at last it spoke to me and said: "That was the cloak of selfishness. I have worn it all my life, and I grew smaller and colder in it every day. Sometimes I thought that I should freeze to death, especially when I wrapped it more closely around me. The few white threads that you saw were filaments of humility and altruism. I shall never need the old cloak again, for now I have wrapped about me the love and warmth of the great throbbing world."

With this the elf apparition vanished and in its stead I saw—Impossible! Where am I?—Ah!—In the miraculous forest where one sees truly!—I *saw*,—only myself!

FREDERICKA C. ZELLER.

Peoria, Ill.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

THE RENAISSANCE OF DEMOCRACY IN THE NEW WORLD.

The Popular Revolt Against Corporation and Boss-Rule.

ON EVERY side we see signs and evidences multiplying which point most clearly and unmistakably to a return on the part of the people to the old ideals and fundamental principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and cherished by the fathers of this government, but which recreant politicians and privileged interests have in recent years striven so persistently to discredit as a practical political creed. The moral side of American life is awakened and with this awakening is coming a realization of the peril into which our nation had fallen by surrendering to privileged interests, high finance and venal tools of commercial organizations. The people are at last coming to see that corporations, monopolies and privileged classes are the fountain-head of political corruption and treason and of graft and dishonesty in both public and private relations. They have at last been forced to realize that the injustice suffered by the masses from trust extortion, no less than the riot of dishonesty of recent years, cannot be permanently overthrown so long as political machines are subservient to privileged interests, and that nothing short of a fundamental and radical programme will meet the imperative demands of the hour,—a programme that shall embrace (1) high civic standards or a return to the moral idealism of the Declaration of Independence in regard to foreign and domestic political relations; (2) the getting of the government back into the hands of the people, which can be promptly and effectively attained through Direct-Legislation or the Initiative and Referendum complemented by the right of recall; (3) the taking over of public utilities or natural monopolies by the people, thus breaking the backbone of the corrupt alliance of the criminal rich with the conscienceless political boss and money-controlled machine; (4) the imposing of prison sentences only on all great offenders who break the laws enacted to protect the people from extortion and oppression by corporations; (5) radical reform in fiscal

matters which shall render it a criminal offence for great wealth or corporations to shift the burden of taxation onto the mass of the people; and (6) the relegation to the obscurity of private life by the aroused voters of the hirelings and *protégés* of plutocracy, now in high official stations, who have betrayed the people in the interests of their real masters.

The Nation-Wide Enthusiasm for Bryan and La Follette Symptomatic of The Great Popular Awakening.

While, as we have showed in an earlier issue, the sudden profession of love and admiration for Mr. Bryan on the part of those who for years have been his bitterest foes and who represent all that is worst in American political life and all that Mr. Bryan has relentlessly fought for more than a decade, was without doubt mainly a ruse to check the rising tide of radical sentiment that was setting in toward Mr. Hearst, and was started by these patriots for personal revenue for the purpose of dividing the radical forces, the spontaneous and general enthusiasm north and south, east and west, that instantly greeted the call for Mr. Bryan indicated the genuine sentiment of the rank and file of the American people; and so pronounced and unanimous has been this demand that it must have dazed the great Nebraskan's insincere friends.

The general enthusiasm for Mr. Bryan not only proves that the people are absolutely convinced that he is incorruptible, aggressive, fearless and radical, but it also shows how strong and general is the radical sentiment of the nation and how determined are the people to put a stop to the riot of class-legislation that has marked recent years, since privileged interests gained control of the government.

In like manner in the Republican party the name of Robert M. La Follette awakens the same intense popular enthusiasm. No other man in the party begins to call forth the same degree of the old-time moral enthusiasm, because Mr. La Follette in a larger way than any other Republican statesman represents the ideals of Lincoln and that unswerving



The Union of The Forces of Civic Righte- ousness in Pennsylvania.

John B. Moran and Progressive Democracy in Massachusetts.

The first fruit of the great awakening which has followed in the wake of the aggressive campaign of the *American* was seen in the unexpected election last autumn of John B. Moran as district-attorney of Boston. The old parties were thunderstruck at the magnificent victory of a man whom the criminal rich could not control; and Mr. Moran has in no wise disappointed the people or proved false to his pledges. Unlike the recreant Jerome of New York, who has screened the rich law-breakers and afforded a clear example of how extremely important it is for the criminal rich to have a man after their own heart as district-attorney, Mr. Moran has without fear or favor aggressively striven to carry out to the letter the requirements of his oath of office. The faithful and aggressive service of Mr. Moran has won to him thousands of the more thoughtful and earnest lovers of clean government who belong to other parties. The Prohibitionists have made him their candidate for governor, and the corporation-owned and controlled wing of the Democratic party is at the present writing in a panic lest it will be unable to prevent the party from naming him as the regular nominee for governor. It is recognized on all sides that he is the only man in the party that would stand any chance of being elected; yet the representatives of the corporations, the grafters and the corruptionists of the regular Democratic machine are actively opposing him. Men like Congressman Sullivan, who voted in Congress for his mileage to and from Massachusetts for the "constructive recess," though he did not leave his seat in Congress during that recess, ex-Congressman Thayer, Mayor Fitzgerald of Boston, and others of

the "safe, and sane," reactionary and corporation element are testifying to their fear of an aggressively honest and incorruptible candidate by their outspoken opposition to him.

On July 15th Mr. Moran issued a manifesto stating that he would run for governor and outlining the platform on which he would run. This manifesto so admirably sets forth many of the conditions and demands of the hour as found not only in Massachusetts, but in the nation as well, that we give it in full.

Moran's Declaration of Principles.

"The honesty and morality of our republic and State rest with the hard-working, law-abiding masses of the people.

"To restore our government to the control of such people is the present function of the Democratic party.

"Recent revelations of the methods of high finance have uncovered the pretences of the powerful hypocrites who have been posing as custodians of the national honor.

"It is our duty to wrest government from the grasp of those jugglers with industry and money who have, out of the toils of labor, drained mighty fortunes through the vile channels of their monopoly, privilege, discrimination, frauds, thefts, poisonings and violence.

"The Democratic party must cut loose from every alliance with the plunderers of the people and bring them to account for wrongs already done.

"Our legal machinery works mercilessly upon the poor and weak, but fails to operate upon open and defiant violations of the law by the rich and powerful.

"To bring back our government to equal justice for all men we must teach wealth to obey the laws or suffer drastic penalties for crime.

"Our candidates, our organization, our platforms, must bend to these purposes without compromise, evasion or pretence.

"Our candidates must be selected, not to gratify personal ambition or provide campaign funds, but solely to restore justice to the people.

"It will no longer suffice to make laws; men with grim purpose and undaunted will must be elected to enforce them.

"To these ends we require:

"A governor, fearless and faithful, resolute and determined, free from alliance with corporations and trusts, uncontrolled by politicians, a servant of the people, recognizing



Carter, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

THIS QUESTION THE NATION MUST SETTLE—RAILROADS AND TRUSTS WILL GOVERN THIS COUNTRY UNLESS THE COUNTRY GOVERNS THEM.

his official obligations and evading none of them, neither skulking behind an unauthorized shield of judges, nor cringing in cowardice at the responsibilities of his office, a man who knows the law and dares to enforce it.

"Direct popular control of the law-making power through the right to veto and create legislation at the polls and to recall faithless legislators.

"The public ownership and operation of public utilities in nation, state and city.

"Eight hours for labor; protection of women and children against overtime work; the absolute, indefeasible right to trial of facts by a jury in equity cases involving labor injunctions.

"Taxation which shall obtain full contributions from wealth and success and bear lightly upon labor and the poor.

"Drastic law against private monopoly with imprisonment penalties only.

"Free hides, free coal, free lumber and free iron.

"Legislation to save Massachusetts manufacturers from their present handicap by unjust tariff on the raw material of their product.

"Fostering international commerce by generous and friendly concessions in the adjust-

ment of our tariff to all nations opening to us their markets for our products.

"Tearing down the tariff walls which trench monopoly and sustain enormous fortunes exacted from honest labor and flaunted in the face of the toilers by their gross and vicious possessors.

"Stringent laws as to raising of the price of necessities with imprisonment penalties only.

"Laws more just and liberal to the people, providing for the taking of public utility plants.

"The prevention of child-murder by more effective abortion laws.

"Laws providing imprisonment penalties only for wilful negligence by public officials in the performance of their duties.

"Repeal of the legislative agent act and enactment of laws making lobbying a crime with imprisonment penalties only.

"Laws providing for liberation of persons awaiting trial charged with misdemeanors, and of all minors under seventeen years awaiting trial for any crime, in the discretion of the district-attorney, without bail, that the poor and friendless may not suffer unjust and oppressive imprisonment.

"Laws providing that all offenders on whom fines are imposed may in all courts have liberty without bail for a reasonable time in which to earn the fines.

"No corporation or trust tools for the judiciary; that it may be free from the suspicion of being a place of reward for faithlessness to the people.

"Abolishment of capital punishment, that we may no longer be barbarians.

"More restrictive divorce laws that legalized immorality may be lessened.

"Defence of all divorce cases to be conducted by district-attorneys, that collusion extensively practiced now may cease.

"Repeal of legislative immunity act, that criminals may no longer bribe and be bribed with legal impunity.

"That nomination of all candidates for elective office be by direct vote, that the will of the voter may not be thwarted by the purchase and sale of delegates.

"Laws providing that the district-attorneys shall appear for all persons whose liberty is endangered by insanity proceedings, that no person may be confined unjustly.

"Liberal treatment of veterans of the Civil war within the limits of judicially declared law.

"Single-headed commissions, the appointee

to be removable at will of the governor, that corporate subservency by officials may cease.

"Shorter terms of service for grand jurors, that criminals may not control their action.

"Laws defining what conduct of grand jurors shall be criminal and providing penalties therefor.

"Prohibition, with imprisonment penalties only, of political contributions, directly or indirectly, by corporations.

"Stringent laws against bucket-shops.

"Laws as to employers' liability for accidents more protective of employes.

"Laws providing that judges in setting aside verdicts shall in writing assign the reasons therefor, reviewable by the Supreme Court.

"No interference with legislators except by written message.

"More stringent laws as to receipt, expenditure and accounting of money by campaign committees.

"To the support of this platform, advocated by men who mean to enforce it, will come that irresistible public sentiment which sustained and supported those great leaders of men, Bryan, Hearst and Folk, who in the foreground of political contests battled for Democratic principles."

The Labor Giant Enters The Political Arena.

IN COMMENTING ON the successful victory won by the Labor party in England at the last election, we ventured the hope that the inspiring example set by the social reformers of the mother country would be followed by our labor organizations, which had up to that time persistently acted on the advice of the money-controlled political machine managers in the old parties, with the result that labor had ceased to be feared and the rights of the people, both the producing and consuming millions, were more and more becoming subordinated to the selfish interests of the real rulers of the country—the criminal rich, the trust magnates and the public-service chieftains who controlled the party-bosses and machines and who had already manned the government largely with a picked crew known to be loyal to protected interests and therefore to be counted upon in all battles between the people and the trusts and corporations.

Fortunately for the Republic, the victory in England did not awaken our plutocracy

to its peril, else the few crumbs asked for by the American Federation of Labor would have been graciously granted. Instead, when the Federation appealed to Congress for certain just and necessary concessions, Speaker Cannon and his allies who are henchmen of the trusts, monopolies and protected interests took occasion, figuratively speaking, to kick Mr. Gompers and his associates out of Congress, where their presence was offensive to plutocracy and thus considered by the minions of corporate wealth as an intrusion. This last indignity spurred labor to enter politics, and the latter part of July was signalized by the publication of a ringing address to the Labor Union forces of America by the leaders of the American Federation of Labor, urging the workers to go into politics for the purpose of supporting only men pledged to the interests of labor and favorable to Direct-Legislation; and in cases where there was any question as to the loyalty or trustworthiness of the candidates nominated, the Federation urged the naming of independent Labor Union candidates. Mr. Gompers supplemented this address a little later by a speech in New York

City in which he voiced the new declaration of freedom of the bread-winners in an aggressive and statesmanlike utterance.

For several reasons, which space prevents our dwelling upon at present, we do not anticipate any sweeping results at the forthcoming election, but we do predict that several labor members and a number of other nominees distinctly pledged to labor will be elected, and that this election will mark the entrance of a labor wedge in Congress that shall soon become one of the most powerful and helpful influences in our government; for the Labor Unions are pledged to Direct-Legislation and the American ideal in government as opposed to the reactionary, plutocratic, militaristic and imperialistic ideals that have prevailed since the corporations, privileged interests and military advocates have gained ascendancy in the Republic. Therefore we hail with pleasure this most hopeful omen for true democracy—the awakening of the toilers and their unification for the best interests of the wealth-creators and for the protection and maintenance of the cause of free government.

THE PRIVILEGED INTERESTS THAT PREY ON THE PEOPLE, AND THEIR UPHOLDERS.

Further Revelations of The Beef-Trust's Crime Against The People.

MR. ARMOUR, it will be remembered, some months ago, before the President instituted the investigation to substantiate or disprove the statements made by Mr. Sinclair in *The Jungle*, published a sweeping and detailed denial of the charges made against his firm and indulged in no little glorification of the perfection to which the Armour Company had brought all branches of its industry. The paper was evidently intended as an answer not only to Mr. Sinclair, but also to Mr. Charles Russell of *Everybody's Magazine*. Mr. Armour was very insistent in his claim that his works were models of cleanliness and healthfulness and his business a fine example of probity and honesty. If we are to believe him, the public had nothing to fear from bad products or adulterations from the Armour products.

Mr. Upton Sinclair replied to Mr. Armour in *Everybody's Magazine*. His paper was one of the most remarkable contributions that has appeared in recent years,—noteworthy in many respects, but especially remarkable from the fact that the brilliant young novelist sedulously refrained from any form of special pleading or from thrusting his own views or opinions on the public. His paper might have been the carefully prepared brief of an able lawyer, so free was it from everything other than the massing of facts—indisputable facts—and damning evidence which if true should forever bar the guilty not only from the confidence of the meat-consuming public, but also from the society of respectable men and women; and if not true, the publication of such gross and criminal libel should have led to the punishment of the author and publisher.

Nor was this all. Mr. Sinclair supplemented his amazing and terrible indictment



Lorey, in Salt Lake Herald

A DAY IN PACKINGTOWN.

by an open letter to the press and public, calling attention to the indictment and adding that if one-tenth of what he charged was true, Mr. Armour ought to be hanged, and on the other hand, if one-tenth of what he circumstantially charged was false, he should be sent to prison for criminal libel, and he challenged Mr. Armour to test the truth of his charges by bringing the case into the courts.

What answer would an innocent man, charged with the crimes with which Sinclair charged Armour, have made to this terrible indictment scattered all over the land? Would not any man, if he had dared to come into court, have promptly prosecuted the respon-

sible publishers for damages and proceeded against the author for criminal libel? What course did Mr. Armour take? Precisely the same which marked his action after the embalmed-beef scandal, in connection with the frightful mortality among our soldiers during the Spanish war, had aroused the American people and there seemed danger of a genuine investigation. He flooded the country with advertisements of his products—laudatory advertisements that served the double purpose of silencing venal papers and deceiving the unthinking; and this wholesale advertising in the press, by posters and street-car cards is now being supplemented by a truly amazing

pamphlet which is being scattered broadcast.

On July 11th we received one of these pamphlets, on the cover of which was printed in large letters: "Armour's packing-houses are clean. Armour's methods are good." On the same day the Boston papers published the result of an exhaustive examination conducted by Dr. Charles Harrington of the Massachusetts Board of Health as to the quality of leading and much-advertised tinned or canned meat products.

Character of Armour's Canned Goods Officially Exposed.

The investigation proved not only the inferior quality of the Armour products,—not only that they contained *débris*, epidermis, salivary glands and connective tissue, and were in instances bad color and greasy in character, but that corn-meal had been substituted for the muscular tissue which was supposed to be the chief element in the product and which was the principle element in the first-class brands of canned meats, such as those of the Richardson & Robbins Company and of Underwood, for example. The fraudulent introduction of corn-meal in the place of the meat muscle which the defrauded people were supposed to be purchasing, as Dr. Harrington well points out, "adds nothing to the flavor, but it is cheap and enables the meat products to carry considerable water."

The color, which is so tell-tale a characteristic of chicken and turkey products, was in Armour's "Veribest" pronounced by the Massachusetts official to be bad. Here are the reports of Dr. Harrington on the results of his investigation of the Armour "Veribest" and other brands of ham loaf, beef loaf, boned turkey, boned chicken, chicken loaf and potted ox-tongue, which we take from the Boston evening papers of July 11th and the Boston *Herald* of July 12th:

"*Ham Loaf*.—Armour & Company, Chicago. 'Veribest.' *Prolonged microscopic examination reveals some muscle; chiefly connective tissue and corn-meal. Preserved with boric acid or borax. The label states that the meat in the package has been inspected in accordance with the provisions of act of Congress of March 3, 1891.*"

"*Beef Loaf*.—Armour & Company, Chicago. 'Veribest.' Muscle fiber scarce; much corn-meal."

"*Boned Turkey*.—Armour & Company, Chicago. 'Veribest.' Of bad color and

greasy character; contains small fragments of meat, some feathers and large fragments of skin. Quality inferior."

"*Boned Chicken*, instance.—Armour & Company, Chicago. 'Veribest.' Two specimens examined were bad in color and appearance; they contained small fragments of meat and large pieces of skin which contained pinfeathers, fragments of leg-bones and an occasional black feather."

"*Chicken Loaf*.—Armour & Company, Chicago. 'Veribest.' Contains a small amount of muscular fiber, and a large amount of corn-meal."

"*Potted Ox-Tongue*.—Armour & Company, Chicago. Little muscular fiber; chiefly epidermis, salivary gland and corn-meal."

Space forbids our giving the result of Dr. Harrington's examination of the products of other leading firms. For the information of the meat-eating public, however, it is important to note that the only firms mentioned whose goods appeared in this report to be uniformly of excellent quality are the Richardson & Robbins Company of Dover, Delaware, and the William Underwood Company of Boston. The products of the Franco-American Company were also endorsed as either excellent in quality or good; and the poultry products of the Curtice Brothers Company of Rochester, New York, were pronounced of excellent quality.

Wholesale Condemnation of Beef Packers' Meat Products in Pennsylvania.

Dispatches to the Boston *Herald* from Philadelphia, dated June 11th, contained the following news-item relating to the wholesale condemnation of the products of the big meat-packers:

"Inspectors of the bureau of health to-day concluded the condemnation and destruction of \$3,000 pounds of impure meats found in the cold-storage plant of the Delaware Freezing Company."

"Pure Food Commissioner Warren says that since the recent crusade against doctored meats in this state twenty-four western Pennsylvania counties have paid \$72,000 in fines for selling adulterated and doctored products of the big meat-packers."

It would be difficult to overestimate the debt which the public owes to the despised "muck-rakers" who have forced this general investigation and the resulting exposure of



R. D. Handy.

bad and adulterated products that were sailing under false pretenses and deceiving and poisoning a confiding public. The destruction of spoilt meat has doubtless saved many valuable lives, while the warning given the public against using the products of men who have forfeited all claim to public confidence by deliberately engaging in fraudulent practices, by the publication of such disclosures as have been made by Messrs. Russell and Sinclair and such official reports as that of Dr. Harrington, will not only save tens of thousands of people from being longer the dupes of the great moral criminals, but they will further aid in educating the public to the importance of driving the great and corrupt corporations out of politics and the enacting of drastic legislation imposing prison penalties on all persons selling diseased, spoilt or adulterated food-products to the people, or who otherwise defraud by false pretences.

Adulterated Food Bearing Government Inspection Stamp.

One of the most sinister facts in Dr. Harrington's report is the misleading character of the labels used by certain of the large packers for some of their products. These labels bore the government's O. K., and yet the products were found to be preserved with chemical poisons and to contain chiefly

adulterations and material other than what the goods pretended to carry.

Thanks to Speaker Cannon and other henchmen of the beef-trust, and in spite of Senator Beveridge and President Roosevelt, the American public is saddled with the burden of a bill of over three million dollars per year for making the beef-trust stop selling diseased, filthy and adulterated products to the public. Yet while the same officials are in office as those under whom the abuses to which we have alluded have taken place, and that were responsible for the filthy and vile conditions exposed by the Neill-Reynolds report, what assurance have we that the same abuses will not continue, in spite of the payment of this enormous sum for work which any honest government, which placed the right and interest of the people above the interests of campaign-contributing and corrupt corporations, would have compelled the beef-trust to pay?

On the sinister aspect of governmental guarantee placed on fraudulent preparations, the *Boston Herald* on July 18th in the course of an extended editorial said:

"Perhaps the most disappointing feature of the report is the announcement that some of the canned goods, which on investigation failed to stand a reasonable test, bore the claim of national inspection. For example, one brand of 'ham loaf' put up at Chicago was shown to be preserved with boric acid or borax, yet the label stated that the meat in the package had been inspected in accordance with the provision of act of Congress of March 3, 1891. Another brand of the same class of goods, also from Chicago, was found to be greatly adulterated, with the same boasting label regarding the inspection of the federal government. Corned beef preserved with either boric acid or borax also had the statement on the can that the contents were inspected under the act of Congress of March 3, 1891. It may not have been true in every case, but it certainly was in a number of instances, that the worst offenders were provided with what might have been accepted as a government stamp of approval. If that proves anything, it is that the federal supervision has been more or less of a farce, and yet this same force of inspectors, somewhat augmented, with the same heads of departments, is to carry out the new federal inspection law which is hailed as the panacea for all the meat-packing evils."

[illegible]

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more momentous battle will be fought this autumn than that in Pennsylvania for the redemption of the state from as notorious a band of corruptionists, grafters and thieves as has ever infested a commonwealth. The old Quay machine is being threatened by a revolt led by thousands and tens of thousands of the best citizens of Pennsylvania, who, though in past years they have been loyal to the Republican party, are placing the cause of good government and civic righteousness above the pitiful, hypocritical pretences that the public-service companies, the corrupt monopolies and the corrupt political machine are using as stalking-horses in order to preserve the old and infamous régime. If by his aid the enemies of the Republic succeed in defeating the cause of good government, the Speaker will have endeared himself still more to the criminal rich.

On the other hand, his insolent contempt for the reasonable demands of labor have happily aroused the American toilers to a realization that the hope of the workmen lies in exerting their influence at the polls, precisely as plutocracy has for years been exerting its influence; and there is every reason to believe that the deliberate insults that Speaker Cannon and his lieutenants heaped upon the American Federation of Labor during the past winter will mark the beginning of a democratic renaissance in which the principles of free government and the rights of the people will gain ascendancy over the arrogant demands of the feudalism of wealth, and in that event we may hope that at no distant date the Cannons, the Aldriches, the Spooners, the Knoxes, the Penroses, the Forakers, the Drydens, and other henchmen of plutocracy will be relegated to private life.

Secretary Taft's False Witness in Regard to Mr. Bryan and The Trusts.

ONE OF the most startling and shameful facts that has marked the course of many prominent statesmen and officials since the supremacy of corporation-rule and imperialistic ideals in our government, is the recklessness in statement and the lack of all regard for truth evinced on many occasions, and not unfrequently when the allegations made were easily capable of disproof. Perhaps the most flagrant offence in this respect is found in one of Secretary Taft's recent utterances,—an utterance which was part of a statement



Bengough, in the Chicago Public.

A DRESS REHEARSAL.

THEODORE—I can't say I quite care for the style; and, of course, I'm not going to be a candidate anyway—but there's one thing certain beyond all question, that this is going to be the fashion for 1908!

that it is claimed was reviewed and sanctioned by the President, and in which the Secretary stated that "while Mr. Bryan has been most emphatic and eloquent in his description and denunciation of trusts and abuses of corporate organizations and wealth, his suggested remedies for their prompt suppression have been very vague."

No man in America knows better than Secretary Taft, unless it be President Roosevelt, who has so generously appropriated Mr. Bryan's definitely suggested remedies, that this statement is absolutely and unqualifiedly false. One of the chief grievances that the "safe and sane" grafting contingent of the Democratic party has had against Mr. Bryan was that his remedies were so definite and positive that the trusts, monopolies, high financiers and privileged interests in general, who are depended on by the bosses and managers of the money-controlled machine for sufficient capital to systematically defeat the men pledged to the people's interests, would bend every effort to prevent his election. Mr. Bryan was the moving spirit in dictating all the radical planks in the Democratic platforms of 1900 and 1904, and these planks, as Mr. Taft well knows, were merely the brief and succinct statements of remedies that Mr. Bryan before and since their issuance has steadfastly demanded. Here, for example, are four definite remedies proving the falsity of Mr. Taft's deliberate utterance and which were proposed in the Democratic platform:

"First—That the tariff be removed from all



Bengough, in Chicago Public.

THE TALENTED COPYIST.

GRAND OLD GOVERNMENT—Beautiful copied. Theodore, darling! And I will add that you seem somehow to have transformed the sentiments (which I have hitherto regarded as odious anarchy) into statesmanlike wisdom!

articles manufactured and controlled by a trust, 'to prevent monopoly under the plea of protection.'

"Second—That all corporations, before being permitted to engage in interstate commerce, be required to secure a federal license, to secure which they must first show that there is no water in their stock, and that they are not trying to monopolize any branch of business; they, if they fail to make such showing, shall not be permitted to engage in interstate commerce, and that they be denied the use of the mails.

"Third—That the laws against trusts and monopolies be strictly enforced, particularly the criminal laws.

"Fourth—That the scope of the interstate commerce law be enlarged so as to enable the commission to protect individuals and communities from discriminations and the public

from unjust and unfair transportation rates."

The Omaha *World-Herald* places Mr. Taft and President Roosevelt in a very uncomfortable position when it challenges "Secretary Taft or President Roosevelt, who endorsed his speech, to point to one single effort either advocated or resorted to by the present administration to suppress the trusts that is not involved in one or all of these remedies long ago urged by Mr. Bryan and the Democratic party."

It might be sufficient answer to Mr. Taft's false statement to reproduce the famous New York *World* cartoon, published by us a short time since, showing Mr. Bryan striving to hide his nakedness with a barrel, his clothes having been bodily appropriated by President Roosevelt who is represented as clad in the various specific remedies for the admitted evils that Mr. Bryan had so vigorously proposed. Certain it is, as the Omaha *World-Herald* well points out, that "every one of the measures which have contributed to make the present administration popular is a measure for which the administration is indebted to Mr. Bryan and the Democratic party."

What confidence can serious and thoughtful persons place in any statement made by a man who so brazenly juggles with facts as does Secretary Taft? The hour has come for the American people to relegate to private life the reckless special-pleaders who seem to have lost all sense of moral proportion, who sneer at high-minded, earnest moral reformers as "parlor Socialists," and who go up and down the country dispensing statements that are so manifestly false as to be an insult to the intelligence of the American nation.

THE NULLIFICATION OF THE ENDS OF FREE GOVERNMENT THROUGH JUDICIAL USURPATIONS IN THE INTERESTS OF CORPORATE WEALTH

A Leading Republican Journal on The Colorado Supreme Court.

WE CALL to mind no instance in the history of our country where judicial usurpation has been so brazen, so indefensible and so subversive of the fundamental demands of free government as that which has been practiced by the Supreme Court of Colorado

since the election on the face of the returns of Alva Adams and his deprivation by a majority vote of the Supreme Court of the office to which, presumably, the people had elevated him.

It will be remembered that on the occasion of this autocratic action of the Supreme Court, one of Senator Patterson's daily papers pub-



Gilbert.

THE HONEST COURT AND ITS HANDMAIDENS.**How the People Would Rejoice Could This Be Realized!**

lished a cartoon admirably illustrating conditions in Colorado brought about by the defeat of the will of the people through the arbitrary action of a majority of the Supreme Court. At that time the court went a step further in its attempt to substitute the spirit of Russian despotism for free government, by arresting and attempting to punish Senator Patterson on its ridiculous and indefensible theory of "constructive contempt." This action of the court, which had been widely criticized by the press, was as worthy of Jeffreys and the Star Chamber as it was unworthy of a republican government; while the action of Justice Gabbert and the majority of the Supreme Court, since the last municipal election in Denver, where flagrant fraud was practiced by the corrupt corporations which were bent on obtaining twenty-five million dollars' worth of public franchises, has been such as to arouse the more thoughtful people of various parties to the imminent peril of permitting such conditions. Here the Supreme Court of a commonwealth has nullified every effort of the judges of the lower courts

and the Honest Election League to properly investigate the frauds. If there had been no frauds committed whose investigation would have invalidated the elections and prevented the corrupt public-service companies from seizing the enormously rich franchises, there would have been no objection whatever to investigation. On the other hand, the corporations would naturally have welcomed the investigation, because they must know that with the evidences so strongly pointing to their obtaining their rights by fraud, the people will at no distant date in all probability declare all these claims invalid; whereas if an investigation had been had at the present time and it had been shown that the corporations had not stolen the election, the concessions would have been secured to them. But the enormous mass of evidence proving fraud to have been committed, and the desperate fight which the corporations have made to prevent any investigation of the frauds, indicate clearly that they know that the election was stolen and dare not face an investigation which in all probability would land many men now in

broadcloth in striped garments. The investigation was only prevented through the action of the Supreme Court of Colorado.

Among the great papers which have in a most outspoken manner recently condemned the usurpations of this court is the *Minneapolis Journal*, one of the leading Republican dailies of the Northwest. This paper quotes the following declaration of Judge Mullins, who but for the kindly interference of the Supreme Court in the interests of the corrupt franchise corporations, would have investigated the frauds:

"The showing of the Honest Elections league was such as to warrant the court in finding that the grossest frauds were committed on election day of May 15th last; that a bold and brazen attempt was made to steal the election, and on the face of the returns succeeded by the debauching of the ballot-boxes and the corruption of public officials in stealing valuable assets of the community; that public officials charged with the ferreting out of crime and the punishment of criminals were either parties to this outrage or were so negligent in the discharge of their duties as to make them *particeps criminis*."

In commenting on this phase of the battle between the friends of honest elections on the one hand and the franchise corporations and the Supreme Court on the other, the *Journal* says:

"Judge Mullins had previously attempted to call this grand jury and had, for reasons sufficient to himself, deposed the district-attorney and appointed special counsel to conduct the investigation. The district-attorney went to the Supreme Court for a writ of prohibition stopping Judge Mullins from further proceedings—as had already been done with Judge Johnson, another judge who attempted to take testimony as to frauds—and got it. But Judge Mullins refused to be prohibited. He has renewed his war on fraud, despite the Supreme Court, and proposes to get to the bottom of the matter, even though he cannot claim 'royal descent from the court of king's bench,' as the Supreme Court claims.

"The contest between the courts of Colorado illustrates how far a court may travel from its duty when it wants to find an excuse for covering up malfeasance. The Supreme Court of the state passed over the fact that frauds might have been committed and gave

injury done to the public in the voting and based its decision on the narrow ground that it alone had the power to initiate such proceedings as were contemplated by Judge Mullins. At the same time, the Supreme Court knew that the mistake of Judge Mullins, if he had made one, was merely one of assuming jurisdiction. It was willing, apparently, that the fraud might be perfected and the criminals walk off with the spoils while the two courts wrangled over a matter of precedence. This is the handiest kind of a court for a thieving corporation to have at its elbow."

A Great Law Journal Arraigns The Colorado Supreme Court.

PERHAPS the most important detailed arraignment of the Supreme Court and criticism of the appalling judicial conditions and evils now rampant in Colorado, is the following clear uncovering of the absolutely indefensible position of the court by the thoughtful editor of the very influential and widely circulated legal publication, *The Central Law Journal* of St. Louis, Missouri. In its issue of July 13th the editor says:

"We have taken opportunity on many occasions recently to exercise the high prerogative of a national law-journal to criticise the decisions of courts of last resort wherever we believe such courts have departed from the pure reason and logic of the law and have allowed the rush of business, the peculiarly hard circumstances of the particular case, or the influence of political affiliations, to drive them into error, for which not only they themselves but members of the bar must also suffer. For such decisions are like two-edged swords, they come back to smite friend as well as foe and throw the whole system of jurisprudence of a state into confusion.

"There has resulted such a condition in the State of Colorado, and the *Supreme Court of that state*, by reason of a gross error committed in the interest of a political party with which the majority of the court are in close affiliation, has been confronted with the attempted application of the erroneous principle thus announced under circumstances never conceived of and has served to bring down upon that court the wrath and disgust of both the profession and the people of Colorado. Instead of receding from their former erroneous position gracefully they clumsily endeavored, in the recent decision to which we refer, to distinguish condi-

tions which are exactly similar principles of law and thus 'worse confound confusion.' This decision also naturally lays the members of the court open to the charge, however unfounded, that they are under the control of the influences in whose favor each decision was practically rendered.

"The story is still fresh in the public mind how the Hon. Alva Adams, elected on the face of the returns as Governor of Colorado, was practically deprived of the fruits of the election by the Supreme Court of that state in drawing to itself and actually exercising a jurisdiction which it was never intended it should possess, i. e., that of controlling elections and passing *sua sponte* and practically *ex parte* on questions of fraud in such election. This case was the celebrated so-called 'Tool case,' in which the Supreme Court took the unprecedented action of assuming charge of an election, through a high writ of injunction, and punishing alleged ballot stuffers with jail sentences for contempt of court—and throwing out entire precincts on the ground that frauds had been committed therein. On the face of things, the decision was at once condemned by all members of the bar.

... Recently, however, a district court of the city of Denver, presided over by Judge Frank T. Johnson, correctly presuming that his court, being a court of general jurisdiction, could exercise any original jurisdiction claimed and exercised by the appellate court of his state, presumed to exercise the power to control elections with respect to a local election in the city of Denver held to declare the public will on the granting of certain franchises. By issuing blanket injunctions against fraudulent voting by corporation hirelings, Judge Johnson on the day after the election, on proceedings as for contempt, proceeds to hear evidence as to fraudulent voting and was on the point of filling up the jail of the city of Denver with many prominent politicians and of reversing the *prima facie* result of the election when he was suddenly halted in his wild career by a writ of prohibition from the Supreme Court. The writ of prohibition was very properly granted. Judge Johnson was exercising a jurisdiction which no state has thought wise to confer on the judiciary, but the fault did not lie with Judge Johnson, but with the Supreme Court itself in attempting to exercise such a power itself. For if the Supreme Court of a state can exercise any original jurisdiction not specially conferred upon it exclusively, a court of general juris-



Carpenter, in Denver News.

THE NEW JUDICIAL THRONE.

THE COURT—I am the king. I rest my right on royal prerogative. Who dare assail my acts with my valiant generals surrounding me?

diction has *ipso facto* the same jurisdiction; as such courts, in Colorado, as in all other states, have jurisdiction 'in all cases of law and equity,' and appellate courts where they are given original jurisdiction, as they are in Colorado and many other states, to issue writs of injunction, mandamus, prohibition and other remedial writs, cannot presume that such jurisdiction is exclusive, or confers on them any powers not already possessed by courts of general jurisdiction throughout the state.

"Where the Supreme Court has seriously blundered, and that without any extenuating circumstances, is in its failure to confess its error in the 'Tool case' and in arrogantly assuming that they themselves had an exclusive right to directly supervise all the elections of the state without let or hindrance by the exercise of what they are pleased to call the 'high prerogative writ of injunction,' while other courts of general jurisdiction throughout the state have no such power. The argument by which the court reaches this absurd conclusion is replete with references to the com-

mon law dating from a period of English history when the King and his Star Chamber exercised 'prerogative writs' in a manner which would not be tolerated for a moment in any state in the union.

"The point of this whole controversy was not hidden from the Supreme Court of Colorado, and they must necessarily have closed their eyes to the light, for that able attorney, Hon. Edward P. Costigan, representing the lower court, clearly pointed out to the Supreme Court that it could not possess any original jurisdiction not possessed by the district courts. . . . Two of the members of the Colorado Supreme Court, to-wit, Justices Steele and Gunter, clearly perceived the ridiculousness of the position assumed by the majority of the court and were apparently disgusted at the puerile argument of the majority. Justice Steele, speaking for himself and Justice Gunter, dissented from the decision in the principal case, as he did from the decision in the 'Tool case,' and in his dissenting opinion agrees with the contention of Mr. Costigan that while no precedent existed for the 'Tool case,'

nevertheless, until reversed, it was the law. This is the exact language of Justice Steele: 'The "Tool case" declared that it was within the power of a court of equity to supervise elections by injunction. As the constitution clothes the district court with original jurisdiction of all causes of law and equity, when this court holds that it alone has the power of supervising elections, it arrogates to itself an exclusiveness expressly disavowed in many of its opinions and assumes a superiority denied it by the constitution.'

"Several prominent members of the bar of Colorado have written us deploring the situation and requesting our assistance in finding a way out of this judicial dilemma. *We regret that we can go no further than to express our deep sympathy with the endeavors of the members of the bar of the State of Colorado to correct the appalling judicial conditions now existing in that state and to assure them that the power of a united profession, if properly exercised, will very promptly and effectually correct the existing evils and give to the state an appellate judiciary of which it needs not be ashamed.*"

THE WORLD BEYOND OUR BORDERS.

Extension of Municipal Trading in Old-World Cities.

SOME time since, in a personal letter the Hon. Frederic C. Howe, author of *The City the Hope of Democracy*, wrote us that he believed that in addition to municipal-ownership of such public utilities as water, light and transportation, it would be wise and necessary in many instances for the municipalities to take charge of the supply of such commodities as fuel, milk and ice. Especially would this be advisable in cases where trusts and combinations sought to levy extortionate charges or where the health of the community could be better safeguarded by complete municipal supervision.

These advance steps we believe will be taken at no distant day, in spite of the desperate efforts being made by thieving corporations to convince the public that it is better for the community to submit to systematic, persistent and wholesale robbery in order that a few citizens can acquire millions upon millions of

dollars as the fruit of indirection and extortion, though through the continuation of this oppression the municipal government is being vitally enervated through systematic corruption on the part of the corporations that enjoy monopoly rights and are dominated by avarice.

The result of the municipalities taking over the water supply has been so eminently satisfactory that there are few critics to-day who have the hardihood to advocate a return to private corporate control. Equally satisfactory has been each extension of municipal service in Old World cities. New Zealand, by extending state ownership and operation to the coal mines, has already protected her citizens from the extortion of the coal-barons and saved them vast sums of money that otherwise would have been diverted into the pockets of the few. Several European cities have steadily enlarged their municipal functions during recent decades, establishing municipal plants for handling such commodities as milk, meat and bread, and at every step the wisdom

of such a course has been so amply vindicated that opposition has steadily decreased. This has been notably the case in English and German municipalities, and now comes the report of a similar success in Sicily.

Unqualified Success of Municipal Bakeries in Sicily.

Press dispatches from Rome to American papers, dated July 21st, contain the following interesting reports of the successful extension of municipal functions in regard to the manufacture and disbursement of one of the great staples of life:

"Municipal ownership has proved a great success in the city of Catania, Sicily, where four years ago the municipality found it advisable to establish a municipal bakery because of dissensions between master-bakers and workmen which often deprived the population of the necessary amount of bread.

"Since then the ovens have been increased from eighteen to sixty-two and the price of bread has been reduced to one and a half cents a pound. The city now employs 538 workmen, all well paid, and it daily produces 140,000 pounds of bread.

"Many other Sicilian cities have now adopted the experiment with great success, among them Palermo and Messina.

"It is now intended to obtain from the Italian government a concession to create under municipal ownership butcher shops, milk farms and ice factories, and to manage the distribution of gas and electricity and the street cars under the same system.

"There is also a plan to have the municipalities run their own theaters and even saaloons."

The Vindication of Dreyfus.

IN NO recent act has France displayed more moral courage than in instructing the supreme court of the nation to carefully sift the evidence in the Dreyfus case and render a decision in accordance with the facts. The court also deserves the thanks of the lovers of justice and humanity everywhere for its painstaking labors which forced it to conclude that Dreyfus was entirely innocent of the heinous crimes of which he was accused, and which revealed the fact that he was made the deliberate victim of the forgeries and perjuries of reactionary interests and unscrupulous individuals.



Macanley, in *New York World*.

UNSHACKLED.

The case of Dreyfus affords one of those curious instances in history wherein the victim of injustice becomes the instrument in the hands of an inscrutable fate for the restoration and salvation of a nation when in deadly peril. It would be difficult to exaggerate the deadly danger that menaced France at the time when this young Jewish officer was arrested, brutally insulted and condemned, first to death and later to life imprisonment in a fever-infested and lonely island, far from home and civilization. For several years prior to this outrage the monarchical, military and reactionary clerical influences in France had been working in perfect unison to completely capture the army, to entrench themselves in government in its various other branches and to destroy the power and efficiency of the free schools of France while building up again the old religious orders which in the monarchical and despotic ages had been only second to the throne in power. Step by step, silently and persistently, this reactionary movement was pressed forward, and at every step the government became more timid. But one thing seemed to be necessary in order that the spirit of democracy should be put in full retreat, and that was that the religious prejudices of the people should be aroused along racial lines, so that Jews, from whom the reactionary clericals

could gain no aid nor comfort, and the discontented laboring men and the *bourgeoisie* who were becoming more and more restless over the growing arrogance of the military and clerical influences, should be put at sword points, so to speak. This would render any union of the liberal forces impossible. It would arouse again the unreasoning fervor for the church among many who were then loudly condemning many actions of the more reactionary element.

Hence Dreyfus, the Jew, was selected as the victim and from one end of France to the other every reactionary agency opened its batteries against the Jews. Precisely the same tactics were employed as have for years been employed in Russia in order to set the peasants and the unthinking masses against the Hebrews of that country. For a time all went as the reactionaries desired, but the friends of justice, freedom and right, though apparently in a hopeless minority, were imbued with that splendid moral courage which has been the spiritual fulcrum of the ages. Persistently, determinedly and at the peril of their own lives and standing in society, they attacked the findings of the army and demanded justice and a fair trial for Dreyfus.

For a time it seemed as if the government would be successful in its effort to stifle investigation, but in the very darkest hour Emile Zola, the novelist who in recent years had become also a great social reformer, deliberately risked freedom, property and popularity in the defence of the defenceless one. His powerful denunciation of the infamy of the government, in his famous manifesto entitled *I Accuse!* electrified the friends of truth and justice throughout the world. For a time the great French novelist was the victim of the alarmed government no less than the inflamed and deceived populace. But his denunciation had done its work. The case had been stated so clearly, so forcibly and so convincingly that the conscience of civilization imperatively demanded a review of the charges. From that date the reactionaries lost their hold on the government. The republican spirit reasserted itself. It was as if democracy were born again, and from the hour when France was great enough to admit a possible mistake and to take steps to rectify it, she has faced the morning. From that hour she has trodden uninterruptedly the highway of democracy and freedom. Zola has been vin-



Jack, in Pueblo Star-Journal.

DREYFUS VICTORIOUS AND VINDICATED.

Now that Captain Dreyfus has killed the Dragon, the French should carefully destroy its eggs in the War Department.

dedicated, Dreyfus has been vindicated, and France has arisen from her humiliation and shame morally greater than ever before.

True, the wrong can never be wholly righted, but the nation is doing all in its power to atone. Dreyfus has not only been restored and promoted, the Chamber has not only voted him the Medal of the Legion of Honor, but he has been given command of the artillery corps stationed at Vincennes, which is in charge during governmental functions,—the most envied position in the army. Colonel Picquart has also been restored to the army and promoted, while parliament has voted to transfer the body of Zola to the Pantheon.

Such brave action on the part of a government in acknowledging wrongs done and in making such reparation as is now possible, is an inspiration to all friends of human progress and enlightenment, and it cannot fail to greatly raise France in the regard of all lovers of truth, justice and freedom.

Russia Again in The Shadow of Medieval Despotism.

THE CZAR has again surrendered to the unhuman bureaucrats, proved faithless to his rescript of October, and has dissolved the Douma after the reactionaries had vainly striven to make the popular body merely a

Warren, in *Boston Herald*.**THE MODERN AJAX.**

craven tool for the despots or to exasperate its members until they should commit some act that would give an excuse for the Czar to act as he desired.

At the assembling of the parliament the Czar proved false to his former pledges by the issuance of what he termed the "fundamental law"—declarations aimed to take away the fundamental rights which he had guaranteed to the people in his former pledge given at the time when he was terrified lest the revolution should deprive him of his throne; and the inexcusable dissolving of parliament affords a further exhibition of the utter insincerity and untrustworthy character of the present Czar.

The Douma had exhibited a remarkable degree of firmness, moderation and aggressive courage that must have surprised and disappointed the upholders of reaction. The constitutional democrats, the revolutionary Socialists and the peasants also failed to fall upon one another, as had been confidently predicted by the upholders of autocracy. The surprising and statesmanlike attitude of the parliament left but two courses open to the Czar: either to be true to his own pledged word, to place himself at the head of a truly constitutional government such as he had promised the people, or to autocratically dissolve the parliament. He elected the latter course, and a reign of repression and despotism has set in much the same as that which

marked the administration of Von Plehve before his assassination.

The Douma, with a spirit that suggests the magnificent heroism of our own patriot leaders in the early days of our Revolutionary struggle, issued from Viborg, Finland, a challenge to the irresponsible autocracy in an address to the people in which they urged the Russians not to pay taxes or to enter the army so long as the government was false to its pledge.

The Czar has placed himself in the hands of the inhumanly brutal and reactionary Trepoff. Hence there is nothing to be hoped for on the part of the friends of freedom through peaceful methods, and we misjudge the Russian populace if, after their brief taste of the rights of government enjoyed by all civilized nations, they abandon the cause of freedom and submit supinely to an intolerable despotism.

If a reign of violence ensues, if bombs are exploded and assassinations become frequent, the Czar and his reactionary advisers will be responsible for the anarchal condition. They have invited it. They have betrayed their nation, proved recreant to the cause of civilization and should be one and all apprehended and committed to hard labor in the salt mines of Siberia for a term of years, in order that they may partially atone for the crimes which they have committed against their nation and her noblest sons.

Macanley, in *New York World*.**WHICH?**

Mr. Markham's Noble Poem on Russia.

SPEAKING of Russia reminds us of Edwin Markham's latest poem which appeared in the July issue of *Appleton's Magazine*. It is marked by the noble imagery and stately rhythm that characterize in so eminent a degree the verse of this greatest of living democratic bards. So fine is this poem that we reproduce two stanzas:

"Rise, Russia, to the great hour rise:
The dead are looking from the skies!
And God's hand, terrible with light,
Upbreaching from the arctic night,
Writes on the North with torch of fire—
Writes in one word the world's desire—

Writes awfully the Word of Man
Across the vast auroral span—
Writes 'Freedom!' that shall topple kings
And shake to dust their treasonings.

This is the hour; awake, arise!
A whisper on the Volga flies;
A wild hope on the Baltic leaps,
A terror over the Neva creeps;
A joy is on the trail that goes
Reddening the white Siberian snows;
The cliffs of Caucasus are stirred
With the glad wonder of a word;
The white wave of the Caspian speaks
And Ural answers from her peaks.
The Kremlin bells in all their towers
Wait trembling for the Hour of hours,
When they shall cry the People's will—
Cry Marathon and Bunker Hill!"

PRIME-MINISTER WARD ON NEW ZEALAND'S PROGRESS

Sir Joseph Ward: The New Prime-Minister of New Zealand.

DURING his recent visit to our country *en route* for his home, Sir Joseph Ward, who since the untimely death of Premier Seddon early in June has been chosen Prime-Minister of New Zealand, rendered an important service to the cause of free and just government in our Republic by giving a clear and succinct description of the remarkable progress of his island commonwealth under the Liberal progressive democratic government which, coming into power in 1891, has transformed the country, lifting it to a degree of prosperity enjoyed by few if any governments on the face of the earth, achieving this by frankly making the interest, happiness, progress and development of all the people the master-concern of the state and insisting that the magic slogan of democracy—equality of opportunities and of rights—shall be a living reality instead of a barren cry employed to divert popular attention from inequality born of privilege.

The new Prime-Minister has been in public life for over thirty years. He was long one of Mr. Seddon's most efficient aids in the cabinet and was one of the chief promoters of government ownership and operation of public utilities. His conspicuous service to his commonwealth, his great reputation as a constructive statesman and the confidence reposed in him by his people make his views

of special value. He knows whereof he speaks and if his prejudices are naturally favorable to the social advance movements of New Zealand in the promotion of which he has been so efficient and important a factor, they are shared by the vast majority of his countrymen, as was clearly shown by the overwhelming victory for his party won at the last election—a victory so sweeping as to almost obliterate all opposition.

On the eve of his departure for his home, Prime-Minister Ward gave our people, through the *New York American*, a statement of the actual results that have followed public-ownership and operation of natural monopolies, and also a brief description of some of the radical innovations by the progressive party of New Zealand during the last fifteen years, which constitutes the latest authoritative word about this progressive commonwealth; and though most of the points touched upon have already been luminously reported by Professor Frank Parsons in his monumental *Story of New Zealand*, and also in the two fine works written by the late Henry D. Lloyd after his extensive personal investigations in New Zealand, this latest report is of special worth, not merely because Sir Joseph fully confirms the statements and conclusions of these writers, but also because his statements are the well-weighed words of one of the foremost living statesmen of Australasia and constitute the verdict of a man who possesses the most in-

timate knowledge of the actual conditions in New Zealand.

Practical Results of Public Ownership in New Zealand.

In discussing the railways, Sir Joseph said that his government holds that "it is in the truest interests of our country to keep the rates down, and we make concessions to all classes of users of the railways. . . . It is sound policy to utilize our railways to help every class to build up industries; to assist agriculturists to ship to and from the seaboard at low rates, and to insure travel at low fares. . . . For upward of thirty years the government has controlled the railways, with a few exceptions at one time; that is, four or five railway companies were run by public corporations, but with one exception they have all been purchased by the government and have formed part of the state railway system for a number of years.

"There is now only one line of railway, with a mileage of between seventy and eighty miles, that is owned by a public corporation. It runs almost parallel with the government section of railways, some eighty miles apart. The colony has the right to purchase this line by arbitration.

"The right has not been availed of for the good reason that a privately-owned railway is bound by agreement with the colony to reduce its rates to the same as that of the government railways whenever reductions take place. In other words, they cannot charge a higher rate than that upon the government line, so that practically it is equivalent to being a state-owned railway. The railways have worked excellently under state control. There are two to three thousand miles in operation, employing between nine and ten thousand men and boys, and no women excepting those in charge of the rooms for women.

"The system has kept rates down to the lowest point, to insure the greatest advantage and the all-important one of assisting in the development of the country wherever railways traverse. We have eighteen lines in course of construction. The people would not give authority for the sale of the railways even if three times the value of construction or any sum were offered.

"The railways have stood the test of some thirty years and are kept in magnificent order, as is the rolling stock. . . .

"On these assets some 23,000,000 pounds

of money have been expended. The lines meet every condition. There is uniformity of charge for every section; there is no concession for the largest users as against the smallest. We have a publicly-gazetted tariff and no rebates are admitted."

"We have," says Sir Joseph, "owned the whole of the telegraphic and telephone systems ever since the country has had a responsible government."

Notable Example of Extension of Government Functions in The Interests of All The People.

It was Gladstone, we believe, who on one occasion said in substance that the true function of a government was to make it easy for the citizens to do right and difficult for them to do wrong. New Zealand has not only adopted this ideal, but has somewhat enlarged upon it, until it comprehends the settled policy of aiding every citizen who desires to succeed to become free, independent, prosperous and normally happy, by helping him in a wise and judicious manner and protecting him from the harpies of privilege that have in all ages enslaved the masses through force, craft, injustice or indirection. To safeguard the interests of the people, the government founded a state life-insurance department. It did not forbid or hamper other companies, but behind the state insurance stands the credit of the commonwealth, and thus the citizens who might with reason hesitate to pay their hard-earned money to companies operated by irresponsible individuals or corporations, feel perfectly safe in taking out a policy backed by the credit of New Zealand. This department, Premier Ward assures us, has proved "a very great success; the profits are invested for the benefit of the insurers, and none of the financial results are in any way claimed or owned by the government."

Seeing the people the victims of the coal-owning corporations and noting that the price of coal was raised to a rate higher than what was necessary in order to insure a reasonable profit on the investments, the government purchased coal mines and furnished coal at a just or reasonable price, thus compelling the individual coal operators to lower the price to what was fair and equitable.

One of the greatest disadvantages that the poor who are struggling to gain a home and independent condition in life have to contend with is the money-lender, who ever levies a

rate of interest as high as he can exact without coming clearly under the penalties for usury which laws against extortion impose. It has been the settled policy of New Zealand to aid in so far as possible every citizen to secure a home for himself and family; and appreciating the difficulty the poor had in securing money, through the unfair advantages taken by the money-changers, the parliament has, as Sir Joseph Ward points out, "established a government lending department, for advancing money to settlers. This has lowered the rate of interest on mortgages. The department has loaned upward of £5,000,000 without a single loss. We have," he adds, "a government post-office savings-bank, for deposits of any sum, and there is more than £8,800,000 sterling in this savings-bank. There have been no losses with investments by the post-office, which must be in state or other gilt-edge securities.

"The state provides a public trustee department, in which people lodge their wills or make disposition of their property, which is administered by this department. If any estate in the hands of the public trustee for the benefit of children, wife or family were maladministered the colony would be responsible.

"All of these departments are under control of an auditing department of statutory officers; their salaries cannot be reduced and their decisions cannot be reversed or interfered with.

"The control by the state of these departments years ago passed the experimental stage. They have been in every way a success, and I believe there is no one in our country who can put through legislation to dispense with any of these public utilities departments, which have been carried on for the benefit of the people of all classes."

The statesmen of New Zealand believe that it is the duty of the government to prevent enslavement of the toilers and the existence of conditions which will endanger the physical or moral health of the people. To meet abuses that were present, laws were enacted for the protection of the factory employés. Of this act the Prime-Minister observes:

"We introduced drastic legislation governing factories, stipulated for proper sanitary conditions and continuous inspection.

"We fix the number of hours per week that employés can work, making heavy fines for violations. At first this was opposed by some

employers, but others supported it warmly, and every intelligent person recognized that if all factory-owners were put upon the same footing they had an opportunity of fair competition. The humane employer would not subject his employés to a sweating either in pay or hours."

Radical Fiscal Reforms.

Perhaps nowhere has New Zealand displayed such a splendid degree of courage and wisdom as in her radical measures for raising necessary taxation. In our country the burden of taxation is very largely shifted by the over-rich corporations and the multi-millionaires to the backs of the laborers and persons of moderate means. One of the greatest scandals of the present in the United States is found in the way the multi-millionaires annually swear off their taxes, and if taxes even approximating the ratio the poor man pays are levied, these lords of privilege and monopoly move to another city or state where officials are more accommodating. Even more scandalous is the way in which the great public-service corporations evade just taxation. But New Zealand's statesmen refused to surrender the interests of the people to the avarice, dishonesty and cupidity of the few over-rich and privileged men and interests. They determined to arrange a system of taxation which it was believed would be more just and fair than has existed in any previous commonwealth. Under this system the government taxes land values, irrespective of improvements, and it complements this tax with graduated land and income taxes.

The Land-Value Tax.

In speaking of the land tax Sir Joseph says:

"We have spread the functions of the state materially. In 1891 we changed the fiscal system; we abolished the system of taxation that relieved those who held considerable interest in the colony from contributing their full share of taxation, and established a graduated land and income tax.

"We exempt all improvements from taxation. This is an incentive to the holders of land to make improvements, and gives a widespread employment. It has worked well, and in building there has been almost a revolution. Old places have been pulled down and new ones have gone up.

"The rate of ordinary land taxation is a penny a pound, and we have a graduated tax, increasing one-sixteenth of a penny a pound when the value is £5,000 and less than £7,000, and then that rate increases with the value of the property with a maximum of three pence to the pound, which is payable when the value is £210,000, or exceeds that sum."

Graduated Income Tax.

In explaining the graduated income tax the Prime-Minister said:

"A man who has an income up to £300 pays no income tax; a man who has an income of £1,000 pays a tax of sixpence on the pound, and one shilling per pound on any excess of £1,000,

"This is intended to relieve the worker from contributing taxation under this head. It is in our country one of those anomalies of the human system that the larger families generally are to be found among those receiving the smallest incomes, and to meet this we put it into shape that relief should be given to the smallest wage-earner."

The Settled Ideal of New Zealand's Statesmen.

The settled ideal of New Zealand's progressive democratic statesmen as explained by the

new Premier is the leveling up of the people by laws enacted with an eye single to justice and the greatest good for all.

"We do not, as a government or as a people, do anything in the direction of trying to level people down. Our laws affecting the regeneration of our country have gone toward making a purer and a better condition.

"Our people give equal opportunity to all, in every walk of life, to better their conditions without doing it at the expense of the many; the laws have been intended to improve their positions. They are democrats in the truest sense of the term."

The more one studies the steady progress by the step-by-step method pursued by the statesmen of New Zealand, especially during the past fifteen years, the more his admiration will be excited for the men who have placed the New England of the Southern Seas in the very van of the progressive nations of the civilized world, and the more the high-minded patriot is inspired to work for similar political, social and economic advance movements in our country, which shall break the imperial sway of class and privileged interests, destroy the power of corrupt plutocracy and the venal boss, and bring the government back into the hands of the people.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE ALIEN INTO THE AMERICAN CITIZEN.*

A BOOK-STUDY.

I. A MIRACLE IN SOCIOLOGY.

THE WORLDS of science and invention are not the only wonder-realms where seeming miracles are being wrought beneath the hurried gaze of our advancing civilization. Even in so apparently unpromising a field as sociology there are miracles to be seen by the serious-minded who study the changing pattern of life as the shuttle of time weaves the fabric of civilization; and perhaps nowhere and at no time has there been presented a greater marvel than the rapid transformation and the marvelous general uplift observable

in the lives of a large number of those who flee to our land from shores where despotism, oppression or biting poverty have darkened every window of hope that opens upon the fatherland. To these despairing ones for whom all avenues of escape are closed in the Old World, America is as a great beacon whose lamp of hope is perpetually beckoning them to brave the terrors of the deep and find a new life in the New World. To reach the land of Washington and Jefferson becomes the master-thought by day and the rose-colored dream by night.

We who have been recreant to the faith and the ideals of the fathers are wont to dwell morbidly upon the evil element that neces-

**The Life-Stories of Undistinguished Americans as Told by Themselves*. Edited by Hamilton Holt. Cloth. Pp. 300. New York: James Pott & Company.

sarily comes with the mighty tide of life that is annually swept upon our shores, and true it is that capitalism in its greed has drawn to America many very undesirable elements. But from the sturdy and brave-hearted who of their own initiative seek our shores, far more of good than evil will be realized by the Republic, if we are true to our high mission and if the immigrants do not fall the victims of the corrupting influences of those who pose as leaders and who have the power to make or mar the plastic clay that comes to us with child-like mind and with the strength and virility of generations of sturdy peasant ancestry.

A work has recently appeared bearing the title of *The Life-Stories of Undistinguished Americans*, that will help us to gain a clear and faithful idea of the wonderful transformation by which the serf of Russia, the peasant of ice-locked Scandinavia and of vine-clad Greece, the beggar boy of Naples, and other struggling ones who are under the wheel in many lands are by the alchemy of freedom and opportunity found in our Republic changed into self-respecting and worthy citizens of a great nation.

The chapters of this volume originally appeared in the *New York Independent*, and they have now been gathered together and edited by Mr. Hamilton Holt, the able managing editor of that journal. Though set down as biographical, they are autobiographical in character, being the life-stories as told by the different subjects, their peculiar phrasing being preserved as far as possible, although of course errors of speech and composition have been changed to conform to good usage. Although, as we shall presently see, the volume contains more life-stories than those which reveal "Americans in the making," the part of the work that is of special interest and value to our people, and especially to young men and women, is the pen-pictures of the serfs, the peasants and other unfortunates of the Old World who have come to this land unaided and penniless, often knowing nothing of our language, and yet have climbed to independence and success; for they cannot fail to spur our youths to nobler endeavor and strengthen and inspire many a drifting life that sees what those who have everything apparently against them have achieved and are achieving at our very door.

For the value of the lessons and the inspiration found in these simple lives, we select

four stories that are typical of the lives of thousands and tens of thousands of poor immigrants who reach our shores during every decade and who become integral parts of the composite Republic.

II. THE STORY OF A SWEDISH PEASANT.

The Scandinavians have long since proved themselves to be among the most thrifty, enterprising, industrious and successful of the foreigners who become citizens, and what is more, they make a highly desirable element, being honorable, sturdy and valuable members of society. The story here given of a Swedish farmer-boy might be duplicated, with slight variations, in thousands of instances, and is one of the most interesting and helpfully suggestive chapters of the volume. The subject, Axel Jarlson by name, describes at length the conditions that drove his brother to the New World and how his success led others of the family to achieve a like victory in the great Northwest.

The Jarlsons lived two hundred miles north of Stockholm in Sweden. They cultivated a small piece of land, had two cows, and by hard work during the open season on the land they tilled and on other farms, supplemented by wood-carving, cabinet-making, knitting and weaving in the winter, the family was able to eke out a precarious existence, always on the verge of want; but so long as they enjoyed health they managed to remain free from debt. At length the father and mother fell ill, and dark days came upon them. Their two cows were sold,—a serious loss, as it deprived them of an important food-supply and one of their few sources of financial revenue. They lived for a whole winter on black bread and potato gruel, with once in a while a herring, but even with such rigid economy they fell into debt and there seemed no possible way out from the abyss of want and wretchedness, until an uncle, a mate on a vessel sailing between Gothenburg and New York, urged them to send one of the boys to America, and offered to pay his passage to Minnesota if he would go. The uncle told a wonder-story of that land of opportunity over the sea, where able-bodied Swedes were rapidly growing rich and where all the willing workers earned many times as much as was possible in Sweden. The village schoolmaster also told them of many Swedes who were peasants in the Old World, but in America they had risen to great

positions, being high officials and men of as great influence as "lords in the Old World."

"So at last," says the young Swede, "it was decided that my brother was to go to America, and we spent the last day bidding him good-bye, as if we should never see him again. My mother and sisters cried a great deal, and begged him to write; my father told him not to forget us in that far-off country, but to do right and all would be well, and my uncle said that he would become a leader of the people."

A few months later a letter from the brother brought hope and joy to the struggling home folk in Sweden.

"I have," wrote the boy from Minnesota, "work with a farmer who pays me 64 kroner* a month, and my board. I send you 20 kroner and will try to send that every month. This is a good country. It is like Sweden in some ways. The winter is long, and there are some cold days, but everything grows that we can grow in our country, and there is plenty. All about me are Swedes, who have taken farms and are getting rich. They eat white bread and plenty of meat. The people here do not work such long hours as in Sweden, but they work much harder, and they have a great deal of machinery, so that the crop one farmer gathers will fill two big barns. One farmer, a Swede, made more than 25,000 kroner on his crop last year."

The brother did not forget his loved ones in the fatherland, for our narrator thus continues his story:

"After that we got a letter every month from my brother. He kept doing better and better, and at last he wrote that a farm had been given him by the Government. It was sixty acres of land, good soil, with plenty of timber on it and a river running alongside. He had two fine horses and a wagon and a sleigh, and he was busy clearing the land. He wanted his brother, Eric, to go to him, but we could not spare Eric, and so Knut, the third brother, was sent. He helped Gustaf for two years, and then he took a sixty-acre farm. Both sent money home to us, and soon they sent tickets for Hilda and Christine, two of my sisters."

Hilda married a wealthy Swede who held an important office in Minneapolis, before

*A kroner is about fifty cents in United States currency.

she had been in the country six months, and she went to live in a large brick house. She then sent for Axel, the narrator of the sketch, and his sister Helene. They likewise prospered. Axel worked for his brother Knut for a year and a half, earning \$304. Of this he spent only \$12, leaving him \$292. With this he began home-making, buying a bush farm for \$150 and paying \$50 of the amount down. He then hired a French-Indian to help him clear the land and set out for his new possessions.

"We took," he says, "two toboggans loaded with our goods and provisions, and made the ten-mile journey from my brother's house in three hours. The snow was eighteen inches deep on the level, but there was a good hard crust that bore us perfectly most of the way. The cold was about 10 below zero, but we were steaming when we got to the end of our journey.

"We went into a pine grove about half way up the hill and picked out a fallen tree, with a trunk nearly five feet thick, to make one side of our first house. This tree lay from east to west. So we made a platform on the south side by stamping the snow down hard. On top of this platform we laid spruce boughs a foot deep and covered the spruce boughs over with a rubber blanket. We cut poles, about twenty of them, and laid them sloping from the snow up to the top of the tree trunk. Over these we spread canvas, and over that again large pieces of oilcloth. Then we banked up the snow on back and side, built a fire in front in the angle made by the tree root, and, as we each had two pairs of blankets, we were ready for anything from a flood to a hurricane."

By seed-time they had twelve acres ready for planting, and these were cultivated with a hoe and spade. In addition to the cultivation of the land, the young man and his helper built a log-house, a barn for two oxen he had purchased, and a cellar for fruit and vegetables. His sister Helene came up in the summer and they posted a sign on the river-bank, offering fifty cents cash for every twelve quarts of strawberries, raspberries or blackberries delivered at their cottage. For several weeks Indians came every day laden with the wild fruit which they had gathered and which grows in great abundance throughout that territory. This fruit the sister canned and

preserved and the young man sold to the store-keeper.

At the end of the year, in addition to paying \$50 on his farm, \$120 to his hired man and \$112 to his sister, he found he had \$269.83 in cash and food for five months on hand. The second year, after paying another \$50 on his home and meeting all his expenses, including \$62 for extracting stumps and making roads, he had a net profit of \$600.

This young man, like his sisters and brothers that were in this country, has become an enthusiastic American, loving his adopted land; and at the time of giving his life-story he stated that the brothers and sisters in the New World were planning to bring the father and mother and the remaining brother and sister over, that the whole family might enjoy the land which had opened to them the door of prosperity and where they enjoyed a degree of freedom and happiness not known before.

III. THE STORY OF AN ITALIAN BOOTBLACK.

Turning from ice-locked Sweden to vine-clad Italy, we have a glimpse of what America is doing for the poor of the ancient land of the Cæsars. In the story told by one who had been a Neapolitan beggar-boy we have a tale quite as suggestive as that of the Swede and illustrative of the wonderful possibilities that are before the oppressed and unfortunate when they have the will, the determination, the perseverance and the power to save money and persistently follow some special work till they succeed. Rocco Corresca, who tells this life-story, states that his first recollections were associated with a large home where there were many other boys, all dressed alike. Nuns were over them, and evidently the institution was some kind of an orphan-asylum or a home for destitute children. It was situated on a mountain side, surrounded by grape-vines, oranges, plums and other fruits. Here he was taught his letters and how to pray. Here he worked in the fields with the other boys and had plenty to eat and good beds to sleep in.

"Those," he says, "were good times and they lasted till I was nearly eight years of age. Then an old man came and said he was my grandfather. He showed some papers and cried over me and said that the money had come at last and now he could take me to his beautiful home. He seemed very glad to see me and after they had looked at his papers

he took me away and we went to the big city—Naples. He kept talking about his beautiful house, but when we got there it was a dark cellar that he lived in and I did not like it at all. . . . There were four other boys in the cellar and the old man said they were all my brothers. All were larger than I and they beat me at first till one day Francesco said that they should not beat me any more, and then Paolo, who was the largest of all, fought him till Francesco drew a knife and gave him a cut. Then Paolo, too, got a knife and said that he would kill Francesco, but the old man knocked them both down with a stick and took their knives away and gave them beatings.

"Each morning we boys all went out to beg and we begged all day near the churches and at night near the theaters, running to the carriages and opening the doors and then getting in the way of the people so that they had to give us money or walk over us. The old man often watched us and at night he took all the money, except when we could hide something.

"We played tricks on the people, for when we saw some coming that we thought were rich I began to cry and covered my face and stood on one foot, and the others gathered around me and said:

"'Do n't cry! Do n't cry!'

"Then the ladies would stop and ask: 'What is he crying about? What is the matter, little boy?'

"Francesco or Paolo would answer: 'He is very sad because his mother is dead and they have laid her in the grave.'

"Then the ladies would give me money and the others would take most of it from me.

"The old man told us to follow the Americans and the English people, as they were all rich, and if we annoyed them enough they would give us plenty of money. He taught us that if a young man was walking with a young woman he would always give us silver because he would be ashamed to let the young woman see him give us less."

This old man was one of many similar human fiends who throng Naples, where begging and stealing are such popular professions. When the boys came home at night he used to accuse them of taking some of the money for food, and, not satisfied with their denial, "he used," says Rocco, "to feel us and smell us to see if we had eaten anything, and he often beat us for eating when we had not eaten."

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"Early in the morning we had breakfast of black bread rubbed over with garlic or with a herring to give it a flavor. The old man would eat the garlic or the herring himself, but he would rub our bread with it, which he said was as good. He told us that boys should not be greedy and that it was good to fast and that all the saints had fasted.

"It was very hard in the winter time for we had no shoes and we shivered a great deal. The old man said that we were no good, that we were ruining him, that we did not bring in enough money. He told me that I was fat and that people would not give money to fat beggars. He beat me, too, because I did n't like to steal, as I had heard it was wrong.

"The others all stole as well as begged, but I did n't like it and Francesco did n't like it either.

"Then the old man said to me: 'If you do n't want to be a thief you can be a cripple. That is an easy life and they make a great deal of money.'

"I was frightened then, and that night I heard him talking to one of the men that came to see him. He asked how much he would charge to make me a good cripple like those that crawl about the church. They had a dispute, but at last they agreed and the man said that I should be made so that people would shudder and give me plenty of money."

Naturally the lad was terrified and the next morning he and Francesco ran away. They finally got work with some fishermen at a village some distance from Naples. Here the chief fisherman befriended them and taught them fundamental morality, explaining that, to use the boy's own language, "all the old man had taught us was wrong—that it was bad to beg, to steal and to tell lies. He called in the priest and the priest said the same thing and was very angry at the old man in Naples, and he taught us to read and write in the evenings."

Later the two youths came to America, serving as stokers on the ship, but they had a hard time at first, as they fell into the hands of an Italian padrone who treated them much as slaves, until they learned their rights, which was almost a year after landing. Then they ran away and got work at Newark, New Jersey, under an Irish contractor. They saved every penny possible and at the end of six

months they each had almost two hundred dollars saved. In the meantime they had learned English from fellow-workmen who had learned something of the language. They taught their countrymen to read and write in return for their instruction in English during the long evenings. The contractor finally told them he had no more work, so they went to Brooklyn and volunteered to help a boot-black gratis in order to learn the trade. This done, they secured a basement near one of the ferries and opened a bootblacking establishment of their own. They made money from the first, but still saved every penny possible and lived on very frugal fare. They had planned to go back to Italy when they had one thousand dollars apiece, and buy a farm, but they have now become too much attached to America to care to leave, and they have taken out their first parlors.

"I and Francesco are to be Americans in three years," says Rocco. "I am now nineteen years of age and have \$700 saved. Francesco is twenty-one and has about \$900. We shall open some more parlors soon."

IV. THE STORY OF A VICTIM OF THE RUSSIAN BEAR.

The life-history of a young Lithuanian is told with a directness, simplicity, force and convincing vividness worthy of a Tolstoi, a Zola or a Gorky. No one can read it without seeing the scenes graphically described and experiencing something of the feelings of the author. Here, for example, is a pen-picture of how the young man first heard of America and the effect of the words of the old itinerant shoemaker on the different members of the family:

"It was the shoemaker who made me want to come to America," says the Lithuanian. "He was a traveling shoemaker, for on our farms we tan our own cowhides, and the shoemaker came to make them into boots for us. By traveling he learned all the news and he smuggled in newspapers across the frontier from Germany. We were always glad to hear him talk.

"I can never forget that evening four years ago. It was a cold December night. We were in a big room in our log-house in Lithuania. My good, kind, thin old mother sat near the wide fireplace, working her brown spinning-wheel, with which she made cloth for our coats

and shirts and pants. I sat on the floor in front of her with my knee-boots off and my feet stretched out to the fire. . . . My father sat and smoked his pipe across the fireplace. Between was a kerosene lamp on a table, and under it sat the ugly shoemaker on a stool finishing a big yellow boot. His sleeves were rolled up; his arms were thin and bony, but you could see how strong the fingers and wrist were, for when he grabbed the needle he jerked it through and the whole arm's length up. This arm kept going up and down. Every time it went up he jerked back his long mixed-up red hair and grunted. And you could just see his face—bony and shut together tight, and his narrow sharp eyes looking down. Then his head would go down again, and his hair would get all mixed up. I kept watching him. . . .

"At last the boot was finished. The little shoemaker held it up and looked at it. My father stopped smoking and looked at it. 'That's a good boot,' said my father. The shoemaker grunted. 'That's a damn poor boot,' he replied (instead of 'damn' he said 'skatina'), 'a rough boot like all your boots, and so when you grow old you are lame. You have only poor things, for rich Russians get your good things, and yet you will not kick up against them. Bah!'

"I do n't like your talk," said my father, and he spit into the fire, as he always did when he began to think. 'I am honest. I work hard. We get along. That's all. So what good will such talk do me?'

"You!" cried the shoemaker, and he now threw the boot on the floor so that our big dog lifted up his head and looked around. 'It's not you at all. It's the boy—that boy there!' and he pointed to me. 'That boy must go to America!'

"Now I quickly stopped yawning and I looked at him all the time after this. My mother looked frightened and she put her hand on my head. 'No, no; he is only a boy,' she said. 'Bah!' cried the shoemaker, pushing back his hair, and then I felt he was looking right through me. 'He is eighteen and a man. You know where he must go in three years more.' We all knew he meant my five years in the army. 'Where is your oldest son? Dead. Oh, I know the Russians, the man-wolves! I served my term, I know how it is. Your son served in Turkey in the mountains. Why not here? Because they want foreign soldiers here to beat us. He had four

roubles (\$2.08) pay for three months, and with that he had to pay men like me to make his shoes and clothes. Oh, the wolves! They let him soak in rain; standing guard all night in the snow and ice he froze, the food was God's food, the vodka was cheap and rotten! Then he died. The wolves—the man-wolves! Look at this book.' He jerked a Roman Catholic prayer-book from his bag on the floor. 'Where would I go if they found this on me? Where is Wilhelm Birbell?'

"At this my father spat hard again into the fire and puffed his pipe fast.

"Where is Wilhelm Birbell?" cried the shoemaker, and we all kept quiet. We all knew. Birbell was a rich farmer who smuggled in prayer-books from Germany so that we all could pray as we liked, instead of the Russian Church way. He was caught one night and they kept him two years in the St. Petersburg jail, in a cell so narrow and short that he could not stretch out his legs, for they were very long. This made him lame for life. Then they sent him to Irkutsk, down in Siberia.

"And what is this?" He pulled out an old American newspaper, printed in the Lithuanian language, and I remember he tore it he was so angry. 'The world's good news is all kept away. We can only read what Russian officials print in their papers. Read? No, you can't read or write in your own language, because there is no Lithuanian school—only the Russian school.'

"Why can't you have your own Lithuanian school? Because you are like dogs—you have nothing to say—you have no town-meetings or province-meetings, no elections. You are slaves!

"My son is in Chicago in the stockyards, and he writes to me. They have hard knocks. If you are sick or old there and have no money you must die. That Chicago place has trouble too. Do you see that light? That is kerosene. Do you remember the price went up last year? That is Rockefeller. My son writes me about him. He is another man-wolf. A few men like him are grabbing all the good things—the oil and coal and meat and everything. But against these men you can strike if you are young. You can read free papers and prayer-books. In Chicago there are prayer-books for every man and woman. You can have free meetings and

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talk out what you think. And so if you are young you can change all these troubles.'

"He kept looking at me, but he opened the newspaper and held it up. 'Some day,' he said, 'I will be caught and sent to jail, but I do n't care. I got this from my son, who reads all he can find at night. It had to be smuggled in. I lend it many times to many young men. My son got it from the night school and he put it in Lithuanian for me to see.' Then he bent over the paper a long time and his lips moved. At last he looked into the fire and fixed his hair, and then his voice was shaking and very low:

"'We know these are true things—that all men are born free and equal—that God gives them rights which no man can take away—that among these rights are life, liberty and the getting of happiness.'"

"He stopped, I remember, and looked at me, and I was not breathing. He said it again. "'Life, liberty and the getting of happiness.'" Oh, that is what you want."

"My mother began to cry. 'He cannot go if his father commands him to stay,' she kept saying. I knew this was true, for in Lithuania a father can command his son till he dies.

"The little shoemaker gathered his tools into his big bag and threw it over his shoulder. His shoulder was crooked. Then he came close to me and looked at me hard.

"'I am old,' he said. 'I wish I were young. And you must be old soon and that will be too late. The army—the man-wolves! Bah! it is terrible.'

"After he was gone my father and I kept looking at the fire. My mother stopped crying and went out.

"The next day my father told me that I could not go until the time came for the army, three years ahead. 'Stay until then and then we will see,' he said. . . . In the coldest part of that winter my dear old mother got sick and died.

"That summer the shoemaker came again and talked with me. This time I was very eager to go to America, and my father told me I could go."

After walking ten miles he bade his sweet-

heart good-bye, and the next day he set out for America.

"My father and my younger brother," he says, "walked on all night with the guide and me. At daylight we came to the house of a man the guide knew. We slept there and that night I left my father and young brother. My father gave me \$50 besides my ticket. The next morning before light we were going through the woods and we came to the frontier. Three roads run along the frontier. On the first road there is a soldier every mile, who stands there all night. On the second road is a soldier every half mile, and on the third road is a soldier every quarter of a mile. The guide went ahead through the woods. I hid with my big bag behind a bush and whenever he raised his hand I sneaked along. I felt cold all over and sometimes hot. He told me that sometimes he took twenty immigrants together, all without passports, and then he could not pass the soldiers and so he paid a soldier he knew one dollar a head to let them by. He said the soldier was very strict and counted them to see that he was not being cheated."

At last, after many trials, the ignorant peasant boy from Lithuania reached Chicago and got a position in Packingtown. Here he was the victim of the craft, corruption and cupidity of the human cormorants that have so long flourished at the stock-yards and that have been so finely portrayed by Upton Sinclair in *The Jungle*. But at length he gained a foothold and in time learned English. He joined the Cattle Butchers' Union, which has protected him from the harpies and grafters and has proved a great aid to him, and in a sense has been much as a school to him. Of it he says:

"It has raised my wages. The man who worked at my job before the union came was getting through the year an average of \$9 a week. I am getting \$11. In my first job I got \$5 a week. The man who works there now gets \$5.75.

"It has given me more time to learn to read and speak and enjoy life like an American. I never work now from 6 A. M. to 9 P. M. and then be idle the next day. I work now from 7 A. M. to 5.30 P. M., and there are not so many idle days. The work is evened up."

With the dawn of a new day and with a little money saved up, he sent to Lithuania for

Alexandria, his old-time sweetheart. She came and became his wife.

"With more time and more money," he says, "I live much better and I am very happy. So is Alexandria. She came a year ago and has learned to speak English already. . . . We have four nice rooms, which she keeps very clean, and she has flowers growing in boxes in the two front windows. We do not go much to church, because the church seems to be too slow. But we belong to a Lithuanian society that gives two picnics in summer and two big balls in winter, where we have a fine time.

"But we like to stay at home more now because we have a baby. When he grows up I will not send him to the Lithuanian Catholic school. They have only two bad rooms and two priests who teach only in Lithuanian from prayer books. I will send him to the American school, which is very big and good. The teachers there are Americans and they belong to the Teachers' Labor Union, which has three thousand teachers and belongs to our Chicago Federation of Labor. I am sure that such teachers will give him a good chance."

Such in outline is the story of this representative of tens of thousands of victims of Russian persecution and oppression who have fled from their fatherland to find a home and opportunity in the New World.

V. A CHILD OF GREECE IN AMERICA.

The Greek immigrant who gives the story of his life is now forty years of age. He was born in the mountains of Laconia, not far from Sparta, in a hamlet of about two hundred inhabitants.

"There was a little school in the town," he tells us, "there are schools all over Greece now—and most of the people could read and write, so they were not entirely ignorant.

"All people who were able worked from sunrise to sunset, the men on their farms or with the sheep, the women in the houses, spinning, weaving, making clothes or baking."

The people were peaceful and law-abiding. "All loved our king," he tells us, "and the royal family. Next to God we revered the king, and his whole family shared our love for him. Greeks are very democratic; but the

members of this royal family are fit to be the first citizens in a pure democracy—they have done so much for the country and for all the people.

"Of the past of our country we knew little. We only knew that once Greece had been great, the light of the world, and we hoped that the time was coming when she would again resume her leadership of men. There were no ruins and no legends and traditions among us.

"The school in my little village had only four grades, and when I had gone through these I was sent to Sparta to the High School. There I continued my education much as an American boy would do. Greece has a fine system of schools, established by the Government.

"All these later years I had been hearing from America. An elder brother was there who had found it a fine country and was urging me to join him. Fortunes could easily be made, he said. I got a great desire to see it, and in one way and another I raised the money for fare—250 francs—and set sail from the Piræus, the old port of Athens, situated five miles from that city. The ship was a French liner of 6,000 tons, and I was a deck passenger, carrying my own food and sleeping on the boards as long as we were in the Mediterranean sea, which was four days.

"As soon as we entered the ocean matters changed for the better. I got a berth and the ship supplied my food.

"New York astonished me by its size and magnificence, the buildings shooting up like mountain peaks, the bridge hanging in the sky, the crowds of ships and the elevated railways. I think that the elevated railways astonished me more than anything else.

"I got work immediately as a push-cart man. There was six of us in a company. We all lived together in two rooms down on Washington street and kept the push-carts in the cellar. Five of us took out carts every day and one was buyer, whom we called boss. He had no authority over us; we were all free. At the end of our day's work we all divided up our money even, each man getting the same amount out of the common fund—the boss no more than any other.

"That system prevails among all the push-cart men in the city of New York—practical

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communism, all sharing alike. The buyer is chosen by vote.

"I found the push-cart work not unpleasant, so far as the work itself was concerned. I began at nine o'clock in the morning and quit about six o'clock at night. I could not speak English and did not know enough to pay the police, so I was hunted down when I tried to get the good place like Nassau street, or near the Bridge entrance. Once a policeman struck me on the leg with his club so hard that I could not work for two weeks. That is wrong to strike like that a man who could not speak English.

"Push-cart peddlers who pay the police make \$500 to \$1,000 a year clear of board and all expenses, and actually save that amount in the bank; but those who do not pay the police make from \$200 to \$300 a year. All the men in the good places pay the police. Some pay \$2 a day and some \$1 a day, and from that down to 25 cents. A policeman collects regularly, and we do not know what he does with the money, but, of course, we suspect. The captain passes by and he must know; the sergeant comes along and he must know."

At last our Greek went to Chicago where he entered the employ of one of his countrymen, who, however, would not teach him any English beyond the prices of the fruit he sold. Nothing daunted, he determined to master our language, at least to such a degree as to enable him to intelligently conduct business for himself; so, he tells us:

"I wrote home to my uncle in Athens to send me a Greek-English dictionary, and when it came I studied it all the time and in three months I could speak English quite well. I did not spend a cent and soon found a better job, getting \$17 a month and my board. In a little while I had \$106 saved, and I opened a little fruit store of my own near the Academy of Music."

One night, however, a lamp exploded and the poor Greek was frightfully burned and his little shop entirely destroyed. He was in the hospital for many weeks, during which time all the money he had saved was completely exhausted. After this, misfortune seemed to dog his pathway for a time. He became a tramp, searching for any kind of work. At last an opening was found in a

bicycle shop where he earned \$9 a week and saved \$7; so he found himself again on the highway to prosperity. When the war between Greece and Turkey broke out he joined the hosts of American Greeks who hastened to the fatherland to fight for freedom.

But "when the war was over," he says, "I returned to this good country and became a citizen. I got down to business, worked hard and am worth about \$50,000 to-day. I have fruit stores and confectionery stores.

"There are about 10,000 Greeks in New York now, living in and around Roosevelt, Madison and Washington streets; about 200 of them are women. They all think this is a fine country. Most of them are citizens. Only about ten per cent. go home again, and of these many return to America, finding that they like their new home better than their old one.

"The Greeks here are almost all doing well; there are no beggars and no drunkards among them, and the worst vice they have is gambling.

His story is interesting chiefly because it illustrates the power of moral idealism over the imagination of a people that has behind it the heritage of a glorious past, and also because it unconsciously displays leading characteristics or national traits of the Greeks. Greece will yet be great because the greatness of her past is as a pillar of fire ever before her people, and the old-time love of freedom and of beauty burns brightly in the souls of her children. Perhaps the power of moral idealism in regard to national dreams and patriotic aspirations was never better illustrated than in the Greek people. Here, from greatest to least, one finds a yearning for the renewed youth of the fatherland, a great hope and a living faith that the hour will yet strike when Greece will again be the cradle of a great art and philosophy and a leader among the nations of civilization. And in this life-story of the Greek peasant who came to America we find voiced this native hope, this dream of the children of Hellas, wherever they are found.

"We Greeks are doing well here," says our immigrant. "We are taking citizenship and we like this country; but the condition of the country we have left disturbs us, and we would give all we possess, every cent, all our money and goods, to see Greece free.

"Greece, the country as it is to-day, has only 2,500,000 inhabitants, but there are 18,-

000,000 Greeks living in Turkey under virtual slavery. In the city of Constantinople three out of four inhabitants are Greeks. We want to see them all free.

"They are ready for freedom, they are educated. There are ten Greek schools, for every Turkish school in Turkey, and the people are intelligent. The American schools there have done great things, so it would be easy to set up free Greece again in all the country formerly ruled over from Constantinople before the coming of the Turks.

"We Greeks feel that our country will rise again, happy and prosperous, free and glorious standing once more as leader of the nations."

VI. OTHER LIFE-STORIES.

These stories of the children of Scandinavia and Lithuania, of Italy and Greece, are by no means all that illustrate how the oppressed of other lands are becoming valuable and successful citizens in our Republic, which are given in this volume; yet the book is by no means devoted to pen-pictures of "Americans in the making." There is, for example, the French dressmaker, who finds America only a golden orange which she is using to obtain sustenance sufficient to enable her to return and live in comfort in Paris. Here, too, is the pitiful life-story, of a negro peon in the South; the tragic tale of the wife of a western farmer who is absorbed in money-getting and who thwarts almost all her efforts to broaden her culture; the pathetic and morally heroic story of a Methodist itinerant minister, who for twenty years has had a salary that only averaged \$580 on which to support himself and family, and who has done so without running in debt. And there are many other entertaining stories, one of the most interesting being the unique tale of an Igorrote chief who came with a band of Filipinos to Coney Island, and who frankly describes his early life and the habits and customs of his people. He likes the Americans but despises the Spaniards. He feels very badly, however, for the Americans and hopes they will learn some lessons from his civilization, which he explains is the oldest in the world. Indeed, his island was the original Garden of Eden, according to his view, and here also was the Deluge. How does he know this? Because

the story has been handed down from father to son since the great flood. Three times every year the patriarchs of this people tell the story of creation and the Deluge, explaining how only seven lives were saved at the time of the flood. They were in a great canoe which landed on a mountain. This mountain he has often seen. He feels sorry for the poor deluded Americans because they wear clothes and work so hard. In speaking of this he says:

"They are good people, but they do not look well. They all wear clothes, even the children. It is bad that any one should wear clothes, but much worse for the children. We pity them. They cannot be well unless they leave their clothes off and let the wind and the sun get to their skins. Perhaps they are ashamed because they don't look well with their clothes off. They are thin and stooping and pale.

"That is because they work so much. It is very foolish to work. Men who work hard do not live long.

"Everything we want grows in the forest; we make our houses out of cane, rattan and leaves, our women weave our loin cloths, and we get our food from the trees and from the fields of rice and sweet potatoes and sugar-cane.

"Why cannot the Americans live like that? I would tell them about our ways if I could, because I feel sorry for them; they look sick and they should never put clothes on the children. If God had meant the children to wear clothes he would have clothed them himself.

"Maybe many of the people cover themselves up because they know that they do not look well without clothes; they are too thin or too fat, or they are crooked. That is why the women hide their shapes, I suppose. But if they lived as our women do they would soon look as well as ours look. Our women by climbing about the mountains have large limbs and look handsome."

This volume is a book of rare interest, but it is far more than that. Many chapters are in reality sermons of real value for our people, rich in lessons that should be of peculiar worth to young men and women.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

PARRY AND HIS BOOK.†

THE CITY that is set upon the hill cannot be hid, nor can the house that is built thereon, nor can the dweller therein, especially if the house be of glass and, by throwing stones, he makes himself the cynosure, whether in envy or contempt, of all eyes. But while the aforesaid dweller may be visible to others, it does not follow that others are visible to him. Such seems to be the unfortunate condition of David M. Parry who lives, both literally and figuratively, on Golden Hill, Indianapolis. Mr. Parry has been much in the limelight as an explosive whose fulminations have been directed against organized labor. He has now written a book against Socialism which he calls *The Scarlet Empire*. In it, he sets out to paint an unutopian Utopia, his idea of the aims of Socialism, and not only does he heap upon this a mountain of sarcasm and burlesque, but he also takes occasion to laud our present system. From the Socialist standpoint, Mr. Parry's literary effort is successful mainly in proving that what he does not know or care to reveal about Socialism, would fill several volumes quite as large as *The Scarlet Empire*.

I think it is generally true that anti- or non-socialists are more given to prophecy as to the working out of the details of society following the advent of Socialism than are the Socialists themselves. Those who conclude, a priori, that Socialism seeks to destroy private property and entirely submerge the individual need possess but little imagination to conjure up all sorts of horrible nightmares as to the future of the race. But the Socialist is not concerned with the conclusions of these dreamers; he is concerned with their premises. The Socialist claims to be no less interested in freeing the individual than is the avowed "individualist" himself, asserting with vigor and, I think, with logic, that the coöperative

commonwealth offers the only comprehensive means to this end.

Crediting Mr. Parry with sincerity, we find his appointed task to be twofold: First, he must prove that the individual is free under the present anomalous, partially competitive and partially monopolistic, partially private and partially public-ownership, chaotic lack of system; and, second, he must prove wherein Socialism, by removing the most virulent struggle of the average modern individual,—that of mere existence, of obtaining the simple means of life,—submerges the individual or otherwise injuriously affects him. Such collations of undenied facts as presented by Jack London in *The People of the Abyss*, Robert Hunter in *Poverty*, Israel Zangwill in *The Children of the Ghetto*, John Spargo in *The Bitter Cry of the Children*, Upton Sinclair in *The Jungle*, and the United States government in the census of the unemployed, ought to be sufficient answer to the first proposition, and to prove that the individual is not free under the present system. And, if the Socialist may be allowed the same license as the individualist to quote Herbert Spencer, who said that Socialism was "the coming slavery," we may recall that he also said that no man can be free until all are free. Hence no man is now free.

Socialism claims to devote itself exclusively to the field of economics and seeks by definite plan, to obliterate the struggle for existence. The claim therefore that it will affect the freedom of the individual, except to increase it, embodies a manifest absurdity. How can a man be enslaved by making him more free? Whether or not Socialism will render the struggle less intense or entirely obliterate it as such, may still be a debatable question, but, that the removal of the struggle for existence will, by relieving man of his most onerous burden, efface his individuality has no ground to stand on. Before man can do any other thing, he must live. Before he may devote himself to art, literature, science and the solving of political and economic problems, he must possess

* Books intended for review in THE ARRENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARRENA, Boston, Mass.

† *The Scarlet Empire*. By David M. Parry. Cloth. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs, Merrill Co.

the means of life, food, clothing, shelter and fuel. If he can not procure these or if the procuring of them requires his whole time, he acquires no remarkable individuality. He dies or remains a mere animal. The thought of ideals or of a higher life is entirely obscured by the necessities of a mere colorless existence. What if a man have ambitions and no time to indulge them? What if he have dreams and no time to interpret them? What if he have talent and no time to develop it?

Mr. Parry has naught to do with the struggle for existence. He lives without effort. His attention is not occupied with the question of how to live but of how to live better and more luxuriously. Although he is called a self-made man, it is doubtful if he could be said to have ever been compelled to struggle for the necessities of life. In his formative period, class distinctions were not so sharply drawn and the problem was not how to stay in the world but how to get ahead in the world. Will Mr. Parry admit that the fact of his having time to devote to the study of political economy and to be the president of National Association of Manufacturers has been injurious to his individuality? I think not, and yet he must make this admission if he contends that the removal of the struggle for existence is subversive of individuality. But what has happened to Mr. Parry and others of his class? Now have those who have got ahead in the world been affected by escaping the struggle for existence? Some wit might rejoin that if the removal of the struggle for existence developed men like Parry, we better keep things as they are. It is true that Mr. Parry is a product of the struggle for existence, but he is a product of the general struggle and not of his own particular struggle. In his circumspection and retrospection, he mistakes the fact of the struggle for the *sine qua non* of the development of all or the majority. The subject of political economy does not concern itself with the welfare and development of a particular man or set of men, but of all men. In the words of one of his characters, Mr. Parry describes this as the land "where each man fights his own battles and revels in the strife." The idea of battle is necessarily related to the idea of victor and vanquished. Mr. Parry is one of the victors in the battle for wealth accumulation. According to that standard he is a success. But there are other men, vastly greater in number, who were vanquished. These men will have a different

story to tell of the battle. The strife for them was not so much of a revel. Indeed, it might be true that Mr. Parry reveled more in the winning than in the striving.

Mr. Parry is a strong personality. In spite of the struggle for existence, he has got ahead in the world. He has so mastered the first great law of nature, self-preservation, even at the cost of his fellows, as to allow room for the free play of the second great law of nature, love of approbation. But that he won the approbation of a few and the aversion of the many would rather seem to prove that he had not mastered the second law so well as the first.

While the prophetic state described in *The Scarlet Empire*, in satire and burlesque, may or may not be warranted as a prophecy, it is not substantially connected with Socialism, although it is undoubtedly closely connected with Mr. Parry's idea of Socialism. But, Socialism or not, an examination of the regulations of this supposed state, offered in evidence of the despicable character of its tyranny, finds them to be more objectionable superficially than under the microscope. For instance, these benighted people are described as dressing alike. We dress alike now. Mr. Parry would no more think of appearing at a formal function in any but the highly conventional dress suit than he would of voting the Socialist ticket. Only a day or two ago, I heard Jack London bitterly criticised for daring to follow his own individual preferences by appearing in a green sweater where his critic thought a dress suit the only proper thing. Conventionality, or unwritten law, now prescribes the most minute details for many of our daily actions. Women must wear dresses. There are even statutes that they must not appear in public in man's garb. These dresses by custom must be about the same in length. Similarly, man must wear trousers. Priests must dress just so and be clean shaven. Ministers must dress in black, likewise undertakers. Thousands of employés are compelled to wear uniforms. Whether these regulations are good or bad, I do not know, but it is clear that in the matter of dress, Mr. Parry's figment does not differ materially from present-day reality.

Also in the matter of eating, Mr. Parry is more satirical in spirit than in fact. He causes his hero to introduce a resolution providing for the equal use of the maxillary muscles in mastication. That is ridiculous to be sure.

But to-day science and conventionality undertake details fully as minute and ridiculous. In giving a fashionable dinner now, Mr. Parry must begin with soup and end with nuts. Not only must he eat with a fork, but he must eat each course with a different fork and further he must eat each course with a different kind of fork. When not in use, his napkin must be held in his lap. He must serve his wine in a particular way. All these and other things he must do, or suffer the punishment of being anathematized as a boor or a crank.

Another of the objections offered in evidence by Mr. Parry is that marriages are arranged by the state. If the Socialist raised this as an objection, he would be immediately charged with advocating "free love." If marriages are not arranged by the state now, how are they arranged? And, judging from the immense number of divorces, disarrangements, the methods or our present system are far from ideal.

And further we are told that these "socialized" people have no names but are known by number. We are tempted at this to ask classically, "What's in a name?" But is it not a solemn fact that under our industrial system, numbers are rapidly replacing names as a means of designating? I venture the assertion that most of the wage-earners in Mr. Parry's employ are designated by number. But what is the difference whether designation is made by a combination of sundry letters or by a combination of sundry figures? We look in the directory and see whole columns of John Smiths and John Joneses and Mary Smiths and Mary Joneses and the like. To these the matter of name lends no individuality. Might not numbers in such cases have distinct advantages over letters.

We are further informed that stringent laws were enacted to restrain personal enthusiasm. We are familiar with such laws to-day, less perhaps in this country than in Russia, for instance. Mr. Parry himself might be charged with favoring such laws when the personal enthusiasm is expressed in favor of organized labor. Injunctions against the activities of union men during strikes are distinctly laws to restrain personal enthusiasm. And so it is with the other detailed "objections" of Mr. Parry. Some are real and these are opposed more ardently perhaps by the socialist than by the individualist. But most of his objections find their counterpart in modern society

and whether they are apparent or real is merely a matter of opinion having no connection with Socialism.

The ruling spirit of the modern capitalistic state may be read between the lines of the plot of *The Scarlet Empire* where the hero, having been admitted into the society in good faith, conspires to destroy it by the enactment of ambiguous laws designed to benefit himself at the expense of the society. Thus, and in other instances in the book, stealth and double-dealing are made to adorn the badge of heroism.

The Scarlet Empire is not a discussion of Socialism. It is rather a developed misconception of Socialism. It is a house built on the illusive sands of fundamental error or false premises. Mr. Parry has not made a case against Socialism. It is ever questionable whether he has made a case against his own conception of Socialism. Mr. Parry hates the Socialism that he has conceived and, if rather in spirit than in form, the socialism he describes is certainly hateful. Herbert Spencer hated the socialism that he conceived to be the "coming slavery." But Herbert Spencer also conceived socialism to be as inevitable as the incoming waves of Biarritz. In respect of its inevitableness, the Socialists agree entirely with Spencer, but they view its coming with supreme complacency. They believe its coming is the next step in an ascending evolution, that it comes as an emancipation rather than an enslavement. The capitalist views it as an impracticable dream. The Socialist views the present system, or lack of system, as an impracticable nightmare, established on trial.

We find therefore the Spencerians quiescently shuddering at the inevitable or seeking in vain for a means to avoid the unavoidable. We find the capitalist, whom Mr. Parry typifies, trying to avoid the unavoidable by ridicule, satire and misconception. We find the Socialist facing the inevitable with serenity, seeking to understand its nature and its laws and thus to usher it in with the least possible friction and attendant misery. As for prophecies, whether favorable or adverse, they are interesting only as studies; they prove nothing. The only way that Socialism can be proved either practicable or impracticable is by a trial. And since it is inevitable, the sooner it comes the better.

ELLIS O. JONES.

Marriage. By Jane Dearborn Mills. Cloth. Ornamental Cover. Pp. 84. Philadelphia, The Nunc Licet Press.

MRS. MILLS is one of the most fundamental thinkers who have written seriously on the marriage question. She is deeply religious and handles the subject chiefly from the spiritual standpoint. She well observes:

"There is one principle which obtains throughout the universe, and every action, even the smallest, is the effect of it, as truly as the entire creation. It is the law of union and fruition. The sight of the snow crystals was the fruit of the light uniting with my eye. So every thought, and act, and feeling, as well as all material things, are brought forth by two somethings acting as one. Below the human plane the unions are temporary, and of either good or bad results. With the human when they are true, they are marriage, which is always good in its effects. The various human sexual relations not permanent, or not good, are not marriage, although some of them are called so. The inner personal marriage between husband and wife is that which gives value to the external."

She holds, and rightly holds, that:

"The life of marriage depends upon two conditions—*permanency and inner union*. Real marriage is a constant growth in spiritual oneness, and temporariness cannot promote it. To the husband and wife who love their marriage with each other, the finding out how they may make a mutual adjustment of their natures is their greatest joy."

Again, she is very sensible in her observations on divorce:

"'What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.' This most sacred truth has been much profaned, by practically reversing it,—What man has joined together, let not even God put asunder. God has had nothing to do with some marriage ceremonies except to permit them, as He does other evils. They have been conceived in iniquity, shapen in sin, and presided over by the Prince of Darkness, to whom the priest has lent his services, simply because he must, having had no power to refuse, or interfere."

Mrs. Mills' position is fundamentally moral. She is as strongly opposed to free love or promiscuity as she is to prostitution within the

marriage bond, but she goes behind the pitifully shallow and essentially degrading attitude of the most reactionary and dogmatic churches and parrot-like conventionalists, who never look beneath the surface or seek for the foundation, so that evils may be rationally remedied. She shows that a marriage to be true must represent a union of love and wisdom, of devotion and judgment, which culminates in service—that sweet soul-developing service where both husband and wife strive to understand each other, to become one in spirit and aspiration and to mutually aid, uplift and develop each other. She thoughtfully points out a fact that may only be appreciated by those who possess the intuitive or mystic eye to see the deep things of life, and that is that the union of devotion or love with judgment or wisdom ever gives birth to that spiritual offspring, service, which rounds out life and fills it with richness and beauty. Even those who are not mated in this life may experience a large degree of the fruition that comes alone from service, the child of love and wisdom.

"Service," says our author, "to be the child of the inner marriage, necessitates the having of some external work for which one is responsible. Mere desultory duties cannot satisfy a strong affection. One must love steadily, to love deeply; also, wisdom cannot unite with love which wanders from one aim to another. The inner marriage needs a body of permanency, exactly as the personal marriage needs the same external form. The lack of it is noticeable in the 'unmarried' atmosphere of single men and women who have no special interest in anything of value."

On the subject of remarriage after divorce Mrs. Mills has some excellent observations, from which we quote the following:

"There are ideas, always brought up in the discussion of marriage laws, which are commonly treated with an abundance of thought that does not reach far below the surface. The rigorist theory of divorce is one. This has, for centuries, been practiced by the Roman Church, the oldest and largest Christian denomination in the world. Its record, that, with the exception of Ireland, the Catholic countries are distinguished for an immorality forming the life of a majority of their peoples, high and low, leaves no need for further research into the theory.

"A Protestant modification of this law is, —Divorce, but no remarriage. Sensible persons favor this decree, yet it is among those man-made laws which have no common sense for their foundation. This alone, taking no other proof, shows the dearth of thought upon marriage as character-building, and is an evidence of the attempt to uphold the institution artificially. One moment's consideration will show its utter unreason. The divorced person is bound to a dead contract, as one Siamese twin, living, to his dead brother, bound to a bond which does not bind, to an obligation without duties or responsibilities, except not to do something which the former husband or wife has no longer any right to care for, whether it is done or not. What kind of a ghastly thing is this for sensible humanity to torture itself with,—to stunt and cripple and deaden the life remaining to some of its members, and consequently to its own as a whole? The measure is supposed to be a preventive of divorce. This is trying to prevent an evil by after penalty, rather than by previous instruction, a method which has always failed and is always failing. The Protestant Church, as a whole, has never lifted its voice in teaching that marriage is the highest form of character-building.

"Often it is said that the prohibition of divorce, or of remarriage after, is not injurious to the individual, because all suffering is regenerative. All needful suffering is regenerative, like the pain which comes to the injured limb, reviving into health. Unneedful suffering is the torture which leads to death.

"Also, they say, that by this theory are sacrificed only the few for the good of the many. This, too, is untenable. A hand cannot be maimed, a leg crippled, or a heart diseased without a weakening of the whole body. Neither can the character-growth of any person be obstructed without enfeebling the fiber of the great humanity."

Some readers may not agree with all our author's positions, and those who belong to the stolid, matter-of-fact element, who possess small idealism or spiritual perception, will find it difficult at all times to follow Mrs. Mills. Yet no one can, we think, read the book without being made better for its perusal, and we earnestly wish every young man and woman, and especially every young married couple,

could carefully read it from cover to cover. It would in many instances, we are convinced, lead to that spiritual awakening that would draw the young people into that deep and perfect union that constitutes true marriage, for, after all, very much of the domestic infelicity of the day arises from the criminal negligence of parents, the school and the church in failing to inculcate ethical idealism and to impress the mutual responsibilities, duties and obligations that each bears to the other; or, in a word, to point out to the young the royal road of true happiness and also to show the pitfalls of death that are to be avoided.

Susan Clegg and Her Neighbors' Affairs.
By Anne Warner. Cloth. Pp. 220. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little Brown & Company.

THE SUSAN CLEGG stories have proved very popular and this new volume will be warmly received by Miss Warner's admirers. In the present volume we have "Mrs. Lathrop's Love Affair," in two parts; "Old Man Ely's Proposal"; "The Wolf at Susan's Door," in four parts; and "A Very Superior Man."

Susan Clegg is one of the most original characters in present-day American fiction, and yet she is sufficiently true to life to give the necessary human interest that the popular taste calls for, even in humorous or semi-humorous writings. We do not think, however, that the present volume is quite up to the former short stories by this author, and from our point-of-view it is very inferior to *The Rejuvenation of Aunt Mary*.

Spurgeon's Illustrative Anecdotes. Selected and Classified by Rev. Louis Albert Banks, D.D. Cloth. Pp. 314. Price, \$1.20 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THIS volume embraces a vast treasury of the anecdotes and illustrations used by the great London Baptist divine during his long and successful ministrations in London. They are especially adapted as aids for Orthodox clergymen, workers in Christian Endeavor Societies, or other laborers among Evangelical workers who may at some time be at a loss for some apt illustrations. The work is admirably classified and arranged so that any special subject can be readily found.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

PROFESSOR SHELDON'S IMPORTANT PAPER:

In *Shall Lynching Be Suppressed, and How?* Professor WINTHROP D. SHELDON, LL.D., of Girard College, Philadelphia furnishes an important contribution to the discussion of one of the most serious problems of the hour. Lynching is one of the greatest national scandals of our day. It is an evil the presence of which always indicates one of two things,—either the lax enforcement of law which brings about a popular reaction in which the people arrogate the right to do what the government is commissioned to perform, or a state of lawlessness and general mental aberration that is the reverse of normal—a condition that is not only unfavorable to orderly progress and advancing civilization, but which is morally disintegrating, destroying all sense of moral proportions and reverence for law in its orderly workings, and indicating the lack of that individual and collective restraint which is a chief distinguishing characteristic of sanity. The lynchings that have taken place in the United States during the past twenty-five years have rarely, if ever, been the result of a belief on the part of society that the victim would escape punishment. Hence they are not only inexcusable but indicate a general lack in moral and mental control which calls for the most serious consideration on the part of statesmen, educators, and, indeed, all thoughtful citizens. Professor SHELDON is a distinguished educator, a man of high moral ideals and a deep philosopher. He recognizes the fact that the Republic must seriously suffer unless some definite remedies be found which shall prevent the spread of this mania for taking the lives of those accused of crime in an extra-legal way. Whether the remedy he proposes is the best means at hand to control the evil is an open question, but though one may not agree as to the wisdom of extending the central power of government in the way suggested, all serious-minded persons will, we think, find in this paper much food for reflection.

Economics of Jesus: Few papers have appeared in THE ARENA of late that have occasioned greater interest or called forth more strong words of approval than the series of contributions from the pen of Professor GEORGE MCA. MILLER on the *Economics of Moses*. This month we open the complementary series of papers by Professor MILLER dealing with the *Economics of Jesus*. Not in a generation has there been greater interest manifested on all sides in the discussion of social, economic and political issues than at the present time, and it is one of the most hopeful indications of the day that the church at last is awakening to the importance of demanding a larger meed of justice for the toiler than he has received.

Mr. Nye's Work for Progressive Democracy: We have received a number of inquiries from friends

desiring to know if we were not going to continue our series of articles dealing with representative American cartoonists. In reply to these friends we would say it is our purpose to continue these sketches. They have been crowded out during the last few months owing to the press of other material, but this month we publish a continuance of the sketches in a paper dealing with *W. Gordon Nye: A Cartoonist of Jeffersonian Democracy*. Following Mr. NYE's sketch we give some brief comments on our second series of original drawings by the brilliant Australian artist and cartoonist, Mr. GEORGE TAYLOR. His pictures this month teach a great lesson which should appeal to serious-minded Christians everywhere, as they illustrate in a telling manner how recreant in many respects is the church to-day and how strikingly does her position suggest the attitude of the conventional religious element at the time when Jesus was sneered at and derided because he ministered to the poor and placed justice, equity and brotherhood above all personal considerations.

Ayacucho: The Spanish Waterloo of South America: At the present time the eyes of our people are turned toward South America, owing to Secretary ROOR's extended tour for the laudable purpose of creating more cordial relations between the republics of the two Americas and for promoting mutually advantageous trade relations. Hence Professor NOA's highly interesting and authoritative story of the great crucial battle that settled the conflict between the forces of European monarchical rule and those of South American progressive democracy is particularly timely. It has long been a cause for serious regret that our people have been so indifferent to the history and achievements and the potential greatness of the southern republics, and so short-sighted as to neglect to cultivate more cordial relations. Secretary BLAINE, it is true, with the vision of a true statesman recognized the enormous advantages which would accrue to our Republic if we were wise enough and great enough to cultivate the closest commercial relations with the Spanish-American nations, but, since his death, the government has been so largely in the hands of short-sighted, small-visioned and self-seeking politicians who have been chiefly concerned in carrying out the orders or wishes of their real masters, the trusts and corporations, that this important question has been ignored. It is to be hoped that Secretary ROOR's visit will mark the dawn of a new order and that henceforth our people will recognize the importance of doing everything in reason to cultivate the closest and friendliest relations with the sister republics of the south. Professor NOA's series of papers on South America cannot fail to possess strong interest for thoughtful Americans, especially at the present time. Next month we expect to publish a highly interesting

contribution in this series from the Professor's pen dealing with the great South American educator and statesman, SARMIENTO.

In speaking of Professor NOA, we desire to call the attention of our readers to his scholarly paper, which is one of the strongest features of the summer number of *Poet Lore*, in which he describes at length the recent successful presentation in the National Theatre of Havana of the great tragedy written by Cuba's most illustrious poet and dramatist, GERTRUDIS GOMEZ DE AVELLANEDA, entitled "Baltasar." The paper contains a critical analysis of the play presented in a pleasing and interesting manner, and a brief note relating to the life of the author, the most distinguished literary daughter of the Antilles.

The Thaw-White Tragedy: One of the most timely papers in this issue is the contribution by the well-known author and liberal pulpit orator, HENRY FRANK, of New York City, on *The Thaw-White Tragedy*. In this paper Mr. FRANK in the striking and epigrammatic style for which he is justly famous tells some plain truths and draws impressive lessons that must be heeded if our nation is to avoid the rocks which proved the shipwreck of many of the proudest civilizations of elder days.

The Cause and Cure of Our Marine Decay: Another timely paper that will appeal to the more thoughtful of our people and especially those who are interested in the true greatness and normal development of our nation rather than the enrichment of the few at the expense of the many, is Mr. W. W. BATES' extremely thoughtful paper on *The Cause and Cure of Our Marine Decay*. Mr. BATES, as we have pointed out before, is the author of two of the largest and most authoritative volumes on the American Merchant Marine that have been published in America. He is one of the ablest and most competent specialists in marine history in the land, and we doubt if any statesman in public life to-day has anything like the grasp of this subject which he possesses. Hence his views are entitled to the serious consideration of our people, especially at the time when the ship-subsidy thieves are trying to break into the public treasury under the false pretence that their primary interest is in increasing American commerce. Mr. BATES' views will not be pleasant to the grafters, but they will appeal to men who are at once interested in the development of the merchant marine and the extension of American commerce and who have no sympathy with the various devices to further impoverish the masses for the over-enrichment of the few.

Stock-Gamblers as Managers of Railroads: In the August ARENA we published an extremely important brief paper by the Hon. THOMAS SPEED MOSBY, entitled *The Court is King*. This month we take pleasure in publishing a complementary and equally timely discussion by STEPHEN H. ALLEN, Esquire, one of the most prominent lawyers of Kansas. Mr. ALLEN is at the present time Chairman of the committee appointed by the State Bar of Kansas for making a general revision of the Code of Procedure. The report of this committee,

it is believed, will have great influence on the legislature and in all probability will be followed by substantial reforms in court procedure.

The Liquor Traffic: This month we publish the second of our series of papers presenting widely divergent views on the liquor traffic and how it should be best controlled. Last month Mr. HENDRICKSON presented the view of the Prohibitionists. This month Mr. RAFFAPORT in a very thoughtful paper, entitled *Social Conditions and the Liquor Problem*, argues for high license. We hope in our October number to be able to present a paper that has been prepared for this series, entitled *Socialism and the Liquor Traffic*, by WILLIAM H. WATTS.

Our National Library: This month we resume the fascinating series of papers by FRANK VROOMAN on constructive work by the national government. We have seen in the brilliant papers on the splendid work achieved by the Agricultural Department how this one great bureau is adding millions upon millions of dollars to the wealth of the nation, not only by introducing and fostering the cultivation of new and important plants and valuable animal life, but also by finding remedies for checking the devastation of the various pests that confront the agriculturist at every turn.

In this issue we have described a great educational institution—the magnificent Congressional Library. This paper will be followed by two further contributions by Mr. VROOMAN on Civil Service and the Spoils System.

A Cure for Municipal Bribery: We invite the attention of all of our readers to Mr. CRANE's thought-stimulating paper, entitled *A Cure for Municipal Bribery*, it being one of our series of papers dealing with municipal problems and how to meet them.

Liberty, Law and Labor: One of the most thought-stimulating papers in this issue of THE ARENA will be found in the discussion by FANNIE HUMPHREYS GAFFNEY, Honorary President of the National Council of Women of the United States, on *Liberty, Law and Labor*. It is a paper that should be widely read at the present time when a systematic effort is being made by the trust magnates and the capitalistic class as a whole to break the power of organized labor, and when false and delusive appeals are being scattered broadcast which are well calculated to mislead, by their plausible sophistry, all who do not think deeply on social questions.

The Primary Cause of Alternate Activity and Depression in Trade: The very thoughtful paper by Mr. SAMUEL BRAZIER in this issue calls for careful reading on the part of serious men and women. Mr. BRAZIER has for years been one of the closest students of social and economic progress in the East, and has written extensively and well upon trade conditions. His investigations and experience entitle him to be considered as an authority. The reason he ascribes for depression in trade is, we believe, fundamentally sound. At least, it is certainly one of the chief causes of depression.

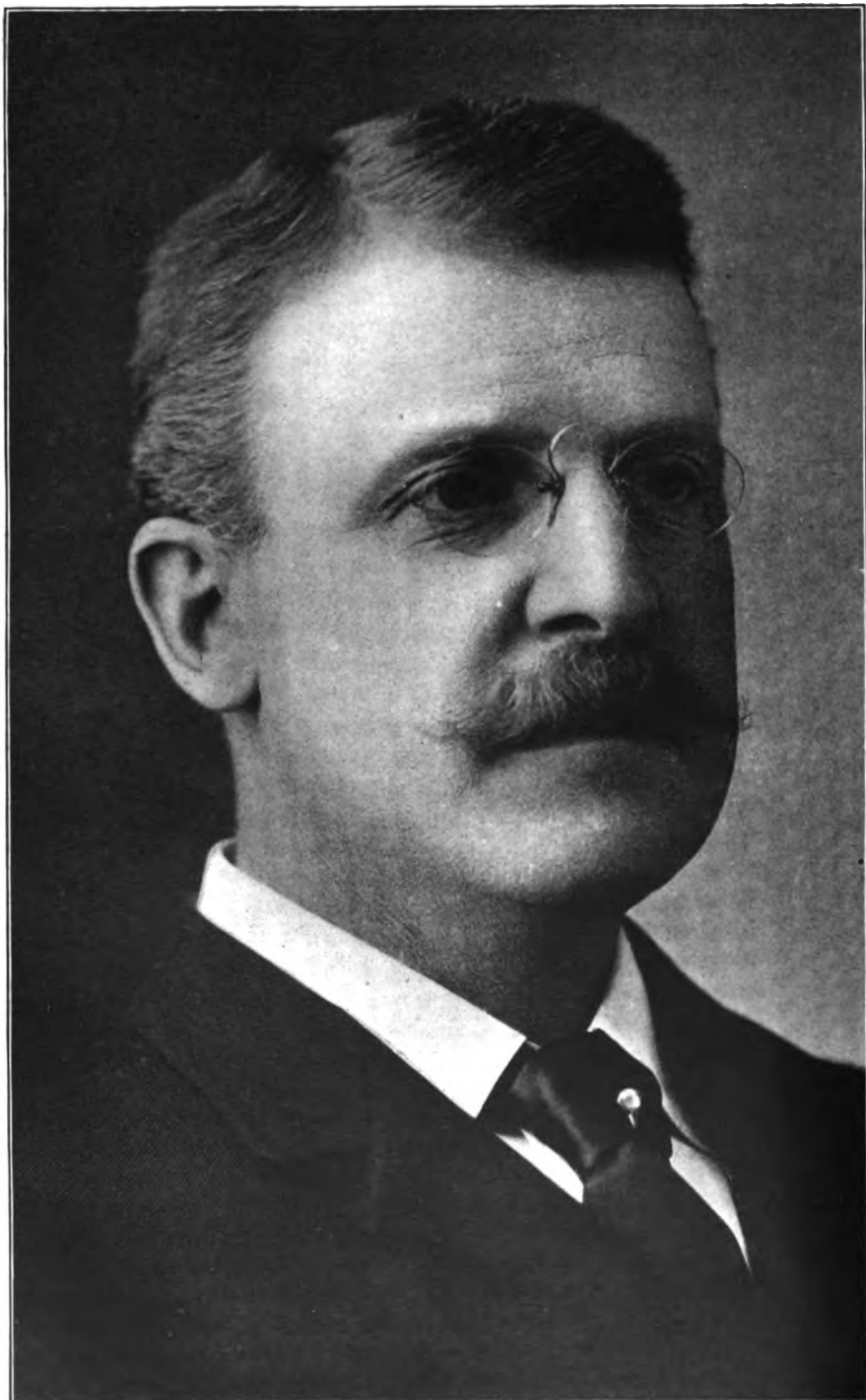


Photo. by Purdy, Boston.

HON. GEORGE FRED WILLIAMS

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.*

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THE COSTLINESS OF WAR.

BY WILLIAM RESTELLE.

OF ALL games the game of war is the most historical. It has been played with zest and zeal by mankind in every age and under every sun. From the time that ape-like man abandoned his arborical life in the forests and entered the keener struggle for existence on the plains and among the hills, from the time when society was first conceived in family and clan, right down through the unnumbered years until the present day when nature yields up her wealth at the magic touch of science, when society has become a highly complex organism, war has been a most serious business, and, at the same time, a most engrossing pastime of men. To the idealist who persists in believing in the goodness of humanity, to the philosopher who reasons of morality and brotherhood, to even the ordinary student who is not devoid of sentiment, the pages of history must present a saddening spectacle. The story of society must be to them a hideous nightmare, a chaos of terrible dreams, something they would fain banish from their minds, something they would like to forget, but cannot. And who does not share the feelings of these gentle souls? What is history after all but an oft-reiterated tale

of strife and discord, of murder and carnage, of people yielding to the bitterest hatred and the fiercest passions, in short, of the devil fighting the arch-fiend, and the arch-fiend fighting the devil? It is answered that all this has not been without a hidden purpose, that the struggle of man with man is a blessing in disguise, that war is a manly sport contributing much to the ultimate welfare of humanity. There is doubtless a measure of truth in such statements as these. War has not been an unmitigated evil; it has served a very useful and perhaps necessary function in the development of civilization. We contend, however, that war has fulfilled its mission, except possibly in certain parts of Asia and Africa, which must yet be brought under the white man's government. We go further and say that a perpetuation of war into this twentieth century will not mean progress, but retrogression. A short consideration of the costliness of war in modern times, not only from an economic, but from an ethical and political point-of-view, ought to convince the most ardent supporter of militarism that nothing more is to be gained from war, at least, from war between civilized nations.

In reckoning the cost of war the first item to be dealt with is the annual expenditure of the nations in maintaining their vast armies and armaments, in building fortifications, in deepening harbors and building docks specially for warships, in constructing strategic rail-ways and meeting the expenses of the war department at home. The budgets of the various powers give one an approximate idea of the amount spent for military purposes every year, but it is somewhat difficult to determine exactly what sum is devoted to the branches of expenditure enumerated above. The army and naval estimates of the United Kingdom, for example, include the pension allowances, those of Germany and the United States do not; the maintenance of the Department of War at Washington is charged to the civil accounts, and the cost of fortification, harbor work and strategic railroads are charged in the European budgets sometimes to the Ministry of War, sometimes to the Ministry of Public Works. It is sufficient for our purposes, however, to simply quote the expenditures charged to the army and navy without wading through the ramifications of the fiscal systems of the world in order to insure absolute accuracy. For the fiscal year 1903-4 the war budgets of the nineteen European states show a total normal expenditure of \$1,300,000,000; that of the United States \$217,991,512; that of Japan \$29,544,600, a total of \$1,547,536,112. A goodly sum, this, for Christendom to be spending every year on instruments of destruction.

The next item on our war-bill is the direct expenditures of the contending parties in prosecuting a war—the amount of money they spend in mobilizing, equipping, transporting, provisioning and paying their soldiers, supplying them with all the munitions of war, and maintaining constant communication with the field of operations. The direct outlay involved in even a petty war is necessarily very large. According to M. Bloch, an

efficient fighting man cannot be maintained in the field of battle on less than eight shillings a day, certainly not if the commissariat department is as corrupt as was that of the British in Cape Colony during the South African war. The Crimean war cost the five powers concerned \$1,700,000,000; the Franco-Prussian war made a hole in the treasuries at Paris and Berlin of over \$1,000,000,000, which sum does not include the \$1,000,000,000 indemnity paid by France to Germany or the \$50,200,000 levied by the Prussian troops from certain towns and cities of France. Mr. Edward Atkinson has shown that in the eight years from 1898 to 1905 the American people will have spent in war and warfare \$1,200,000,000.

The amount of money, however, actually taken from the national exchequer for the prosecution of war is only a fraction of the economic loss really entailed. Nations could well afford to play this game of life-and-death for any number of years if the operations of armies were confined within certain areas outside the pale of civilization, and the only expense incurred was the maintenance of warriors in the field. But we have to do with war as it is, and war as it is involves a loss to mankind which baffles calculation. To the direct loss of war resulting from the diversion of public revenues to military purposes must be added the destruction of property, the damage done to industry and commerce, the economic value of the men drawn from the field of productive industry into the unproductive ranks of the army, the economic value of the workpeople employed to support the soldiery and fit out armaments, and the displacement of capital. These constitute what are called the indirect losses. Let us examine them in greater detail. In modern warfare the deliberate devastation of an enemy's country is not carried on to nearly the same extent as formerly. Non-combatants, at the present day, enjoy much more immunity from the vicissitudes of war than did their

ancestors, thanks to the modern commiseriat system. Armies in the days gone by were expected to live on the country in which they were fighting, and they did so with little consideration for the inhabitants whose hospitality was enforced. Though the conditions of warfare have improved greatly during the last century, property still suffers considerable depreciation and a no small amount of destruction during the course of a campaign. Besides the loss suffered by real estate and private property of various kinds, there is much damage done to roads, to crops, to fortifications and to armaments, all of which must be renewed after the war.

The loss to a country from the destruction of property is small compared to the loss sustained by industry and commerce. A war between two great industrial states always has disastrous effects on trade. How else could it be? Immediately on the outbreak of hostilities, what happens? Mobilization takes place. Volunteers, the militia, and maybe the reserves are called upon to take leave of friends and home, and march forth to battle in some distant land. The best men throughout the country—those of superior brain and brawn—are snatched away from field and workshop and mine, made to shoulder a musket, shipped away from their native soil to fight for the devil only knows what. These men, be it emphasized, are withdrawn from the field of productive industry and given an occupation which adds not to the wealth of the world, but which consumes it like an insatiable monster. Now note three things: (1) that these men cease to produce wealth, (2) that they do not cease to consume it, (3) that they positively destroy it. We have considered the third. In regard to the second it has been estimated by Stein that it costs three times as much to provision an army in the field as it does the same body of men at home. That is to say, a soldier campaigning consumes three times as much wealth as he does under ordinary cir-

cumstances. The first is a more important item. When 100,000 men, the best in the land, are withdrawn from the ranks of producers, and placed in the ranks of non-producers, the country suffers a positive loss. Sir Robert Giffen places the economic value of the average workingman at \$400 a year, Mr. Edward Atkinson at \$700. The first estimate applies to English workmen, the second to American workmen. The monetary value of Continental workmen is lower than that of English workmen, so let us place the average worth of European and American workmen at \$400, a figure which all will admit is an injustice to the workmen of Christendom. Now, in case of war, let us suppose that each of the contending parties put into the field 100,000 volunteer troops for one year; that makes 200,000 men engaged in blowing each other's brains out who would otherwise be occupied in growing corn, mining coal and manufacturing goods to the value of \$80,000,000. But if instead of 200,000 men campaigning for one year, there be 900,000, inclusive of regulars, fighting for one and a half years as in the late Russo-Japanese war, 1,800,000 as in the Franco-Prussian war, or 3,400,000 fighting for four years, nearly all of whom were volunteers, as in the American civil war, one begins to get a real insight into the costliness of war. But the nations' industrial loss does not end here. It is agreed by economists that for every soldier in the field there must be another person employed in productive industry in his support. Thus, if 200,000 men are engaged in war, there must be 200,000 more men, women or children engaged exclusively in supporting that war. That makes 400,000 people whose labor is diverted to the nefarious business of butchery and plunder, and whose annual economic value is \$160,000,000. It must be pointed out, however, that this loss is more apparent than real. A portion of this \$160,000,000 would have been consumed by the soldiery under ordinary circumstances and cannot, therefore, be

charged to war. We have, moreover, assumed that the 200,000 volunteer troops were all industrious workmen in times of peace, whereas some of them were undoubtedly idlers and of no economic value to the country anyway. We have also failed to take into consideration that in time of war a people works at high pressure, that the output per capita is increased, and that the surplus labor of the country—the unemployed—is utilized. But after all deductions are made, the economic loss to the world remains very considerable. It will be borne in mind that our estimates are based on an army of 200,000 men, and that the armies of the present day greatly exceed that number.

In the above paragraph we have discussed the labor value wasted in the prosecution of a war. We have now to consider the great loss war occasions to trade. On the outbreak of hostilities industry suffers to no small extent by the absorption into the army of the best workmen, those strong of arm and keen of eye. True, thousands stand ready to fill the vacant benches, but the blow struck to industry by the loss of its strongest and most competent workmen is irreparable. But this is the least of industrial losses. Trade suffers much from the impoverishment of mankind. Nobody has anything to gain from the poverty of his neighbor; no country has anything to gain from the poverty of another country. The prosperity of one depends upon the prosperity of all. Prosperity begets prosperity, and prosperity is not begotten by war. War impoverishes, and on impecuniosity trade will not flourish. Trade, therefore, has nothing to gain from war, but a good deal to lose by it. We refer, of course, to war among civilized nations, and not to wars of expansion which have opened up the East and once unknown parts of the world to Western exploitation. But wars of expansion have accomplished their purpose. Almost every square mile of this broad globe is now open to the commerce of Europe and America. Noth-

ing further is to be gained by conquest in the uttermost parts of the earth. Individual nations may profit by seizing territory and reserving commercial rights therein to themselves. Russian capitalists might exploit India to their own satisfaction if it were under the rule of the Czar, and the Russian ruling class might enjoy the plums of office following such territorial aggrandizement. But what would the world at large gain, what would America and England and Germany and France gain, if Russia and some other self-seeking power were to oust the British from the Peninsula? What advantage would accrue to industry and commerce if China were sliced up by the powers, and tariff walls erected about every section? It is in the interest of Western commerce that China should maintain the open-door policy forced upon her, but it is not in the interest of Western commerce that trade should be restricted there in any way. And just here let me point out how tariffs tend to perpetuate war. The dominating desire of every people is for trade; the one thing sought by every country is a market for its goods. History teaches us that this need must be satisfied, that an enterprising people will go to any length, will sacrifice its honor and risk all it possesses, to satisfy its craving for gold. Now when the people of one country find their goods barred from another country by prohibitive duties, bitter feelings are naturally cherished against the offending state and commercial aggression attempted at the point of the sword. I have no intention of treading here on the controversial ground of protection *versus* free trade; I only make the observation that unreasonable tariffs promote ill-feelings among the nations and thereby tend to provoke war.

Let us consider in greater detail how war damages trade. We mean, of course, war between great powers, not punitive expeditions in Egypt or the Philippine Islands. A most serious, though somewhat temporary effect of war between

two or more interdependent states is the paralysis of industry and interruption of commerce. Especially is this consequence felt in territories where the fighting is done. Though complete suspension of work may not occur, yet capitalists find it does not pay to continue their industries at the seat of war, where property and life are insecure and unhampered communications with the outside world cannot be had. During the Transvaal war, for instance, three-fourths of the gold industry at Johannesburg and on the Rand was suspended, and the Uitlandic population, who almost exclusively conducted the mining operations there, fled into Cape Colony and Natal, many of them in a state of destitution and dependent for the time being on charity. No elaborate reasoning and long citation of facts are required to show what disaster war brings to the industry and commerce of the belligerent parties, and even to that of neutral countries. It would be an insult to the intelligence of the reader to assume that he does not know what must be self-evident to every man on the street. The distress occasioned in Lancashire and certain parts of Europe by the fight for negro emancipation in the early sixties has not yet been forgotten. It is estimated by Bolles that 300,000 workpeople throughout Europe were continuously out of work owing to the Civil war. That memorable struggle is instructive in more ways than one. It illustrates what a country may lose by prosecuting a war. In 1860 United States imports and exports as carried in American bottoms amounted to \$507,247,757, in foreign bottoms to \$255,040,793; that is 66.4 per cent. of the American carrying trade was protected by the Stars and Stripes. In 1865 only \$167,402,872 worth of goods were carried in American vessels, while \$437,010,124 worth were conveyed in foreign vessels, a loss to the carrying trade of the United States of 28.1 per cent. Shippers found it necessary to sell their vessels and do business under the protection of alien flags. And

this is the tendency of all naval wars—to transfer the carrying trade of the belligerent countries into the hands of foreigners.

Still another loss from war, a loss which is sometimes overlooked, namely, the displacement of capital. Now war does not necessarily involve the displacement of capital, for the expenses of a war may be met by the temporary privation of the people, by the people devoting the money which they would otherwise spend on luxuries to war. It is seldom, however, that the expenses of a war are entirely defrayed in this way. Loans are usually resorted to, and these are said to diminish the amount of money invested in productive industry. This, however, is not necessarily the case. If it were so, governments might experience much difficulty in raising the necessary funds for carrying on a war, for the returns of industry are much greater than from government bonds at $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Though displacement of capital frequently does take place, and that to a very serious degree, as in the Franco-Prussian war, when, according to the estimate of Sir Robert Giffen, \$395,000,000 was absorbed from commercial sources for military purposes, yet loans are usually derived from the floating wealth of the country, wealth lying idle, stored up in the coffers of multi-millionaires.

To the direct and indirect cost of preparing for and prosecuting wars must be added bills payable in after years, such as compensation for property destroyed, support of families made destitute by the loss of their bread-winners, pensions, and charges on debts incurred. By 1879 the treasury at Washington had paid out in compensation and pensions the sum of \$2,500,000,000, and from 1879 to 1902 an equal sum, or, in exact figures, \$2,481,134,333, a very small part of which may be charged to the Spanish-American war. And this account is not yet settled. What sums of money have been given in private charity to those plunged into poverty in consequence of the Civil war have never been estimated, but the figure

must be very large. The direct expenditures of the North and the South during the war amounted to about \$5,000,000,000. ✓ Thus the direct cost of the war of the Rebellion to the people of the United States has been \$10,000,000,000, a third of which would have liberated every colored slave at \$1,000 per head. But Uncle Sam's war-bill on behalf of his negro subjects is not yet fully made out. In 1860 his debt was \$65,000,000, in 1865 it stood at the majestic figure of \$2,800,000,000. I have not the annual expenditures of the United States for the thirteen years between 1865 and 1878, and am, therefore, unable to quote the interest on the war-debt for that period. In 1878 it was \$102,500,875, but by that year the debt had been greatly reduced, and in consequence the interest paid was considerably lower than the preceding years. We shall be much below the mark in putting the total interest charges from 1865 to 1878 at \$1,500,000,000. From 1878 to 1898 an additional expenditure of \$1,062,619,835 for interest was necessitated. That makes over \$2,562,000,000 extra to be added to the \$10,000,000,000 cost of the Civil war. The statistics, however, of some particular war are of no vital importance; the essential principle to be grasped is that the cost of any one war does not commence at its outbreak and end with its cessation. Here are the people of this Republic still paying for the folly of their grandfathers in not settling the slave-question as the British government settled it in Africa and the West Indies. Had the blacks been liberated gradually by a well-defined policy of compensation things would have turned out better for both the nation and the negroes themselves. It must be a source of great pleasure to the people of Europe to spend every year a little less than a billion dollars in payment of the bloody sport their forefathers engaged in. What does it matter if the present generation did not participate in the noble game of skull-splitting? What does it matter if we did not see the tourna-

ments and hear the bugles resounding the call to arms? Have we not the right to hold another tournament and leave it to our children, yea, our children's children to foot the bill? What does it matter that thousands starve to-day, that thousands more drag out an existence which no human being, with a soul hidden somewhere in his anatomy, should be called upon to endure, that millions yet unborn should be foredoomed to do likewise, that the pittance earned by the poor should be taken away from them to pay for fun they never enjoyed, what matters all this? Are not our walls adorned with trophies won and our parks bristling with cannon captured by "our gallant boys"?

So far we have reckoned the cost of war in dollars and cents. We have considered the whole question from a financial point-of-view. An attempt has been made to expose the economic folly of militarism. One would not begrudge these enormous expenditures, however, if substantial benefits were gotten in return. Society could perhaps afford to lavish the wealth it produces on such a destructive business, if the race itself were immune from injury. But a moment or two's reflection will show that it is not, that the injury done to the race is incomparably greater than the injury done to its treasure. It has been frequently urged in justification of war that it conduces to a high type of humanity by exterminating the weak and ensuring the survival of the strong. There is considerable force in this argument. It is undoubtedly true that war has been a factor in the evolution of society by its disencumbering the earth of inferior races. On this ground the aggression of civilization into Africa and certain parts of Asia may still be permissible. But the argument loses whatever force it has when applied to wars other than those of extermination. Ever since the ferocity of war was diminished by sentiment and international agreements, ever since modern conditions of warfare forced

themselves upon the world, the contention that war evolves a better type of man became obsolete, who will venture to say that the Napoleonic wars, the Crimean, the Franco-Prussian or the Russo-Japanese wars have contributed to the physical welfare of mankind? Far from perfecting a fine physique in the race, modern warfare has caused degeneration. It is said that the Napoleonic wars diminished the stature of the French one inch. All the stalwart men of that nation were sacrificed to the insatiable ambition of the Corsican, while the small and the weak were left to procreate the race. And that is the inevitable result of all wars, and it is by this fact that militarism stands condemned, if by no other. It is too often forgotten that armies are not recruited from the idle, the incompetent, the immoral, the diseased and the aged, but from the young, the robust, the intelligent and the competent. Everybody knows this, but very few reflect what it really means. It means simply this: the best young men in the country, the very flower of the nation's manhood, are carefully selected, trained in the iniquitous business of murder, and submitted to the debauching influence of barrack life in the most critical period of youth. It means that the best blood of the nation is sacrificed to that gory-headed monster, the Moloch of war. It means that manhood is sucked out of the nation, and the dregs only left. If war disencumbered the earth of the undesirable we might hail it as a blessing. But when it deprives us of our young men, our robust young men, men whom the country has nourished through their infancy and educated in their childhood, from whom the country now expects some return, when war deprives us of these, then must we curse it with an awful curse, then must we labor heart and soul for its abolition. This serious aspect of the question cannot be too much emphasized. There has been an excess of breath expended in proclaiming war a manufacturer of manhood. Universal military ser-

vice is demanded on the ground that it conduces to health, discipline, and morality. As for the morality, it is the kind known to devils. As for the discipline, it is that of the automaton moved by the lever of another's will, a discipline well-suited for absolute monarchies, but not adapted for a self-governing people. As for health, well, military training is good exercise, but rather expensive. If the money now lavished on armies and armaments were spent in providing every school, college, and university throughout the land with well-equipped gymnasias, every town and city with public baths and model dwellings for its poor, every state with Olympic fields, we should get more for our money than we now get by giving a limited number of men, the men, by the way, who least need it, a little bit of exercise throughout the year. But granting that militarism does breed a powerful lot of men, of what advantage are they to the race when they are sent out into the wilderness to die?

Though the moral results of wars are as clearly a part of their cost as any item above named, we shall not discuss them in the present paper. Their exact measure cannot be gauged. It is true that war calls forth many heroic virtues, but it is equally true that war lets loose the basest lusts and the fiercest passions. Heroes arise in times of war, and heroes struggle unproclaimed in times of peace. Never in the history of the United States were heroes more needed than at the present day, civil heroes who will battle against the corruption permeating our public life. If any heroic spirit among us pants for fame, if any chivalrous soul thirsts for honor, let it come forth and champion the cause of the weak against the strong, the cause of the innocent against the unscrupulous; let it come forth and do battle for purity and right. There is but one moral aspect of this subject that we shall dwell upon, and that is the criminality and lack of self-respect born of war. We said that war impoverishes. There are some appar-

ently sane people who declare poverty a good thing, though you will notice they take care not to suffer its throes themselves and seem in no way anxious that their children should become citizens of pauperdom. It is an excellent thing for other folk, but not for themselves. They belong to a different species of the *genus homo*, and require, therefore, a different environment. Poverty is *not* a good thing, neither is affluence. Both are detrimental to the individual and society. Poverty is brutalizing; wealth is enervating. War gives us the former; peace the latter. Here are two evils, and of two evils choose the less. What is our choice? By all means the latter. One human being is worth a hundred gorillas. One cultured mind is worth a score of uncultured minds. One gentleman is worth ten barbarians. Wealth is preferable to penury, and for this reason peace is preferable to war. War impoverishes, and by so doing fosters beggary and crime. When industry is paralyzed, the cost of living increased and people prevented from earning a living by honest toil, two types become stereotyped on society—the beggar and the thief. When it comes to a question of “starve or steal,” those deficient in self-respect beg, those with courage steal. Historians mirror the pomp and glory of war, but present not this grim side of the picture.

When a nation enters a war, it, of course, is going to come out the victor. The Spaniards were going to lick the Americans, and the Boers were going to drive the English into the sea. Russia was going to lay Japan across its knee and spank the naughty fellow. Let anybody suggest defeat, and immediately he is tarred and feathered. Hope flows high, but the time comes when it plunges in cataract over the precipice of reality. The game of war possesses all the fascination of gambling, and in it all that it most precious to a nation may be staked. It is always a question of win or lose. Both parties cannot be winners; frequently both parties are very heavy losers.

And what about the world at large? It surely is no disinterested spectator. Did it not concern mankind when Greece fell under the sway of Philip of Macedon, and its spirit broken? In summing up the cost of war we must not omit the effect upon the vanquished. The subordination of one people to another is usually a sad event in the history of the world. No people in a state of subjection ever yet produced a worthy thing. For the expression of what is best in national character freedom, emulation, a spirit of enterprise, and a sense of nationality are requisites; and these qualities find no play under the despotic or paternal government of another people. It has been asserted, too, that the contact of superior with inferior races is decidedly prejudicial to the higher interests of both. How true this statement is I am not prepared to say. Here is a wide and neglected field for study for the expert sociologist, whose conclusions would be a valuable contribution to the literature of war.

In determining the cost of war, the items to be taken into consideration may be set down as follows:

- (1) Preparation for prospective wars.
- (2) Direct expenditures.
- (3) Indirect losses.
 - (a) Destruction and depreciation of property.
 - (b) Labor value wasted.
 - (c) Damage to trade.
 - (d) Displacement of capital.
- (4) Subsequent expenditures.
 - (a) Compensation for property destroyed.
 - (b) Pensions and relief of distressed.
 - (c) Interest on debt incurred.
- (5) Deterioration of population.
- (6) Moral results and effects on vanquished.

War may be a jolly game, skull-splitting may be a manly sport, but is it worth the candle? Let the reader judge.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN AND THE PROPOSED CHANGES IN THE GERMAN SYSTEM OF NATIONAL EDUCATION.

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THE UNIVERSITY of Berlin is outranked in age by many other German universities, notably those of Heidelberg, Würzburg, Leipzig and Tübingen; and by our own Harvard and Yale, by nearly two centuries. In fact, Germany was something of a laggard in the establishment of universities and was preceded in it by Italy, France, Austria, Spain, England, Hungary and Portugal. The University of Berlin will not have attained its one hundredth birthday until 1909, and its square-fronted, four-storied building, on the Linden, with its statue of Helmholtz behind high iron railings, in its few feet of garden-plot, is a meager affair compared with the clusters of colleges, splendidly equipped laboratories, magnificently endowed and stored libraries, scattered over the spacious grounds of Harvard, Yale, Oxford and Cambridge. Plain to severity, old-fashioned and ill-ventilated, without the charm of antiquity—for it is a disused palace of a prince and was built only about 1750—it just escapes that *spießbürgerlich*, or extreme Philistine quality, which made the Prussian of the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century, comic, in spite of his earnestness. The many-windowed facade offends the taste and chills the enthusiasm of the foreign student. He does well as he enters it to look back at the marble figure of Helmholtz, the great epoch-maker in science, and remember that he was once Rector here; to invoke the shades of Mommsen, Virchow, Kirchhoff, Hofmann, Curtius, Gneist, lest his enthusiasm dwindle!

Nevertheless, foreigners enroll themselves at the university of Berlin in large numbers every year, primarily, no doubt,

because of the influence inaugurated by the two geniuses, Wilhelm and Alexander von Humboldt; and secondarily, because tradition dies slowly, and although Germany as a whole has not during the past thirty years added a new name of the *first rank* to Science, nor to Literature, with the possible exceptions of Gerhard Hauptmann and Gustav Trenssen; yet, for the better part of a century, devoted solid *thinking* was by common consent relegated to Germany, and during a large portion of that period—certainly between about 1815 and 1862—the giants of German thought were, sooner or later, associated with the University of Berlin. Throughout those hundred years, up to the date of the Franco-Prussian war, books printed in the German language were, for the most part, published because the world needed them.

Since then, however, absolutely new ideals of life have arisen in Germany. Men are contrasting action with reflection; the necessity of being practical as well as metaphysical is impressed upon the rising generation of students; commercial life is characterized by a nervous haste, which is supplanting the old Teutonic phlegm; excited conversations are heard in every grade of society, about the importance of increasing the navy; of developing those unfortunate spots of Western Africa misnamed a "colony," which have thus far caused an enormous outlay of money and have brought back next to nothing. And in the midst of these somewhat feverish phases the invitation is hurled across the Atlantic to the United States: "Come over and lecture in our universities!"

Small wonder that the old gentlemen of the past *régime* were struck dumb!

The innovation was like a blow in the face of the most hallowed traditions of *Learned Deutschland*. But *Youthful Deutschland*, amidst its scholars, as soon as it recovered its breath, was quick to see that such an *Austausch* of Professors meant also exchange of ideas, and that exchange of ideas meant the opening up of new opportunities; and the youthful scholars have, on the whole, triumphed.

Something, therefore, heretofore unrecognized if not unknown has been implanted in the soil of German university existence, as Professor Peabody, his course of lectures finished, bade Berlin farewell.

The faculties of the University of Berlin are divided, after the ancient method, into four: Philosophy, Philology, Theology, Jura. But the broadening of the scope of each, the increasing number of the sub-divisions of each, the interdependencies and the readjustments brought about by the exigencies of modern science, will soon render a hard and fast adherence to that old division as antiquated as Frederick the Great's crutch-stick.

Among the exponents of the first-named faculty, Professor Friedrich Paulsen is perhaps the most interesting and the most widely quoted. In appearance he might be mistaken for a provincial banker, but he is an instructor *par excellence*. His restless, somewhat spasmodic manner of pouring forth his vigorous thoughts is rather favorable than otherwise to the impression which he creates as a thinker. Men leave his lectures in lively discussion, than which no better sign of a man's power exists. It is greatly to be hoped that Professor Paulsen will be one of the number chosen to exchange with the American professors.

Among Philologists, Delitsch, Diels, Vahlen, Geiger, and Eric Schmidt are conspicuous. Professor Diels is the present *Rector Magnificus*, or President of the University, and is a leading member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences. He is noted for his progressive views, tempered by common-sense, and is a strong ad-

vocate of a more than general knowledge of the English language for every modern man of learning.

Professor Delitsch, who has recently lectured in the United States, on the history and languages of ancient peoples, with special reference to Assyria and Babylon, stands perhaps first among his fellows.

Professor Schmidt is an interesting, if not an altogether great, interpreter of the middle periods of German Literature. As a lecturer his phraseological involutions and his loose analysis render him at times irritating, if not exactly difficult to follow. He is popular both within and without the university, to a degree which in the eyes of the old school of professors endangers his dignity.

In the faculty of Theology, Harnack, Deutsch, Gunkel and Weiss stand high in esteem. As a lecturer Professor Harnack is remarkable for clearness, enthusiasm, and a certain lofty charm. As a public speaker no man in the University is to be compared with him. Upon the occasion of the celebration of the eightieth birthday of Virchow, in 1903, when hundreds of his own countrymen and deputations from the chief universities of almost every country in the World filled the Assembly Room of the House of Representatives to do honor to the great pathologist, two of the twenty or thirty orations delivered remain unforgettable: that by Harnack and that by a Japanese physician from Tokio. The Asiatic, whose extraordinarily beautiful voice and perfectly chosen German sentences created something like a sensation, advanced to within a few feet of the old scientist and poured forth a tribute of amazing and moving eloquence; while Harnack's message rang through the hall, each word dropping like a new-cut diamond of completest comprehension of what Virchow's long life had meant for Germany and for the world. Spiritual breadth, high aims and sympathy with the scientific trend of his century stamp Professor Harnack's lectures, his

written works and his intercourse with his fellow-Berliner.

Great jurists have never been numerous in Germany. Even since the establishment of the Empire enlarged national interests and brought new complexities into State and Municipality, the advice of the distinguished lawyer has rarely been required. Paternal scrutiny exercised over a citizen's minutest acts from the cradle to the grave, leaves small scope for individuality, even in bickering.

There are few Crown lands, and such as there are could no more arouse dispute than the clock in the Tower of the Rath Haus; while German Imperial, Kingly and Princely Rights are, in Teutonic phrase, "*bis in die Ewigkeit bestimmt*"—arranged for all eternity!

Nevertheless, it does sometimes happen that an ancient *Process* or *Trial* is revived, as when, about two years ago, the Lippe Detmold Succession was called in question, and Professor Geheimer-Justizrath Kahl, otherwise known as an authority on Church as related to State Rights, pronounced in favor of the present Head of that Principality, and against the Emperor's brother-in-law. A degree of courage was required to declare his decision, and the courage rather than the legal acumen displayed attracted attention; for the rights of the case were fairly clear, but Professor Kahl's reputation certainly justified that appeal to his judgment.

However, as just said, German existence offers a limited sphere for forensic talent. The divorce-trial is usually held in *camera oscura*. Germans of birth, especially those of noble birth, very frequently separate after marriage; in fact, a goodly portion of every Grand-Ducal and Princely family in Germany has two or three such scandals, but they buy off the pains and penalties of the affairs by scattering bushels of orders, and *voilà tout!*

The middle classes have their rougher, but not coarser, scandals, but having no orders to scatter and no money with

which to buy up officials minor and major, must trust to publicity and the squalid legal adjustments peculiar to German life.

Of bare-faced, most hideous crimes Germany furnishes a greater number, and a more odious variety, than any other civilized country; crimes so hideous that few languages possess the words which express them; but these, being relegated to the most obscure, the lowest of the courts, also offer no opportunity for legal oratory.

Jurists, then, at the University of Berlin, represent Law in the abstract; Law as an element in the Constitutional growth of Peoples, without much application to modern, every-day practice. Their published works are sometimes interesting, not invariably valuable. But Dernburg's *Commentaries on the Rights of the Citizen*, and Josef Kohler's *History of Justice* are works of standard worth which have been translated into two or three languages.

The members of the Law faculty in Berlin appear to live in a more cosmopolitan atmosphere than is usual with Germans of any class,—a fact that renders them agreeable acquaintances.

In the Natural Sciences,—Zoölogy, Botany, Physics, Mineralogy, Chemistry; in things pertaining to the Art of Healing,—Anatomy, Histology, Development by Evolution, Anthropology, Pathological-Chemistry, Physiological-Chemistry, Bacteriology, Study of Parasites, Medicine related to Law, to Insurance, and to Pensions, professors of repute are to be found at the Berlin University, as, for instance, Olshausen, Fränkel, Leyden, Lassar, Ewald, Waldeyer, Schweningen, Bergmann, Lesser, Orth; and the announcement of Professor Fischer, in regard to albumen, some months ago, has attracted the attention of men of science in every country.

The lectures, in the Medical faculty, are to be heard and the demonstrations are to be seen in several special buildings, scattered over the old part of Berlin.

Among these the most conspicuous are the Physiological Institute, and the Psychological Institute; while the Pathological Institute within the large enclosed space of the Charité Hospital, the Government Building for State Medical Analysis, the Neuro-Biological Laboratory, the collections of Nursing Apparatus, and the five clinics which are held under the direction of members of the faculty provide good, if not great departments. But it may be confidently asserted that the opportunities offered the medical student, and especially the post-graduate student, at the University of Berlin are less varied, less interesting and far less courteously administered than are those of Paris or Vienna.

In delicacy of handling, of sterilization of instruments and utensils, in manipulation of the subject for dissection, in breadth of view as to the end and aim of all science, the North German lecturers, directors of clinic and laboratory, have much to learn from their brethren of France, Austria, the United States, and England.

In State-Craft, Government-Service, Administration of Industries; in Art; in the History of Secular and Sacred Music, the names of Schmoller, Wagner, Weber, Dessoia, Kekule, Kalkmann, Wölfflein, Kretschmer, Fleischer, Frey, take rank.

Professor Schmoller and Professor Wagner are perhaps best known for their association with the so-called "All-German League," which is encouraged by the German government. Its aim, as declared by its supporters, is to propagate and perpetuate the German language and German interests, commercial and political; an aim laudable enough when applied to *German citizens*, but a political intrusion, if not a form of treason, when attempted with the *citizens* of other countries, who are of German descent, notably with those of Brazil, Venezuela, Chili, and the United States.

Many Seminaries, or classes for normal instruction, are held by the professors and their assistants, under the general name,

Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen, which the more ambitious and the more industrious of the students attend in large numbers. Some of the subjects grouped under this head seem, to a foreigner, oddly placed. Dr. Letzner, for instance, gives "Practical Exercises in English Parliamentary Speaking and Colonial Political Themes"! The relationship between "Practice in English Parliamentary Speaking" and "Oriental Languages" would appear remote; but the conjunction, in view of Germany's colonial ambitions and of the impression deeply rooted in the nation, that what England does and has done in her colonies, must be imitated, is without doubt dictated by the Ministry of Public Instruction, and so by the Government.

Not only Chinese, Japanese, New Arabian, Persian and Turkish, but Hindoostanee and several dialects may be acquired in the *Seminaries*; as well as a working knowledge of the languages of the Asiatic and African possessions of Great Britain, France and Russia. Once a week the general principles of Consular Service, especially as it relates to Dependencies, are explained; and specimens of the most useful as well as of the poisonous plants of the tropics are shown, the best manner of clothing oneself, and the safest diet to follow in those countries are minutely described; while men wishing to fit themselves for the duties of Dragoman or Official interpreter, in almost any part of the world, are given facilities for securing positions. In short, the University of Berlin joins to its strictly academic character, valuable opportunities for obtaining everyday philological knowledge.

"Will the *Austausch* or Exchange of Professors bring tangible results to either American or German universities?" it is asked.

If by tangible is meant outward changes, the present writer is inclined to reply in the affirmative. New courses are likely to be introduced, old courses will without doubt be extended and, in

Berlin, modernized. Indeed, it is not too much to hope that modernity may so far triumph in the building on the Linden, that means of ventilating the class-rooms may actually be devised!

But the intangible results, those subtler subjective alterations of points-of-view, which come silently and work powerfully, are absolutely assured; and of these the first and the most valuable,—recognition of the Combination of Learning with Life, as exemplified in the universities of the United States,—is already a factor in Young Germany's aspirations.

"Why is it," asked the Freiherr von Gleichen-Russwurm, in a German weekly a short time ago,—“Why is it that our young men when they cross the seas so often appear *philistinos*, in comparison with young Englishmen and young Americans?” And he proceeds to show the necessity of a reformation, or, indeed, a revolution, in the German University System.*

“The German national system of instruction,” declares another writer, in a representative Berlin daily newspaper, “is the greatest and the most dangerous menace to our culture. . . . It attempts to cut off all connection with the spontaneous play of intelligence . . . and to uniform our ideas . . . and that is the death of culture,”—“if,” adds the reviewer of the book from which the quotation is made, “if we in Germany may be said, at the present time, to possess a Culture!”†

While a professor at the University of Jena, in the autumn of last year, in an article entitled “Concerning Reform in Our Upper Grade Schools,” said: “Important as it is that our system should be well planned, it is far more important that the inner life of the school should be on a high plane. . . . And in this regard there is much that is not in order in our

schools. The more smoothly the outward affairs of our system appear to move, the more sharply should we look to see whether behind this *mechanical smoothness there is not aridity, lack of enthusiasm*, the ever-recurring attempt to deceive in the school-work, and to lie to the teacher. If that is the case, how can we possibly talk of *education* in our schools! . . . The time has come when our boys must indeed be *educated*, not only *taught*, in our Gymnasiums; when we must demand that our instructors should be *developers of character*. How that can be done, we can find out from the public schools of England, from Eton, Rugby, Harrow. . . . Let us send our young school-masters to England for a time, instead of cramping them all in one pattern in our Seminaries, and we shall reap the fruits of so doing in our youthful generation. . . . Our whole organization is faulty . . . for it has been planned, not from a broad knowledge of human nature, but from the green-covered bureaucratic table, from behind the closed doors of a Board of Instruction! . . . We Germans have a great task before us . . . the greatest . . . the reform of our higher-grade schools.”‡

And, finally, on the first of February of this year, a well-known writer on public questions, reminds the Prussian Ministry of Public Instruction and his fellow-Prussians, that if a people are not “decadent, they live; and if they live, they must change, go forward, progress”; that “its school-system must change with it”; that “it must be elastic, never a fixed quantity.”§

Here, then, are four Germans, men of observation, experience, judgment and reputation, who declare, and impress upon their fellow-countrymen, what foreigners, also of observation, experience, judgment and reputation, have for the past twelve years asserted. Again and

**Die Alte und die Neue Universität*. By Freiherr von Gleichen-Russwurm. In *Die Woche*, Berlin, November 4, 1905.

†*Vom Kulturwert der deutschen Schule*. By Professor Ernst Kornemann, of the Tübingen University. In *Der Tag*, Berlin, January 23, 1906.

‡*Zur Reform Unserer Höheren Schulen*. By Professor L. D. Dr. W. Rein, of the University of Jena. In *Der Tag*, Berlin, October 7, 1905.

§*Vergleichende Pädagogik*. By E. Horn. In *Der Tag*, Berlin, February 1, 1906.

again have they reminded Germans, and especially Prussians, that their self-praise was blindness, that all their commercial *Centrale*, and their increasing outward prosperity, left their inner forces, their mentality, their humanity, untouched; that the coming generation was not being moulded to meet the complexities which that very increased material prosperity was bringing about; that the men-to-be were not being loosed from the gyves of uniformity; that pursuance of the antiquated, iron-bound Gymnasium methods must be relaxed; that the force of initiative must be given full play; that unless in the *Real-Schule* and the *Volksschule*, as well as in the *Gymnasium*, the archaic, drearily dry mill-drill were dropped and spontaneity introduced; unless the University itself were modernized, made consistent with the cosmopolitan future of the Empire;—that, without those alterations, preparations and reorganizations, the next generation would be, as Freiherr von Gleichen has described it "*Philistros*," wooden, resourceless in emergency, at a disadvantage in comparison with the men of other nations.

But German prejudice and Prussian vanity are thick webs. Moreover, "German thoroughness," "German learning," "German School-System," and the other catch-words have been sounded in their ears so long that it is not easy for the bureaucracy to believe that it could be anything but perfection; well-nigh impossible for it to perceive that in the course of one hundred and thirty-five years the claims of science alone have caused the basis of their idolized "system" to crumble; that, since Dr. Falk and his laws of 1879, the demands of "culture" have been turned inside out, and that a scholar must be a man of some degree of action, at least, or go to the wall; in short, that Germany, as well as the rest of the world, has need of all its intelligence in untrammelled freshness, and that the pettiness of pedantry and the small egotisms of circumscribed, watertight compartments of knowledge, boxed

up and labeled after the Prussian fashion, are like the dead leaves of the Autumn trees after the first frost,—only good manure for the new growth of spring. Hence the insistence of these energetic, far-seeing men who, with the minority throughout the Empire, are setting their faces as a feint against their "national system" and are endeavoring to revolutionize it, as Professor Rein of Jena has said, into a means of developing *men*.

For foreigners have always been right in their estimation of the inadequacy of German methods to that great end. They saw, long ago, what the four Germans whom I have quoted, and their followers, now see, that those methods were indeed devised to prevent that consummation! For Prussia wished, and the German Empire, as typified by the German Emperor and the German Government, still wishes, not Men, not Individuals, but a collection of Human Tools: petty officials, or Civic Tools; soldiers and officers, or Military Tools; a few professors, or Scholar-Tools; and a large body of women, as Child-bearing Tools in the form of wives and servants to all the Other Tools! Manhood, Womanhood, were not, are not, their ideal.

But the beginning of the year 1906 casts shadows of radical changes to come in Germany. The establishment in Hamburg of a university in keeping with modern conceptions is demanded; a university into which American and English features will enter. The abolishment is advocated of the *Arbiturienten Examination*, that State-presented "Certificate of Ripeness," to which Freiherr refers, with ironical emphasis. The introduction is insisted upon, by parents, instructors and pupils, of the natural sciences on a large scale, and the lessening of the quantity of Greek and Latin, in the *Gymnasium* course. The participation of girls in the *Gymnasium* course is proposed. The sweeping away of that farcical bodily manipulation called *Turnen*, and the adoption of open-air sports

in every grade school, is being forced upon the somnolent bureaucracy. The foolishness is being proclaimed of attempts to acquire, form and maintain colonies, before the nation has produced men of adventurous spirit, ruddy of cheek, strong in endurance, to people them; and the absurdity is pointed out of undertaking the government of colonies by a collection of staid Berlin "*Beampten*," who have in most cases never even crossed the channel.

The international exchange of university professors with the United States is being watched, and the endeavor is being made to prevent it from being converted into a political implement, apropos

of the *Tariff-Provisorium*. In other words, the death-knell of the German National System of Instruction, in its antiquated form, has been rung, and the struggle between the old and the new ideals has begun,—a struggle that, if bravely carried forward, must result in the disappearance forever of the patterned-off German Human-Tool.

Exactly what the new product will be, or what it will do, who shall say? Will it inaugurate a *really* constitutional kingdom, in which the Parliament, guided by forceful, large-minded men, will *really* represent the People?

MAYNARD BUTLER.

Berlin, Prussia.

G. R. SPENCER: A CARTOONIST OF PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY AND AGGRESSIVE HONESTY.

AN EDITORIAL SKETCH.

I. THE ARTIST AND HIS DREAM.

NO CARTOONIST of the great Middle West stands so distinctively at once for the aggressive honesty so needed at the present time and for the principles of progressive democracy, as G. R. Spencer, of the *World-Herald* of Omaha and Mr. Bryan's *Commoner*. His cartoons have been widely copied, not so much for their artistic worth as for the thought behind the pictures, the truth emphasized, or the lesson sent home in such a manner as to leave a vivid impression on the minds of all who see them.

Mr. Spencer was born in Missouri in 1878 and was reared in a small Nebraska town. It is a fact worthy of passing notice that most of our cartoonists who are striking telling blows for the fundamental principles of free government and against the reign of graft that is a part of the present "system" that in recent years has dominated politics, have been born and reared in the country or in small

towns. They have also usually been poor boys who had to depend on their own exertions for an education and a successful entrance into business life. In this respect also our artist was no exception to the rule.

His earliest interest in drawing dated from the receipt of a series of lessons on newspaper drawing. With enthusiasm and a resolute determination to accomplish something worthy, he set to work to master the instructions given. All the spare time at his command was given to the work. When Mr. Bryan was nominated for the presidency, he enlisted as a worker for the success of the great Nebraskan, seeing then what the majority of the more clear-visioned and thoughtful Americans, who are not beholden to or beneficiaries of trusts, monopolies and privileged interests, are now coming to see—that the real issue was not so much a question of the kind of money most demanded, but whether the principles of



Spencer, in Omaha World-Herald.

LIFTING THE LID.

the Declaration of Independence, the ideals of Jefferson and Lincoln, and the fundamental demands of a true democracy should be maintained, or whether the government should pass under the control of privileged interests operating through corrupt bosses and the money-controlled machines;—a condition in which the mantle of republican government should mask a despotism of the criminal rich, a commercial feudalism based on class-legislation and special privileges of various kinds. Believing in the old ideals of freedom, fraternity, justice and honesty that marked in so

conspicuous a degree the lives and statesmanship of Franklin, Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln, Mr. Spencer threw all the influence at his command on the side of free institutions and the rights and interests of all the people, bringing with him the fine enthusiasm of youth—that high-minded, conscience-guided youth which is the chief hope of the nation to-day.

In 1899 he went to Omaha, determined to secure a position on the *World-Herald*, the great progressive democratic organ of Nebraska and the one daily of the state that represented his own political ideals.



Photo, by Bostwick, Omaha.

G. R. SPENCER

15.



Spencer, in Lincoln (Neb.) *Commoner*.

"THE BLAZED TRAIL" OR HOW DEMOCRACY IS "FOLLOWING ROOSEVELT."

Mr. Hitchcock, the proprietor, however, could not see his way clear to give him any position; but nothing daunted he appealed to the Sunday editor of the *Herald*, who agreed to let him work for him, provided he labored for nothing. This he did until the hour arrived when his little store of money was exhausted, and he was confronted by the alternatives of abandoning his cherished dream and perhaps permanently giving up his master-purpose in life, or obtaining some outside work in Omaha which would enable him to continue his art labors, which he recognized as a valuable training or schooling. He accordingly set out to hunt work, but all doors seemed closed. Everywhere there appeared to be more

seekers for work than positions calling for laborers. At last, however, he was offered employment washing dishes. A smaller nature or a more superficial character would have spurned such work as too menial or as beneath the dignity of an artist, but Mr. Spencer belonged to that finest type of young American manhood—the type that has enriched our nation and added inestimably to the true greatness of the Republic. Lincoln, with eyes fastened on a nobler station in law and in the halls of state, wrought with Herculean power and splendid enthusiasm in splitting rails, knowing that success in that humble task could be made the stepping-stone that would help him to his goal. Garfield on the tow-path



Spencer, in Lincoln (Neb.) Commoner.
THE MAN WHO EATS THE DINNER AND THE MAN WHO PAYS THE BILL.

and Henry Wilson at the last, are other types of this class of America's noblemen who were great enough to accept any honest labor that might help them to achieve the higher and finer dreams that haunted their brains. So when Mr. Spencer was offered the position of dishwasher at a small salary, which, however, was sufficient to enable him to continue his work on the *World-Herald*, he gladly accepted the work and strove to give satisfaction.

The pluck, determination and fine ambition of the young man, no less than his steady progress in his work as an artist, were not overlooked by Mr. Hitchcock, who one morning called Mr. Spencer to him and gave him a position as all-round artist to the paper at a salary of ten dollars a week. "I never saw," observed Mr. Spencer in relating this incident in his life, "such big dollars as the ten comprising my first week's salary."

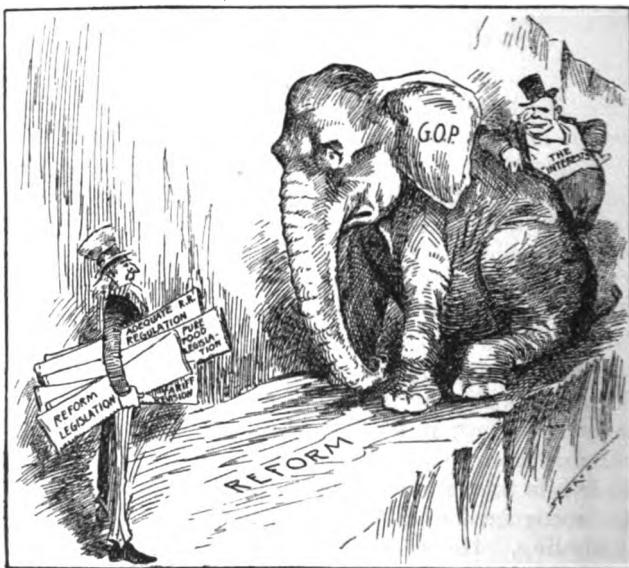
He gradually drifted into cartooning and in addition to his work on the *Herald* he began, between three and four years ago, to make

cartoons for Mr. Bryan's *Commoner*. Recently, in speaking of his present position, Mr. Spencer said:

"I am so fortunate as to be connected with two papers whose editorial policies, except in a few minor matters, are exactly in line with my political principles and I am allowed a fairly free hand, most of the ideas of my cartoons being entirely my own and made on subjects of my own selection.

"The cartoonist can do his best work only when his heart is enlisted in the cause which he is advocating with his pencil. He has, to a greater or lesser degree, an influence on public opinion and particularly at a time like the present when the country is saturated almost to the soul with corruption, any man wielding any influence, however small, should see to it, that that influence be cast on the side of the right,—the right as determined by his conscience, not his Saturday-night check.

"Of course, it is practically impossible in this day and age, for a cartoonist to make every cartoon an expression of his individual view on the subject in hand,



Spencer, in Lincoln (Neb.) Commoner.

ALWAYS BLOCKING THE PATH.



Spencer, in Omaha World-Herald.

AJAX DEFYING THE LIGHTNING.

owing to the peculiar habit editors and proprietors have of running their own sheets and firing incorrigibles. All that is left for the poor fellow is to secure a situation, if he can, on a paper whose editorial policy is as nearly in accordance with his ideas and ideals as possible and do the best he can. With present conditions so serious, the ranks of reform cannot spare a man

and the cartoonist should look beyond mere salary."

In answer to our question as to his views on the master-evil of the hour in our land, Mr. Spencer replied with clearness and directness, and in his reply we may see something of the high moral idealism that dominates his brain.

Spencer, in Lincoln (Neb.) *Commoner*.

LATEST VIEW OF SOME "DEFENDERS OF THE NATIONAL HONOR."

II. THE ARTIST'S VIEW OF THE MASTER-EVIL OF THE HOUR.

"Our business, political and social life," observed Mr. Spencer, "is steeped in corruption and graft. The extent of the deterioration of the moral fabric of a great body of our citizens is appalling. Were this moral degradation confined to a certain class or a few individuals of many classes the conditions would not be so dangerous. But the graft germ seems to have inculcated itself into the moral tissue of all classes and a much too big percentage of the whole of each class.

"The fact that a great railroad official has been giving rebates or that a trusted insurance president has been working the game for all it is worth, or that a United States senator has been discovered deliberately assisting to defraud the government need not, of itself, worry us overmuch. But it is the evidence seen on every hand that the disease extends not only into the high places where temptation is great, but into the humblest homes in the land that shows the real seriousness of the situation. Your office-boy borrows a bicycle and grafts the ten cents you gave him for carfare. Neither your stenographer nor your book-keeper ever buys writing-paper, pens or ink and seldom

purchases a stamp. Your man on the road stops at a two-dollar-a-day hotel and charges you three dollars, and so on. The whole business world is full of it—this petty grafting. And no one seems to think anything of it. Everybody does it, what's the harm? Nobody makes any pretense at concealment, except possibly from the 'boss.' 'Of course, he would n't care, but—oh, well, you never can tell!' It is all so trivial and not to be compared with the giving of a rebate or the adulteration of a food product. Yet it is this moral obtuseness to the iniquity of little things that it seems to me is the real danger that threatens the country. A man does not become a criminal in a day. We do not forget the lessons of a God-fearing mother in an hour and the nation cannot become wholly corrupt in a decade.

"By association with wrongdoers and by departing by only one short step at a time from the straight and narrow path, do we drift into ways that are dark. Familiarity with evil lessens the hideousness of evil and the time soon comes when what to our senses once was evil is no longer evil; what was once a crime is now a custom.

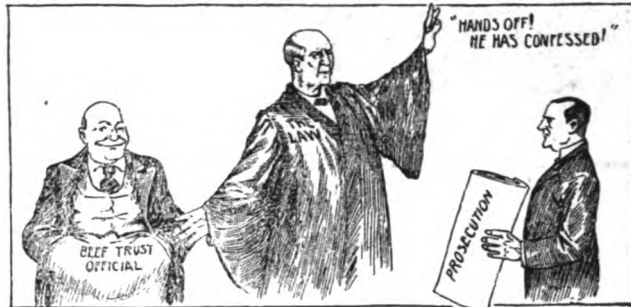
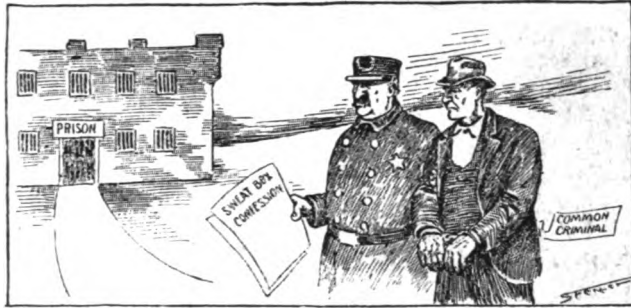
"The young man who, unknown to his employer, carries home from the office, paper, pens, ink, etc., sufficient for his own and probably his room-mate's correspondence, will, when sent out of town for the office, 'pad' his expense account, only a little at first, but gradually more and more on each successive trip, until it is standing 'all the traffic will bear.' He is considered honest as the world goes and probably will never reach the point of 'stealing'; yet can this petty grafter be expected when he reads of the great insurance scandals or the Pennsylvania railroad exposures, to experience the sense of outraged justice any honest man would feel? The arguments of the pleader for special legislation, the monopolist or the grafter appeal to him a little more forcibly than to another. He drifts with the tide of everyday associa-

tion and custom. All over this broad land are thousands of respectable men working little grafts of their own and almost unconsciously sympathizing with the ambitions of the bigger grafters. And these men exercise no small influence on election day.

"This moral blindness to the wrongfulness of little misdeeds grows with the indulgence and unless it is checked it will be only a matter of time until the state becomes utterly corrupt, the home will become as corrupt as the state, and the history of Rome will have been repeated.

"But I think the checking process has begun. It is only a question of rousing the conscience of the public and of teaching a part of it what is right and what is wrong. Modern 'business' methods have so warped the senses of a great body of our citizens that they will have to be retaught at least the finer distinctions of right from wrong. This can be done by precept and by force; that is by preaching and by legislation. Of course we are told that morals cannot be legislated into men, but, to a certain extent they can. We declare by law that a certain ethical or moral offense is criminal, prosecute, convict and punish the offenders and in the nature of men, if the process be repeated often enough, he will learn to refrain from trespassing this law and in time come to believe the breaking of it to be wrong, no matter what opinions he may have had prior to the establishment of this particular rule. A conscience can be redeemed as surely as it can be lost, and inherently our consciences are all sound.

"There are enough right-minded citizens in this republic to save it if they but continue as they have begun. A par-

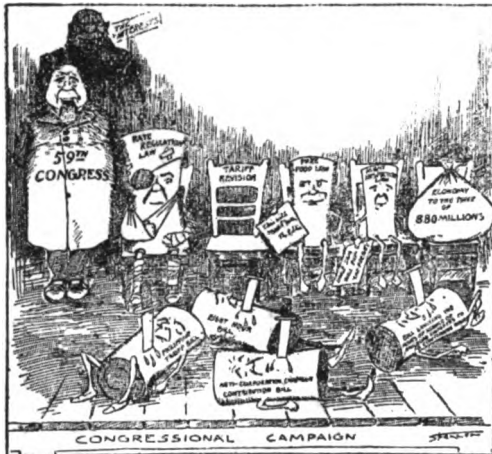


Spencer, in Lincoln (Neb.) Commoner.

JUSTICE!

tially-free press is doing noble work in teaching and rousing the public conscience and forcing legislation that will open a good many people's eyes to their own and their neighbors' misdeeds. But the battle has only begun. The great breeding-place of the graft stegomyia, the principle or legislation for the pocketbook, has hardly been touched. The great tariff-question is still argued on the proposition: Is it profitable? Not on the principle: Is it right? Great statesmen still rise in their places in the ruling body of this nation and oppose publicly and unblushingly, probably believing themselves in the rectitude of their actions, and oppose right and just measures because the codfish industry might be hurt, the cigar and tobacco business be injured, or the railroad interests might suffer, the express companies lose a few thousand dollars, or the banking fraternity be unable to rake in quite so many shekels as heretofore.

"Others champion with might and main bills of plunder, ostensibly to protect the merchant marine from losing



Spencer, in Lincoln (Neb.) Commoner.

FACING THE COUNTRY.

the dollars that the ships of some other nation are honestly earning, or to make the currency expansive enough to save a few gamblers from the pit of their own digging. No question of right or wrong, but of dollars and cents. From cover to cover the *Congressional Record* is full of dollar argument, with just enough high-sounding patriotism and morality to give it flavor.

"This idea of legislation for the financial advancement of the nation, instead of for the moral betterment, is largely responsible for the widespread worship of the dollar. We have almost come to believe that our governing bodies exist largely for the purpose of looking after business and finance, and that legislative and official action should of right be largely influenced by its effect on the finances of the citizens instead of controlled entirely by considerations of right and wrong. President Roosevelt's exposure of the horrible practices of the beef-trust raised a howl of protest from a great many honest men, because it injured the business, not only of the guilty packers, but of the innocent stockmen and dependent industries. They would

have smothered the report, a benefit to the whole country, a godsend in its probable results, merely because somebody 'stood to lose' some money in the event of its publication! Again the right and wrong of the issue entirely overshadowed by the almighty dollar."

The representative cartoons by Mr. Spencer which we publish tell their own story and drive home certain facts very important for the people to understand, more impressively than would labored editorials.

Mr. Spencer is only twenty-eight years of age. Before him we trust there may be many fruitful years. He has it in his power to do a great work for civic integrity and democratic progress in the great battle that is now opening between the people and the interests, between free institutions and plutocracy; and unless we are greatly mistaken, he will acquit himself worthily in as noble a cause as man has ever striven for, for he is under the compulsion of moral idealism, as was Thomas Nast when he achieved one of the greatest triumphs for civic righteousness that was won in the nineteenth century.



Spencer, in Lincoln (Neb.) Commoner.

PLUTOCRACY AT THE BATH.

INDIVIDUALISM THROUGH SOCIALISM: A REPLY TO HON. WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

BY PROF. THOMAS ELMER WILL, A.M.

IN HIS recent paper on "Individualism *versus* Socialism,"* Mr. William Jennings Bryan discusses the world-issue in a temper beyond all praise. In large part, however, he misses the socialist view-point, losing the spirit in the method, and misconceiving the method itself. But as his own positions have, in the past, been similarly misunderstood, he will appreciate fair criticism.

The essence of Mr. Bryan's position is that socialists demand complete collectivism, government monopoly of all industrial opportunity, or, in his own words: "the collective ownership, through the state, of all the means of production and distribution." To this he objects on the ground that it would diminish incentive, restrict freedom, and hamper the expansion of individuality essential to the highest development of the human race. Were his premise sound there might be force in his conclusion.

What is the socialist position as to collectivism?

The socialist believes that the social body, like the physical, is subject to the law of growth. Development in economic life, from cannibalism, through slavery and feudalism, to small industry, from the little shop through factory and factory town to factory system, and from partnership through company, corporation and syndicate, to trust and merger, corresponds, in his view, to the development in physical life from moner through polyp, insect, reptile, bird and mammal to man.

Again, the socialist believes, with the naturalist, that life depends upon adaptation to surroundings, that growth demands continuous readjustment, and that the type, whether animal or social,

which most promptly adapts itself to changed conditions survives, while that which refuses thus to adapt itself suffers and, finally, perishes. He believes that our present economic system is largely outgrown; that institutions suited to earlier industrial stages are unsuited to our existing stage, and that it is this lack of adjustment which is chiefly responsible for the pressure, suffering and tragedy which together constitute "The Social Problem."

To be more specific: In the period of small industry following the break-up of feudalism the individual worker owned his bit of ground and tools, competed mildly for custom, received in pay for his work the full value of his product, and supplemented this from products of garden, forest and stream, and of domestic animals and fowls feeding on the public range. He was adapted to his environment; he lived in simple comfort; the industrial system was appropriate for the economic period.

Development, however, brought the factory system with its corollaries. Production now ceased to be individual, and became social, a multitude coöperating to produce one product. Ownership continued individual; now, however, it vested not in the worker, but in a master, the "Industrial Captain." The worker, who once owned his entire product, now came to own but a paltry fragment of it called his "wage." Driven, in the struggle for life, from rural hamlet to roaring city, he now was obliged, from this wage, to pay to another master, the "landlord," a tribute called "rent"; and, with the remainder, he purchased the necessities of life in another new institution, "the market."

And now came "competition," in

*In *The Century* for April, 1906.

form hitherto unknown; competition for work, forcing wages to the subsistence level, and competition for shelter, food and clothing, forcing rents and prices to the limit the "market would bear." Combined, these forces left the average worker, when fortunate, a wretched living; when unfortunate, on the parish. The social problem was born.

This problem had other aspects: The "contradictions" and "vicious circles," overproduction and underconsumption, millionaires and tramps, destruction of home market with struggle for foreign, panics, strikes, lockouts, and the rest—all marks not primarily of human greed, criminality or laziness, but of a misfit system; products of private ownership of the means of production which, though highly appropriate when land and tools were owned by their users, the workers, became equally inappropriate when they were owned by their abusers, the idlers.

This condition, first seen in England, has to-day reached a head in the United States.

And what is the solution? To abandon the highly-organized, centralized industry, and go back to the slightly organized, decentralized form? As well endeavor to force back the oak into the acorn, or turn back the clock of time! The race takes no backward steps. We must go forward. The workers must again own their land and tools. But as the vastness of certain of these forbids owning them individually, the workers must own them socially—they must make them collective property and operate them not for private profit, but for the public good.

This principle Mr. Bryan recognizes in part. He admits "public ownership where competition is practically impossible," and concedes that this applies to various city monopolies and to railroads. This concession means much and may carry him far; for the truth of Stephenson's notable aphorism that "Where combination is possible competition is impossible" is daily being verified; and,

its advantages becoming more evident, combination is striding forward in seven-league boots. Thoroughgoing individualists like Herbert Spencer, so far from conceding this principle, would transfer from public to private ownership and control the things already publicly owned and operated, including the post-office, schools, and mints.

The question next arises: How far should the "taking over" process be carried? Must it include all the means of production and distribution?

Socialists believe that collectivism should keep pace with industrial concentration; that when industry has reached the stage of water, gas, trams and telephones in the city, of railroads, telegraphs and mines in the nation, and of permanent trusts generally, these industries are ripe for socialization. But the same logic that impels the conclusion that industries which, through their great size and monopolistic character, have become social in fact, should be socially owned and operated, also carries with it the corollary that industries which, through their small size and competitive character, have continued individual in fact, should be individually owned and operated. Some socialists, it is true, believe that all industries will ultimately reach the vast, monopolistic stage, and will therefore require to be socially owned and operated; hence *they* demand public, collective ownership and operation of *all* the means of production and distribution. But whether all industry will ever reach this stage nobody knows. Suppose, however, it should do so. Would Mr. Bryan favor leaving it in private hands? Evidently not; for in his definition of individualism he approves "public ownership of those means of production and distribution in which competition is practically impossible." By his own logic, therefore, complete concentration would necessitate complete collectivism.

Mr. Bryan, of course, does not believe that, with proper legislation and admin-

istration, all industry will ever become thus concentrated, and hence require collective ownership. Do socialists in general believe it will?

Socialism is an organized political movement. As in the case of any other political party, its creed must be sought not in the unauthorized utterances of individuals, but in its platform. Mr. Bryan will agree to this; for, had it been claimed in 1896 that Democrats were on both sides of the silver question, he would have held, and justly, that the platform was unequivocal, and that its utterance was decisive.

The socialist platform is equally unequivocal and decisive. It declares: "Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall be by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users"; that is, collective or social tools are to be collectively owned, and individual tools are to be individually owned.

Nor is the platform's position accidental or unrepresentative. No other party goes so far as does the socialist party to make sure that its platform represents the sentiment of its members. The committee which drafted the present platform consisted of nine persons. These were elected by the national convention of 1904, by a most thorough process of sifting. Nominations were first made from the floor, all interested freely participating. The names thus proposed were displayed on blackboards and, from them, the convention, by repeated balloting, made its final selections. This committee was highly representative, including the national secretary, the candidates soon after nominated for president and vice-president, and other prominent exponents of socialist doctrines. Before this committee, all members present, came the proposal that, "All industry shall be social or public industry"; it was rejected definitely, emphatically, and unanimously. The platform was

read distinctly to the convention, and almost unanimously adopted. By referendum it was then submitted to the party membership of the entire United States, and adopted by a majority of more than ten to one. This should indicate whether or not American socialists propose, as Mr. Bryan understands, "the collective ownership, through the state, of all the means of production and distribution."

But are American socialists alone in this position? The Germans lead the movement in Europe. Their platform does not demand "collective ownership, through the state, of all the means of production and distribution." Their chief literary exponent, Karl Kautsky, in his *The Socialist Republic* (p. 32), heads a chapter, "Socialist Production Does Not Require Social Ownership of Non-Productive Wealth, Nor Even of All the Instruments of Production." He says:

"That which renders the socialist system necessary is *large production*. Production in common requires common ownership of the means of production. For the same reason that private ownership in the implements of labor is repugnant to the system of production in common that is carried on in large production, so likewise would common ownership in the instruments of labor be repugnant where production can, and must necessarily, be carried on by separate individuals. *Production in such cases requires the private ownership by the worker of his tools.*"

In his book, *Under Other Flags*, Mr. Bryan considers socialism, and, to define it, quotes from the German socialist, George von Vollmar, and another whom he characterizes as "one of the most influential of German socialists." The utterances of neither of these sanction Mr. Bryan's definition of socialism. The second of them says: "Socialists think the time is approaching when all *monopolies* must and can safely be taken over by the state or municipality, as the case may

be. This would not destroy competition at once—in the industries not centralized.” (Page 74.) How widely does this position differ from that taken by Mr. Bryan himself in his definition of individualism: “The private ownership of the means of production and distribution where competition is possible, leaving to public ownership those means of production and distribution in which competition is practically impossible”? Yet on the next page of his book Mr. Bryan says he is “inclined to believe . . . it is difficult as yet to know just what proportion of the three million socialist voters (in Germany) believe in ‘the government ownership and operation of *all the means of production and distribution.*’” (Italics ours throughout.) Why should they?

With socialists, collectivism is a means, not an end. The end is a social state in which exploitation shall have been extirpated, and opportunity, initiative, freedom and fellowship made possible for the least and lowest. To the extent that collectivism will further this end it is desired, but no farther.

Again, socialists are democrats—the democrats of the world. They demand the ballot for all adults, irrespective of sex, race, color, or creed. Their platform declares for “popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, equal suffrage for men and women, municipal home rule, and the recall of officers by their constituents.” They are democrats not only in politics, but in industry: they would abolish autocracy from both, and make both directly responsive to the people’s will. How much, therefore, of the land and capital “government” would at any time own and operate would necessarily depend upon the decision of the voters at the ballot-box. Can so sturdy a democrat as Mr. Bryan object to this?

And now as to individualism.

Of this, there are several varieties. There is the individualism of the plu-

tocrat, who has “nothing to arbitrate,” and who “asks simply to be let alone”; and of the anarchist who would abolish all government that he may do as he pleases. Again, there is that of Webster’s dictionary, “Self-interest, selfishness.” Finally, there is individualism as defined by Mr. Bryan.

Let us consider individualism in its best and broadest sense: as the love of liberty, the desire to develop one’s powers and individuality, to live a complete life, to realize one’s largest possibilities, and fulfil his destiny. In what circumstances can this high end best be attained?

Suppose, first, that life be conceived of as a race. The question arises, How may this race be made fair? Here are the track and the contestants. In modern society, however, a few of the runners own the track and fix the rules of the race. They decree that they themselves shall ride in automobiles or airships, but that the multitude shall go on foot, and shall, in addition, begin miles behind the owners’ starting point.

The plutocratic individualist says such a race is fair, and that “the fittest will survive.”

The single-tax individualist says all the runners should have equal rights to the track, and should start “scratch.”

The socialist says, “Yes, and if automobiles or flying machines are to be used by some they must be equally accessible to all.” What does Mr. Bryan say?

More specifically, the plutocratic individualist desires no equalization of existing conditions. He wants them “let alone.”

The equal-rights-to-land individualist takes the position defined by Herbert Spencer in 1850. This prince of individualists, in laying the foundations of his social philosophy, prescribed as the absolutely essential prerequisite to the “substantially equal footing” desired by Mr. Bryan, free access to land; and, in Chapter IX. of his *Social Statics*, outlined and advocated the single-tax. Without this, in his view, individualism would

be a farce and "competition," to use Mr. Bryan's words, would "not be worthy of that name"; for "one party," the land-owning class, would be "able to arbitrarily fix the terms of the agreement" upon which the landless might exist, "leaving [the (latter)] with no choice but to submit to the terms prescribed," or vacate the planet. This is, of course, the position of Henry George, and, presumably, of Count Tolstoi, from whom Mr. Bryan quotes.

The socialist agrees that we can do no less than this; but he maintains that we must do more. We must enforce equal rights to the use not only of land, but of tools as well. Where their centralization necessitates their collective ownership, let them be collectively owned; otherwise, let them be individually owned. Whatever else may be necessary to make the race fair he would insist upon; and he specifies, for use while needed, graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, franchises and land values, state insurance, pensions for aged and exhausted workers, complete education for all children, and the free administration of justice. He is not planning to convert society into a great penitentiary. He is not a bureaucrat, but a democrat; not a slave-driver, but an emancipator, demanding a "square deal" and an equal chance for the least and lowest; he is a socialist because he is an individualist, and can see no scope or opportunity for true individualism short of socialism. Can Mr. Bryan?

If an historical example of socialism is sought, it may best be found by turning to Athens in the Age of Pericles, the Old World's greatest democrat, but substituting for the ancient slave the modern machine.

Here, for the free population, the problem of making a living was practically solved, and time could be given to higher things than drudgery. Competition, however, as seen in the Olympic games, so far from being "entirely exterminated," reached its highest and finest type. Athletes, artists, poets, sculptors, philoso-

phers—deathless geniuses in all fields of endeavor—devoted their best years to preparation, and then entered the contest in the presence of the whole people. What grander opportunity could fair-minded individualists ask?

But the Athenians remembered their sane rule of "measure in all things." Victory they rewarded not with the power to exploit and debauch the community, but with a simple wreath of wild olive; and defeat meant not servitude, madhouse, or suicide, but opportunity to try again. And in this atmosphere of stimulus and encouragement, achievement attained a pinnacle of perfection which has been the despair of all subsequent ages. Such opportunity and stimulus, socialism, it is believed, will afford.

Nevertheless, to compete is not the chief end of man. There is a plane upon which competition seems a sacrilege. Jesus, *e. g.*, was no competitor. He was willing to die, but not to fight; and his chief exponent said: "The child of God must not strive." And there are higher pursuits than toiling for the meat which perisheth. A society which casts its inspired and illumined souls, its artists, poets, seers, and prophets, into the swine-like scramble of the market place, and compels them to choose between "gauging beer-barrels" or huckstering wares and rotting with wife and children in garrets and poorhouses, is writing a dark page into its history. Is it not possible so to adjust our economic and social mechanism that the choicest flowers of the race will be permitted, each in his own way, to blossom and bear his appropriate fruit, unhampered by want or the fear of want, and coerced by no competitive necessity? And will not the condition resulting from such adjustment make not against, but for, the finest individual character and the most "harmonious development of the human race"? For such a condition the socialist, for one, watches, works, and waits.

THOMAS ELMER WILL.

Washington, D. C.

AN OBJECT-LESSON IN THE SOLUTION OF RACE PROBLEMS.

BY FRANK JEWETT MATHER.

"SO YOU are going to Jamaica, where the black men are so many, and so black, that the sun sets at two o'clock in the afternoon," was the remark of a traveled friend, to whom I had told my plans. My visits there, of nearly two months, brought me in contact with more black men and brown, than I had ever before seen, especially in numbers so preponderant as compared with the whites.

After some experience of travel in every Southern state east of the Mississippi, except Florida, it was natural to observe with interest the appearance and conduct of the colored race, to study with some care their habits, development and tendencies, and to contrast their conditions, opportunities and civilization with that of the colored race in our own country.

Meeting at Jamaica "all sorts and conditions of men" under favoring circumstances gave unusual facilities for observation, and for arriving at just conclusions.

The first impression so derived was of the absolute justice obtaining, as between the white race and the colored. This was apparent in many ways. In fact, the white officials, in adjudging the colored people, were like the old Indian who stood up so straight that he *leaned over backward*. An English resident, a justice of the peace, said that if a white man and a colored were brought before him for similar offenses, in case of conviction he inflicted a severer penalty upon the white man, for the reason that he was presumed to know his duty better than the colored man, and was deemed to have offended against greater light.

In reading the various newspapers, in attendance at court and at the legislative council of the island, and in conversation

generally, it was nowhere observed or charged that the colored race was discriminated against. As the Colonial Secretary said: "Every man on this island has absolutely an equal chance."

Another impression was of the mutual consideration and courtesy exhibited by and between the races. Most of the principal wholesale and department stores, as well as the smaller ones, and the shops, are owned or managed by colored people. It was extremely rare to find a white clerk anywhere. In the largest wholesale and retail drug house in Kingston, apparently no white person was interested or employed, and there seemed to be as high a degree of skill and care as would be shown in any similar store in any of our cities.

The Archbishop of the B. W. I., in ministration in his chapel, was ushered in and out by a black man, who also read the service very effectively. The Bishop and a leading rector of the Church of England were similarly attended at the Half-Way Tree Parish Church, where the Governor-General has his pew, as do many of the wealthier residents. Whites and blacks attend the same church indiscriminately. The cashiers and managers of the leading hotels were generally black men, as were practically all the attendants. My tailor was a black man, and skilful.

In the Legislative Council, which is charged substantially with the conduct of affairs of the whole island, a majority of the elected men were colored, many of them of the deepest black; of all the members, nominated or elected, by common consent by far the ablest speaker was a black man, with distinctively the features of the negro. The Governor, always presiding at the Council, surround-

ed by the Colonial Secretary, the Director of Public Works, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, and other officials, listened and made reply to the black members with the same patience and courtesy that he did to the most eminent white men. While in attendance, a feature of the Education Bill was up for discussion, which involved manual instruction in agriculture. The colored race, composing so much the larger portion of the population, mindful of the pit from which they have been dug, are particularly suspicious of any legislation that may be regarded as likely to return them to their former bondage, or relegate them to an inferior position in the scale of civilization. The black orator was ablaze at once. "Why this preference for agriculture over other industries and studies?" he asked, and, looking at the Governor and the officials surrounding him, he said: "If you are so fond of the hoe, take the hoe yourselves." The parties so addressed seemed to admire, rather than deprecate, the personal directness.

The wife of the Mayor of Kingston is said to be colored, and the Governor at his levees invites impartially all officials, white, black or brown.

The electric-car service between Kingston and Constant Spring, and other points, some fifteen miles in extent, appeared to be wholly conducted by black men and brown as motormen, conductors and officials generally, and they rendered the best service I have known. The cars were started and stopped carefully, without jerking, and yet good time was made; the connections in passing were almost invariably on time; the employés were always civil, courteous, and even considerate. Cars were not overcrowded, curtains were lowered to exclude rain or sun, and raised again, quietly and promptly. It was suggested that the Metropolitan Railway of New York should keep a constant detail of new men in tutelage to the black electric-car men of Jamaica.

There were no "Jim Crow" cars,

either on electric lines or steam railroads. Black men and women with their parcels rode with the whites, side by side, on every seat, and I did not see the slightest shrug of the shoulders or sign of displeasure. Many of the large plantations are owned and managed by the blacks, some of whom are capitalists worth a half million of dollars. The absence of crime and violence was noticeable. The records state that there has never been a case of assault upon a white woman by a black man or colored, and there is no place on the Island where a white woman can not go alone, night or day, with absolute impunity. No instance of lynching of anyone could be found. The absence of churlishness, of jealousy, on the part of the colored people was noticeable. "Morning, master," "Morning, missus"; and it was fine to note the gratification expressed when the salutation was equally cordially returned.

The colored people, in large proportion, exhibited a genuine pride of race. On the cars, if there were loud talking by one of their number, the disquiet of the others was visible. On one occasion two colored men left their seat beside me to go to the rear of the car and quiet a colored woman, conversing in loud tones. A young colored man placed a dress-suit case near my feet; an older one said to him: "Too near the gentleman's feet; it may fall over"; and the case was at once farther removed. Other similar instances were noticed.

The editors of the leading newspapers were colored men, and they proved agreeable and instructive. The police were exclusively colored, generally black, and, in their white jackets, wearing white helmets and red sashes, were picturesque. They were very courteous and efficient. They make the rounds of their district at regular intervals, inquire at each house if there is any complaint to be made. If any is made, it is entered in a book, and each householder signs his own complaint, or a statement that he has none to make. During our stay, not the slight-

est criticism of the police was heard, or the least hint of corruption. We were assured on every hand that the government of the Island is free from graft; that while personal influence might play some part, money corruption, or anything like it, was wholly unknown. The "Budget" of the Island is open to every one, and is explicit in detail. A large volume, resembling a modern atlas, of about one hundred and fifty printed pages, containing complete tabulated columns of proposed expenditures, and under each heading a carefully detailed list of items, was placed before every member of the Council. Attention was called by the Governor to every page, with inquiry whether any item was objectionable. Sometimes a page would be turned without remark; at other times a single page would be under discussion for days in open Council. The criticisms were published in the daily papers, so that every one could be informed about the various proposed disbursements.

There are fine scholars and accomplished professional men among the colored people.

There has been much miscegenation, owing largely to the presence of so numerous a detail of the British army and navy. When a colored man has nine-tenths of white blood in his veins he is declared white by law. In some of the lighter shades there is a regularity and fineness of features and a delicate tint of light pink bronze that is really classic.

The women of that race do more work than the men. They go by in endless procession down the mountain to Kingston, carrying all burdens upon the head, from a huge bunch of bananas to a postage stamp. With erect forms, they strike out, up and down the hills, with great vigor and endurance. It is to be admitted that there is still much illiteracy and superstition among the colored people, and the marriage ceremony is not considered generally essential, owing partly to the expense and burden of such ceremonies, and partly to the reluctance of the

women to bind themselves hard and fast, under the primitive conditions existing, and the neglect, too often, of the men to do their share in maintaining a family life. And yet it is wonderful how well domestic life is ordered, under all the circumstances.

In looking over society as we found it, we could but admire the just, impartial administration of law, the self-respecting good-will reciprocally shown between the races, the comparative absence of public lawlessness, in such marked contrast with similar race conditions in our own land; the uptrend of a race, which, still having far to go, has gone far, and is evidently going farther.

The evolution of the colored race in Jamaica, and that of the whites in their relation to them, is wonderfully like that of both races in our own South, and the stock arguments and theories of Southern whites, deprecatory of the colored people, have all been made and advocated, and triumphantly answered, in Jamaica.

The planters in Jamaica relied on sugar-cane alone, yielding sugar and rum, and would not adjust themselves to improving conditions. The planters in the South relied on a single crop, cotton—and resisted the demands of progress.

When the British fiscal policy abolished the preferential duty on sugar, following the act of emancipation, a large proportion of the estates were abandoned, the finances of the colony suffered, and the population generally were injured. The planters, smarting under their losses, refusing to adapt themselves to the changed requirements, ignored the general interests of the Island, and the claims of the blacks upon them for protection, education and development, and legislated only for their own class. The local government clashed fiercely with that of the empire.

The Southern whites were bitterly opposed to Federal intervention, and to the presence of Federal arms on their soil, and persistently sought and obtained the removal of the troops, while they jealously

regarded the control of the Federal courts.

At the outset of the career of the blacks in free Jamaica, those who had been well treated and trained as slaves made the best colored citizens. It was so in our own South.

The education of the freed blacks in Jamaica was supported mainly, at the outset, by the imperial government. In like manner, the education of the freed blacks in our own South, in the early stages of their freedom, was stimulated largely by Northern funds.

The local government of Jamaica entirely ignored the freed men after their emancipation, and made no effort to train them as citizens. The planters stood proudly aloof and declined to recognize the changed and improved conditions of the blacks, and treated them in a manner which engendered keen antagonism. The legislation was primarily in the interest of the whites, and had practically no reference to that of the great body of the people. The whites organized and maintained an exclusive body, dealing with public matters for their own exclusive advantage, willfully disregarding the rights of the blacks. Such conduct of affairs culminated in the Eyer rebellion in 1865. It is needless to draw further parallel. It was from the date of that rebellion that the progress of the freed men began. An imperial dictator was sent out, instructed to care for the people in mass, without discrimination; a new fiscal system was created; positive reforms were effected in all departments; an efficient police were installed; a better judiciary was established; prison methods were reformed; better sanitary laws were enacted; public works were organized; education was cared for, and taxes were considerably remitted.

The arrival of the dictator was the signal for the political retirement of the planters, who never emerged therefrom. The Crown government had reconstructed the colony. The whites chafed under the rigorous, impartial rule; the blacks were contented and satisfied, and

are to-day the strongest adherents to that government. In the absence of formulated convictions, the intuitions serve well the great body of the colored race, and they cling to Crown-colonial government with unshaken tenacity.

In looking over a society so novel in its political and social aspects, it was natural to seek for the causes which had produced such results.

First in order and importance appeared the long-continued, intelligent, patient, religious, missionary work, which has been carried on for generations. While that work had much to encounter, it nevertheless made a lasting and substantial impression and laid an assured foundation for the work of the secular law. The fact of such work, and its influence upon the civilization of the island, was universally recognized by the thoughtful and well-informed.

Another potent factor was the just, impartial administration of the laws. It was more and more evident that the normal solution of all race problems is simpler than is generally supposed; it is found in justice, intelligently, impartially administered. The wisdom, as well as fairness, of intrusting a considerable share of the administration of law to the blacks themselves, was amply vindicated. A colored man policing the city is even upon his honor, and stimulated by his pride, to more vigilantly protect the community against his own race; while colored people more willingly obey the law which they themselves are set to uphold. No suspicion of partiality, or racial hostility to law officers, can live in such a situation. The effect of such conditions extends far beyond the immediate contacts of the people with the authorities, even to a general mental and moral stimulus. It is an object-lesson of opportunity; an incitement to effort; a positive factor in the development of character.

It was interesting to inquire what subtle influence, like an atmosphere, vitalized this just administration of law, and

made possible these varied, racial opportunities, and aided in their realization, in achievement and in character. It was obviously found in that clear, crystalline, political air, which comes across the ocean from the British shores; it seemed that the moral *imperium in imperio* was found in that imperial hand reaching far out over distant waters from still more distant lands, at once pressing upon and yet upholding, every man, woman and child on the island with absolute impartiality.

As already intimated, Jamaica is a Crown colony, as the very designation implies governed in the last analysis by Great Britain. The chief executive is the Governor-General, appointed at London. There is a privy council, consisting of the senior military officer on the island, not below the rank of lieutenant-colonel; the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, and other persons, not exceeding eight in number, nominated by the Crown; at present there are only four nominated members.

The present Legislative Council is comprised of the Governor (President), five *ex officio* members; the senior military officer in command of his Majesty's regular troops in Jamaica, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Director of Public Works, and the Collector-General, ten members nominated by the Crown, and fourteen members elected by the people; one for each parish. The Council lasts five years, and sits when summoned by the Governor, usually for three months in the early part of the year.

The King may disallow any law within two years of its passing. On the whole, English law prevails.

Contrast such a government with that in our own Southern States, where practically no outside interference is permissible, and where the colored race are substantially at the mercy of local interests, prejudices and antipathies, restricted in force and direction only by local law. Until the withdrawal of the Federal troops from the South, there was

a very modified similar restraining force.

Whatever the necessity, politically, for such withdrawal, undoubtedly it set back many years the development of the colored people, and set in motion and encouraged a current of hostile influences against which it is, and for a long time will be, hard for a disfavored race to make headway. We went to Jamaica with decided prejudice against the English colonial system—we left it with regret that we had not some similar administration in parts of our own land, and with many queries whether our Federal government would not have to come more and more in play in the respective States as an indispensable counterpoise to otherwise uncontrollable local interests, wrongs and antipathies. And yet how far foreign colonial policies may be adopted safely by us, the future will determine. It is certain that we are neither adapted nor equipped as Great Britain is for such enterprises. The genius of our institutions, and the distinct mandates of our Charter and Constitution, as understood by plain people, and all our traditions, stand in strong contrast with the unwritten flexible Constitution of Great Britain, readily adjusting itself to the changing, growing needs of its peoples and of its civilization, with its centuries of monarchical government and traditions of empire.

The equitable spirit, and scientific, executive expertness of the British Colonial system was finely illustrated in the personnel of the Jamaican officials and in the quality of their work. We begin too often at the top and work down; the British Colonials begin at the bottom and work up. The selection of officials in the British Colonial service is the result of the most rigid eclecticism. A study of the lives of the most successful of the Colonial Governors showed that they began as clerks in the Home Office and were advanced step by step, as fitness was developed and as exigencies required. The spirit of the policy adopted and in force in that service is of conciliation,

rather than of arbitrary rule. It many times occurred to me that if Great Britain had stood in our shoes in the Philippines, probably few, if any, lives would have been lost, and many millions of dollars would have been saved and civilization would have advanced much faster and farther. Aguinaldo and other leading Filipinos would have been honorably and usefully employed; the native resources of the Island would have been utilized at once to the utmost practicable extent, and encouragement given at an early day of participation in domestic government under a mutually satisfactory protectorate. The Filipinos would not have been told in plain words that they were incapable of self-government; that no matter what their capabilities or ambitions, they were to be good and do as they were told, and that at some indefinite distant time they might be allowed such measure of political control as was thought by the governing powers to be suitable for them to have and to exercise. But we have learned much; perhaps—who knows?

England, dealing with race problems so many centuries, is far ahead of us in toleration and amelioration of racial differences. I recall some years ago, a black man, with his wife and a sister, entering the dining-room of the Charing Cross Hotel, London, where over three hundred guests were seated; his complexion was coal-black, and his features were faultless; in Charles Lamb's words: "God's image carved in ebony"; and his French was admirable. Not a sound was heard, not a muscle moved or an eyelid raised in protest. Remarking the fact, two years ago, to a traveled friend and counselor, at a leading hotel in Charleston, South Carolina, I said that if that should occur in this house, it would be telephoned over the city, telegraphed

over the state, the Associated Press would carry the fact all over the land, and this house would be closed. The time will come—it will take time—when New York and Charleston will be as free as London.

It was consoling, at Jamaica, to reflect how compensatory are the divine decrees; that if a large proportion of the human race are to suffer from the limitations of color, at least they are given the fairest regions of the earth for their inheritance. Professor Haddon, of Cambridge, says that Java, Ceylon and Jamaica, are the most beautiful islands in the world. They are the homes of the colored races.

After some travel in various lands, I had not supposed that nature had such reserves of fertility and beauty as abound in Jamaica, where the climate, for the most part, sustains and does not destroy, delights and does not distress; where the birds, in varied plumage, waken the mornings, continuously, with their sweet songs; where the flowers bloom perpetually; where fruits and vegetables yield their abundance, comparatively without effort; where the eye is charmed with an infinitely diversified reach of mountain and of shore; and where, especially at sunset and by moonlight, the skies rejoice in colors such as no brush can depict and no words describe.

As I read history, reflect upon the inspired utterances, observe the trend of opinion and the tendency of affairs, I cannot but think, hope and believe, that He who has ordained justice, who loves mercy, and delights in equality of opportunity, will yet bring about all over the earth an equal chance for these dusky men and women, and an equal development of these children of the night.

FRANK JEWETT MATHER.

Summit, N. J.

HERESY IN THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

BY KATHERINE KILGORE.

THIS country has had the honor of producing the latest ecclesiastical heretic. The newspapers both here and in England have been ringing with his name, and the little town of Batavia has won distinction as the scene of his trial and condemnation. As a spectator of that scene, I felt inclined to rub my eyes and to ask whether, indeed, I belonged to a generation which has witnessed the opening of the twentieth century, and talks much of scientific and philosophical progress. To men trained in the new learning of our time, there comes a shock of surprise when they realize that many of their contemporaries, some of them thoughtful and, in a way, scholarly men still hark back to Thomas Aquinas and medieval imaginings as if the Reformation and modern science had never been. Yet that such is the fact, recent events have too abundantly proved.

Who is the man that is threatened with professional ruin and excommunication from the Church because of his theological convictions and honesty in proclaiming them? All who knew the Rev. Algernon S. Crapsey, Rector of St. Andrew's Church (Protestant Episcopal) Rochester, New York, are unanimous in their judgment of him as a singularly devoted minister of religion, high-minded philanthropist, public-spirited citizen, and withal, a man gifted with immense powers of imagination and creative thought. For about thirty years he has labored in one parish, consisting for the most part of sturdy working folk, and this parish, strong, vigorous, and flourishing has been the sheer creation of his genius. In all great social and moral questions he has consistently lifted up his voice on behalf of the humane and progressive side. Other men give their time, their talents

or their money to their flocks; he has given himself. And in order to enhance the gift, he did not put away his books when he left college. His has been a studious and meditative as well as active career. Among the many convictions, which his investigations and questionings brought him, one so took possession of him that he determined to cry aloud and spare not. What is that conviction? It is that the spirit of Avarice and the spirit of Superstition are poisoning the life of the Church, and that they must be exorcised by a return to the spirit of Christ's teaching, if the Church is to have any *raison d'être* in the modern world. From his pulpit he, with prophetic fire, urged upon his hearers to mark the signs of the times, to behold the three great spirits at work creating the world that is and the world that is to be: the spirit of scientific investigation, that will know nothing but the truth; the spirit of democratic revolution which will trust no one but the people; the spirit of social evolution, which will call no man common or unclean. These and similar propositions Dr. Crapsey expounds and justifies in his small but now famous book, *Religion and Politics*. That volume, when published a year ago, appeared to strike the ecclesiastical world of Western New York like a bombshell. Instead of trying to rise to the height of Dr. Crapsey's great argument some of his brother-ministers, after microscopic examination of his work, succeeded in finding a few sentences that appeared to contradict the generally received or traditional theology of the Church, and a mingled shout and groan of horror compelled the Bishop to take action. The culprit's trial took place not in Rochester where the alleged offense was committed, for fear of an uproar

among the people, but in Batavia, a town hard to find and when found, far from fascinating.

Now what was the indictment against the defendant? The charges were many and of varying gravity, but the two positions which gave most serious offense were his refusal to regard the Virgin birth as historical or essential to the Christian faith and his assertion that the Resurrection of Christ was spiritual and rested on His appearances to and manifestations in the souls of men, not in the empty grave or the stories of His eating and drinking with His disciples. He was found guilty of denying the Incarnation and the Resurrection, though he asserts that he maintains both and questions only the common interpretation of the mode or manner in which these facts have emerged in the field of history. How, then, does the case stand as between the condemned clergyman and his judges?

As to the Virgin birth, even conservative and orthodox scholars admit that it stands on a different level, so far as evidence goes, from the Resurrection. All sincere readers of the New Testament know that whether it be a fact or no, the evidence for it is very slight. St. Paul knows nothing of it, for he speaks of the death, burial and resurrection of the Savior as constituting his Gospel. St. Peter and St. John never mention it. The only documents which speak of it are the Gospels of St. Matthew and of St. Luke. But the First Gospel is, in the opinion of New Testament critics of all schools, anonymous and we know nothing of the source from which the opening chapters are derived. Hence for this stupendous fact we have only one witness—St. Luke; and even in his Gospel, as originally written, the story had no place, for assuming the Lucan authorship of the Acts, here is his description of the “former treatise” (that is, the Gospel): “concerning all that Jesus *began both to do and to teach* until the day in which he was taken up” (Acts, 1:1, 2). The allusions to the Virgin birth in the second

century writers are no witness to any independent tradition: they fall back on these difficult and enigmatic passages in the First and Third Gospels. Can anyone who is not hopelessly wedded to a blind traditionalism assert, in view of these undoubted facts, that the Virgin birth is a fact of essential Christianity so that its denial means that the denier *ipso facto* ceases to be a Christian? Clearly all right-minded persons will vote Dr. Crapsey “Not guilty” on, this head of the indictment.

Now let us turn to the question of the Resurrection. Dr. Crapsey feels the perplexities which the Resurrection narratives excite in every candid mind. He would agree with Professor Gardiner who writes thus: “The mass of testimony as to the physical appearances of Jesus Christ after the crucifixion is formless and full of inconsistencies.” (*Historic View of the New Testament*, p. 166.) And he knows that Schmiedel in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* has drawn up a formidable list of discrepancies between the various narratives. For these and other reasons he cannot accept a *physical* resurrection and if this be an error he errs in company with such Anglican theologians as Dr. Rushdall Hastings and Dr. H. H. Henson. But while denying a material, he affirms a *spiritual* resurrection. So great was Jesus that death, while working its will on His body, could not imprison His spirit. He could not be holden of the grave. And the fact that He triumphed over death was written deep in the hearts of His followers: on that fact the Church and Christianity were built. “His life,” says this so-called heretic, “was the manifestation of the Eternal. It was as indestructible as air; sin could not touch it; death could not hurt it. Sin and death were destroyed by its presence.”

In other words, Dr. Crapsey does not rest his belief in the Resurrection on alleged facts known to us only through tradition and therefore open to historical criticism, but on the accumulated spirit-

ual experience of nineteen centuries. That Christ lives in the fulness of His personal life, and that He is King of humanity, as well as Head of the Church, is Dr. Crapsey's joyful conviction. Why do not his opponents see that this is the core of the Christian message, and that they are endangering the very religion they profess to serve by binding it up with traditional ideas of the circumstances of its origin?

Within the Episcopal Church as within other churches the battle is really between the theologians and the ecclesiastics. The ecclesiastics are those who may claim spiritual descent from him of the seventeenth century who charged the men of his day with "the impious and profane audacity of changing a single vowel-point in the Word of God, or of substituting a smooth breathing for a rough, or a rough for a smooth," and whose daily prayer was, "*Imple me, Deus, odio hereticorum.*" The theologians on the contrary, know that their science deals with the great Insolubles of God, Life, Sin, Salvation, Destiny, and that these cannot be adequately conceived in thought or set forth completely in human speech. They have learned to be modest, to confess their ignorance and limitation on many subjects which at one time were thought to be fully explored and known. They have also learned to distinguish between the realms of History and Faith, and are convinced that while History is the realm of the relative and the temporal, Faith is the realm of the absolute and the eternal. The ecclesiastics may beat their drum

and make much noise, but as history shows, when the Church is in real danger, it is the theologians that save her.

Of the outcome of the conflict on which, as it seems, the Church has entered, there can be no reasonable doubt. A few years ago the struggle was waged round the Old Testament. The critical school has won all along the line. The worst thing you can say to-day of a man's views of the Old Testament is that they are "pre-critical." The principles of criticism are now being applied to the literature of the New Testament, the historical origins of Christianity. Just as in the former battle, so in this, criticism will win the day. It will pass through three stages: first the new views will be hated and their upholders, if possible, thrust out of the Church with contumely and reproach. Then will come a suspicion that after all the heretics may be right or at least not fatally wrong. And finally, a new conception will arise in which all that is vital in heresy will be incorporated, and we will burn what we have adored and proceed to adore what we have burned. If Dr. Crapsey should eventually suffer in an ecclesiastical sense, let him take comfort from the thought that he will do so in company with the prophets, with Maurice, with Jowett, with Macleod Campbell, with Robertson Smith and with his own great master, Count Leo Tolstoi, and that as in the case of these men, after he has been stoned, he will receive a monument.

KATHERINE KILGORE.

Boston, Mass.

THE ANGLO-SAXON CRIME.

BY HON. THOMAS SPEED MOSBY,
Pardon-Attorney to the Governor of Missouri.

THE DISTINCTIVELY Anglo-Saxon crime is "contempt of court." Not only is it of peculiarly Anglo-Saxon origin, but it is the one anomaly in the jurisprudence of the United States and of the Anglo-Saxon countries.

The distinguishing peculiarities of the crime are these: (1) No man may certainly know when he commits it; (2) there is no right of trial by jury to determine the guilt or innocence of the person charged; (3) the offender is arraigned before his accuser alone, who is prosecutor, judge and jury in the cause; (4) there is no limitation upon the amount of the fine or the extent of the imprisonment imposed; and (5) no power on earth can pardon one convicted of the crime.

Thus, if one say of a judge that he reaches his decisions through bias and prejudice, this is a grievous contempt, and there is no way to escape whatsoever penalty the judge may see fit to impose. Even the truth of the charge can be no defense, because the offended judge himself is the trier of the facts, and to attempt a defense by justification would be simply to ask the judge to convict himself of incompetency in the administration of his office. Such a state of facts may well suggest the facetious couplet attributed to Robert Burns:

"For you know that old Mansfield, who writes like
the Bible,
Says, the more 't is the truth, sir, the more 't is a
libel."

As illustrating the extent to which the doctrine of contempt of court is sometimes carried, a Southern lawyer tells of a modern Dogberry who was the judge of a county court, and as such had some duties besides legal ones to perform, but who never for a moment forgot that he

was at all times the "embodiment of the law." Among his extra-judicial functions this county judge sometimes performed the duties of an auctioneer. As such, on one occasion, he was employed to dispose of the stock of a retailer who had died a short time before. While the auction was in progress one of the bidders became so boisterous that the auctioneer was finally exasperated to the point of suddenly assuming his character as judge, and as such he fined the offender the sum of \$25 for contempt of court. An attorney on the ground immediately made application for remission of the fine, maintaining that the judge, when acting as an auctioneer was not sitting in his capacity as a court, and that therefore the crime of contempt of court could not be committed. The judge heard the argument with increasing wrath, rising to the height of his dignity when the attorney closed, and then, glaring fiercely at the presumptuous lawyer, pronounced the following solemn judgment: "Sir, I would invite your attention to the fact that I am the judge of this county under any and all circumstances; I am, sir, the judge, from the rising of the sun to the setting of the same! And as such, sir, let me tell you that I am always and everywhere an object of contempt!"

Although a knowledge of these facts is practically confined to the learned and limited coterie of bench and bar, yet they are as ancient as the common law of England.

Only the judges have the power to define contempt, and these definitions may narrow or broaden with judicial caprice. In England it has even been held a contempt to say that certain words did not constitute a contempt, and that decision has been cited with approval by American

courts, so that the more that one attempts to deny his guilt the deeper he is likely to become involved in it. No man can know of a certainty whether his words will be regarded as a contempt, until after he has uttered them and is advised by the court at whose bar he is arraigned. Nor can he imagine the extent of his punishment, until judgment shall have been pronounced.

This is the law throughout the British empire and in every state in the American union excepting two, viz., Georgia and Louisiana. In these two states the State constitutions authorize the State Legislatures to define contempt of court and say what the minimum and maximum punishment shall be. All the other American constitutions are silent upon the subject, and wherever statutes have been enacted seeking to abridge, impair, define, limit or regulate the supreme judicial power involved in the law of contempts, those statutes, wherever tested, have been declared and held to be unconstitutional and void as attempts to destroy the "inherent power" of the courts.

These views are established in opinions rendered by the supreme courts of Alabama, Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Florida, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Maine, Mississippi, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, West Virginia, Colorado, Georgia, Michigan, Nebraska, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Vermont, Virginia, by the United States courts, and by the supreme court of Missouri, the last-named court affording the most recent and exhaustive decision, which is found in the 177th volume of the Missouri Supreme Court Reports, at page 205, where all the decisions and authorities are collated.

The two great law-writers on the subject, *Rapalje on Contempt* and *Paterson on Liberty of the Press*, also support these views of the law, as does the *American*

and *English Encyclopædia of Law* (2d edition), Vol. VII.

What is now known as "constructive contempt" (i. e., contempts not committed by means of overt acts in the immediate presence of the court), was known under the old English common law as *scandalum magnatum*, and the offense consisted of "scandalizing the sovereign, the ministers, members of Parliament, the courts and the judges, and other persons of high rank."

Upon the authorities above cited it may be stated that in the United States the *scandalum magnatum* was never revised in its entirety but once since the Revolution, and that was in the old Alien and Sedition Law, under the elder Adams. Since the repeal of that statute *scandalum magnatum* has no application in this country excepting to courts and judges, and they have steadfastly overruled and set at naught all legislative attempts to get away from the common law of England on this subject.

The American Congress has never claimed the inherent powers exercised by the British Parliament in this regard, nor have the State legislatures, nor has any American executive ever sought to invoke the *scandalum magnatum* in defense of his reputation, but the judiciary has constantly and consistently claimed the power as one of its inherent and inseparable attributes as a separate and distinct branch of the government.

In singular contrast with this Anglo-Saxon peculiarity was the Latin view of the same subject. Although the Roman laws of libel and slander were the most stringent of the ancient world, they in all cases relegated the injured party, whether public official, court or executive, to his private remedy at law, and the summary procedure involved in the law of contempts was unknown to the Romans. While the Latins protected private character, they were not sensitive to the quasi-seditious utterances characterized by the

common law of England as *scandalum magnatum*.

A learned writer says that the first case reported was that wherein the Emperor Augustus wished "to punish a historian who passed some stinging jests on him and his family, but Mæcenâs advised him that the best policy was to let such things pass and be forgotten." Cæsar said that to retaliate was only to contend with impudence and put one's self on the same level. Tiberius expressed a like opinion. The Theodosian Code expressly declared that slanderers of majesty should be unpunished, for if this proceeded from levity, it was to be despised; if from madness, it was to be pitied; and if from malice, it was to be forgiven; for all such sayings were to be regarded according to the weight they bore.

But the modern nations of the continent of Europe have in their *lèse majesté* an offense perfectly analagous to the *scandalum magnatum* of the common law and the "constructive contempt" of the American law.

In applying the law of constructive

contempt to "seditious" newspaper men the American courts, however, have always taken pains to say that the press in this country has unlimited freedom, subject, of course, to the court's right to say whether or not it has abused that freedom; which is much like Oliver Cromwell's grant of religious freedom to the Irish; when he said: "Let them practise what religion they please, but if any man of them be caught saying mass, let him be hanged."

And yet, when one considers the tremendous and absolute power which the judiciary has taken to itself in the matter of constructive contempts, astonishment at the existence of that power in a free country is no greater than that which arises when we contemplate the singular wisdom and forbearance with which it has been usually exercised, the courts to this time having fairly lived up to the old maxim, that it is well to have a giant's power, but villainous to use it like a giant. But the germ of absolutism is there, and may yet bear fruit.

THOMAS SPEED MOSBY.

Jefferson, Mo.

THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE IN COLORADO.*

III. EIGHT-HOUR AGITATION STRIKES AND FIGHTS.

BY HON. J. WARNER MILLS.

IN OUR last chapter was written an adieu to the pageant of the throne-powers, but it was not an adieu to the throne-powers themselves, for they, or some one or more of them, will continue with us to the end of our series; and although they may attempt to conceal their presence, nevertheless you will see their cunning hands and occasionally their heads—but never their hearts—throughout the economic struggle we are about to recount.

*The first of this series of articles appeared in the July, 1906, number of THE ARENA.

A BIT OF PHILOSOPHY.

If we may be permitted to introduce the story now in hand by a bit of philosophizing it would be something like this:

Under a right economy labor could not be oppressed; for then land and natural opportunities would be unlocked and accessible upon equal terms to all, and all would then perform some useful labor and social parasites and drones would be unknown. But with the maladjustments of the existing order, the eight-

hour struggle is inevitable; so in time is the six-hour* struggle; and while such a struggle, as a remedy, is superficial in the broad and open field of economics, still it is fundamental in the narrow and fenced field of existing conditions.

It was these conditions Byron saw when in the "Corsair" he declaimed:

"Such hath it been,—shall be—beneath the Sun
The many still must labor for the one."

JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STRUGGLE.

The justification for state interference in fixing the hours of labor is thus stated by Sidney Webb and Harold Cox:†

"The state is compelled to interfere between machinery and man, because otherwise man would be crushed by the demon of his own creation."

Economists generally deny that an eight-hour work-day would have the effect claimed for it by labor, of diminishing the output so materially that more workers would have to be employed to supply the deficiency. But it seems to be generally admitted that such was the effect of the adoption of the ten-hour day. Webb and Cox, *Eight-Hour Day*, p. 95.

For us, who believe in the nobility of toil and in the right of the toiler to the full product of his toil, it is as little as we can do, while such product goes in large part into the hands of those who do not produce it, to treat at least sympathetically every struggle for a shorter working-day. Of course it is easy to point out the inevitableness of such a struggle under the existing economy, also its persistent re-

*A six-hour work-day has already been proposed in New Zealand, and it is familiar knowledge that if we had no drones and all bees in the hive were workers, three hours or less of work per day would be sufficient to meet all the demands of production. Parson's *Story of New Zealand*, p. 585. But the report of the Industrial Commission says, "there is no proposition of any weight for a five or a six-hour day," and seems to conclude that an eight-hour day is about right, that it gives time to improve the home, to study the problems of citizenship and to better the character, and incidentally the whole community, *Rep. Indus. Com.*, Vol. XIX., pp. 772-3. A six-

currence, running the gamut from eighteen hours to sixteen, from sixteen hours to fourteen, from fourteen hours to twelve, from twelve hours to ten, from ten hours to nine or eight, from eight hours to seven or six, and so on down the weary scale, unless, meantime, the right remedy is applied and a right economy is adopted and labor is at last allowed to claim its own.

LOOKING DOWN THE CENTURIES.

As to the present struggle throughout a large portion of the civilized world for an eight-hour day, it is not without profit to remember that, at least as to the building trades, eight hours was the normal working-day in England even as long ago as the fifteenth century,‡ and that as to those particular crafts labor is now simply trying to recover lost ground.

The "guild" laws that existed prior to the coming of modern machinery and the factory system always provided: "no one shall work longer than from the beginning of the day until curfew," nor "at night by candle-light."§ But at the particular period when modern machinery and manufactures overturned the then existing order, the working hours in the new employments were unlimited; and, as is always the case with task-drivers trying to stand solid with their employers by producing large results and profits, no mercy was shown to the toilers. Men, women and children,—even boys and girls less than ten years old,—in the factories, and in the mines to furnish the factories with coal, were obliged to work each day from fourteen to sixteen hours!

hour day is enough for the boot and shoe trade and would increase employment. *Id.*, Vol. VII., pp. 38-9.

†*The Eight-Hour Day*, p. 243; Adams and Sumner, *Labor Problems* p. 261; *Rep. Indus. Com.*, Vol. XIX., pp. 764-772; *Id.*, Vol. VII., p. 38; *Id.*, Vol. XII., pp. xiv, lxxii, cxxx.; *Id.*, Vol. XIV., p. cix.; *Id.*, Vol. XVII., p. xlv.

‡J. E. Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages in England*; Webb and Cox, *Eight-Hour Day*, p. 14.

§Brentano's *History and Development of Guilds*.

Even a heart of stone ought to be turned to sympathy and action when the past outrages upon labor are recalled in such a description as this:

"Infants five years old were allowed to work in the cotton factories from five in the morning until eight at night; and in the bleaching works uncomplaining little ones, of eleven and under, were kept continually at labor during the same hours in a temperature of 120°. . . . Mothers who lived near the cotton factories might be seen taking their crying infants to work at dead of night. . . . In the coal mines of Lancashire and Yorkshire, where the output had been greatly stimulated by the consumption of the mills, juvenile labor was in great demand, and boys four years old were brought to work wrapped only in their night-clothes, where they had to toil naked, often in the mud and water, dragging sledge tubs by the girdle and chain for a longer time than we now permit strong men to work in the sunshine."*

No wonder the people's prophet of a better day indignantly demands of the task-drivers still plying the exploiter's lash:

"How will you ever straighten us this shape,
Touch it again with immortality,
Give back the upward looking and the light,
Rebuild in it the music and the dream,
Make right the immemorial infamies,
Perfidious wrongs—immedicable woes."†

In the year 1349 (22 Edward III.), the "statute of laborers" was passed to check the rise of wages incident to the devastation of the famous plague known his-

*David D. Thompson on "The Eight-Hour Movement" in *The Statesman*, Vol. VI., pp. 268-9, February, 1890.

†Those who thoughtlessly conclude that these "infamies," "wrongs" and "woes" of the labor class are at an end should look into our coal and metal mines, into the lumber and railroad camps of the South, into the sweat-shops of our cities, into conditions prevailing in factories and mills, into the debauching condition of labor's toiling daughters in offices and stores, and they will then be permanently disillusioned. They should also read the latest thrilling presentation of these "infamies," "wrongs" and "woes" in Upton Sinclair's great novel *The Jungle*.

torically as the "black death." The demand for labor was in excess of the supply, and the lords and barons caring nothing for the present-day fustian of the propriety of such legislation, had parliament enact that, "workmen are to serve whoever first requires them, at a fixed rate of wages, on pain of imprisonment."

In 1548 (3 Edward VI.), a statute was passed forbidding all conspiracies and covenants of workmen not to make or do their work but at a certain rate or price," and the third conviction was punishable by the pillory, the loss of an ear and by being taken as a person infamous.

Let the reader now pause for a moment and consider these "immemorial infamies, perfidious wrongs and immedicable woes" that have thus been ruthlessly imposed upon labor. Think of the brutal slavery that consigned a workman, by statute, to the first employer who should catch him up, and that held him to work for wages in which he had no voice, upon penalty of imprisonment! Think, too, of the infamy of putting him in the stocks, or cutting off his ear, or of driving him from society as an outlaw, because he tried to have his fellows agree with him as to the rate of wages for which they would work!

Yet, as we shall presently see, in Colorado and Idaho even greater crimes and indignities, with apparent impunity, can still be heaped upon labor. These English crimes against labor have been denounced by an American court as "coarse and brutal."‡ But the voice of the first court, either American or foreign, has yet to be heard in condemnation of the recent brutal crimes of deportation and kidnapping.

‡*Master Stevedores' Ass'n vs. Walsh*, 2 Dailey (N. Y., 1867), 1. This case collects and refers to many English statutes, showing that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries numerous laws were enacted establishing rates of wages and hours of labor in different occupations, and they could only be altered "in the discretion of a court of Quarter Sessions." In 1799 an act was passed called the "Combination Laws" (39 and 40 Geo. III.), intended to suppress all combinations of workmen

LABOR STILL UNDER THE HEEL.

Labor is still under the heel of the oppressor. This one fact is so clear to me and burrows so deep into my consciousness that it becomes a positive pain. That those who sow, sow only for others to reap, and to reap, too, with strong hand and insolence, is so repugnant to my sense of equity and ethics that I am impelled, not by vengeance and hate but by love and sympathy, to consecrate my voice and pen whenever the opportunity offers to the service of sounding the tocsin of justice, of raising the flag of social distress and of calling out society's reserves, until the heel of the oppressor is raised, and every man, woman and child receives not only a part but the full product of their toil.

In the coal-camps and sweat-shops and mines, not in England alone but in every other country, and in America as well, not in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries alone, but even now in the twentieth, the burden thrown upon the back of labor has still the crushing weight of centuries of oppression, and the "iron law of wages" linked to the long and leaden hours of toil have all but turned the toilers into abject slaves. This is the frightful condition painfully apparent to every lover of the race. Justly aroused and indignant is the people's poet-prophet, when he sees upon the canvas for the hollow reverence of a thoughtless world, the bent and broken form of a "slave of the wheel of labor," indelibly preserved by the painter's finest touch in the humble attitude of prayer.

No wonder his sympathetic soul was stirred to its depths and broke forth in

for the purpose of raising wages. All contracts or schemes between laborers for obtaining an advance of wages, for shortening hours of labor, or decreasing the quantity of work, brought upon the poor conspiring—yet aspiring—wage-slave an imprisonment at hard labor for three months. This was the "high-water mark of adverse labor legislation." But it was a quarter of a century later, 1825, before there was any substantial statute passed in aid of labor; and more than a century later (1906) before labor stood on the floor of the English Parliament making laws in its own right. _

rebuke with such stinging words as these:

"Is *this* the handiwork you give to God!
This monstrous thing, distorted and soul-quenched
Down all the stretch of hell to its last gulf
There is no shape more terrible than this;
More tongued with censure of the world's blind
greed,
More filled with signs and portents for the soul,
More fraught with menace to the Universe."

THE DAY OF DELIVERANCE.

The day of deliverance is now at hand. This "dumb terror" is about to "make reply to God after the silence of the centuries." This is Labor's day and Labor's fight, and the man with the pick and the hammer and with the shovel and the hoe is about to have his inning. It is the man that makes the product that has now come to claim it, not to claim some of it, but to claim it all. The man that has long been sitting on the lid, doing nothing but take the product from the toiler underneath, is about to receive a jolt. If he would get off peaceably there would be no one hurt, but resistance means a jar. The fight for the right to organize and for shorter hours will make the old lid rattle and slam and bounce to the hurt at first of those struggling to get from underneath, but to the lasting hurt of those who stick to the top of the lid till it suddenly comes up and off with a thud, and they are maimed or mangled by its fearful fall. Let the reader now watch the lid as the struggle goes on,—goes on in Colorado and Idaho, and goes on, too, in the rest of the world. But just now look a few minutes at Colorado with the throne-powers on the lid and the miners underneath.

COLORADO AND EVOLUTION.

Let me observe at the outset, however, that it is not my purpose to write either a local or general history of labor, or a history of labor's struggle for the right to organize, but merely a brief economic history of its struggle in Colorado for shorter hours, with a sufficient intro-

ductory reference to identify the struggle here with the general evolution of the subject.

I have noted above a few facts, showing how the "slaves of the wheel of labor" were brutally driven before there was any day of amelioration through factory and other laws that have increased what Benjamin Kidd calls the "stock of altruistic feeling." I have indicated, too, that we have finally reached the day when amelioration will no longer suffice. Good feeling, or even fair treatment, is not now enough. The giant, Labor, is at last awake and is yawning and stretching ere he shall rise. Already the million of threads twisted and wound about him through his centuries of slumber are beginning to snap, and the Liliputians of tyranny and oppression are falling off in dismay on every side. This giant is fast becoming conscious of his rights,—conscious of the class to which he has been consigned by these Liliputians throughout the centuries. Hence it is "that good feeling or even fair treatment are not enough," for labor has now come to claim its own. It demands not a part, but the whole of the product it produces, and the eight-hour struggle is its present tactics for introducing this demand.

Such tactics, however, would probably avail but little, either in Colorado or elsewhere, if it were not for the evolution of the subject that has gone before. Look at this evolution for a moment:

In the United States, in 1840, when Martin Van Buren saw labor grappling with the "sun to sun" system as a day's work, he issued his order to the navy-yard at Washington putting government labor on a working-day of ten hours; and private labor in the ship-yards was of course obliged to follow suit. The bitter contest for a ten-hour day, that had then been fought for many years preceding, was thus, in a measure, ended by the inspired act of a president who seems in that act alone to have exhausted all the inspiration with which he was ever endowed. We do not go far astray if we

say the fight for an eight-hour day has been going on ever since. Eight-hour leagues, to give the toiling whites larger freedom from toil, were organized as early as 1859,* when John Brown was battling for the immediate freedom of the toiling blacks. Congress took up the subject in 1866. Here we must mention the important service of a noble woman. The wife of General Banks had once been a factory girl in Lowell, Massachusetts, and her husband was now a United States Senator. In the days of her social advancement, however, she was not unmindful of the distress of her youthful comrades, and she persuaded her husband to introduce an eight-hour bill in the Senate of the United States that finally, in 1869, became a law of the nation. This act applied, of course, only to the employment of labor under the United States Government and not to the private employment of labor. President Grant sought to enforce the new law by a proclamation in May, 1869, declaring that wages should not be reduced by the reduction of hours; and by another proclamation in 1872, he tried to stop the evasion of the law. But federal officials, with scheming contractors, have so often connived at the circumvention of this enactment and others of like import, that labor has had to maintain a constant espionage and patrol to prevent the utter overthrow of this wholesome form of legislation. Witness recently the eight-hour evasion in building the Panama canal.

In 1872 and 1873 there were attempts to inaugurate the eight-hour day by strikes. But little progress was made until 1886, when, as I now recall, the great strike of May first of that year, and the elaborate notice and preparations preceding it, brought the carpenters into public view, and won for them an eight-hour day in about one hundred cities of the country. This strike was sufficiently thrilling to draw the expectant attention of the entire

*David D. Thompson on "The Eight-Hour Movement," in *The Statesman*, Vol. VI., February, 1890, p. 369.

nation, and one's memory now almost involuntarily turns to that particular May-day, as on each succeeding first day of May some organized effort has been put forth to secure the coveted boon of a day of eight working hours. I also recall that the American Federation of Labor planned eight-hour agitation meetings for each of the legal holidays of 1889, preparatory to a great eight-hour strike on May 1st, 1890. In the latter year, too, struggling labor with its Socialistic trend became so disturbing a factor to the court at Berlin, that we behold the unique spectacle of the Emperor of Germany calling upon the nations to unite in a demand for more wages and shorter hours for workingmen, and for an amelioration of the working conditions of women and children. And we also see this emperor appointing a council of employes and employers to devise a practical scheme to do justice to labor in the premises. We may observe, parenthetically, that it is always the idea of the "man on the lid," when he experiences a little jolt, to "appoint a committee to do justice"; but it never occurs to him to get off the lid.

In our own country, beginning at least with 1890, and perhaps as early as 1886, it has been seldom, if ever, that the first day of May has slipped by without labor somewhere and in some craft or trade, has boldly drawn its sword for the eight-hour issue, and has finally sheathed it again either in triumphant victory or in depressing defeat. More than once in Colorado has this sword been drawn, and the eight-hour day now long enjoyed by many crafts, tells in mute but eloquent words the result of the issue. But if we turn to the industry of coal and metal-mining, we get a different tale. There, from the fact of danger to the employe and the large profits to the employer, more than in any other occupation perhaps, we ought to find the most liberal and magnanimous treatment of labor. We ought to find, of course, the mill-men and miners in the universal enjoyment of the eight-hour day. But we are doom-

ed to disappointment. There conditions are as bad and, considering the element of danger and profits, they are probably worse than in any other occupation. The card-system now in vogue in the mines, as we shall presently see, is the most pernicious contrivance ever introduced into an industrial conflict in America, and it has come as one of the employer's weapons in an eight-hour fight.

FIGHTING TO REGAIN LOST GROUND.

In Colorado the eight-hour fight in the metal and coal-mines has taken various forms since the agitation first began, and favorable results have at all times been meager and uncertain. In the Northern coal-fields between Denver and Boulder, materially aided by a convenient and untrammelled press and a powerful public sentiment in the near-by cities, an eight-hour day was won by the strike of 1903. In the Southern coal-fields, between Pueblo and Trinidad, the strike of 1903 for an eight-hour day was a pitiable failure. The miners there are almost exclusively foreigners, among whom Japanese, Mexicans, Italians and Negroes predominate. The right to organize is denied them, and they are held in practical bondage by as vicious and servile a lot of city and county officials as ever escaped investigation and punishment through corporation protection.

In years past, in the scattering instances throughout the state where labor unions have been a factor strong enough to secure an eight-hour day in the coal-mines, the miners were paid by the ton. The mine management soon saw its chance, and threw the union men in panic by substituting for the tonnage plan what is now familiarly known as the contract or fathom system. This is the favorite corporation method, for it affords the necessary gamut running from easy ground assigned to pets and spies, to ground so tough that the serfs condemned to make wages out of it find themselves practically working in penal servitude.

Then again, by the contract or fathom method, as a measured block of ground is usually assigned to the miners in groups or pairs, they were induced to believe that they were working for themselves. Hence there was no particular point in limiting their hours of labor. Thus many of the miners were unsuspectingly trapped into becoming virulent opponents of the eight-hour day and lukewarm supporters, if supporters at all, of the organized union. These misguided advocates thus performed a valuable economic service for their masters, and they were rewarded of course by getting the "easy ground."

If we turn now to the reduction works and the smelters, we find that in the earlier operations in the state, eight hours were generally regarded as a day's work. But as the industry developed and more labor was needed, instead of adding the needed labor, the employers doubled the pay for sixteen hours of continuous toil. "The serpent tempted, and they did eat." It was sweet bread for a time, but whether foreseen by either side or not, it concealed an insidious poison. The long hours of toil soon told their usual story, and the employers complained, not without reason, that the sixteen consecutive hours sapped the physical powers to their foundation and the work performed was unsatisfactory and largely ineffective. Then came a "compromise" and the works were run day and night, and the working time of each shift was twelve hours. This was the general rule in Colorado in mills and smelters up to the time of the "great strike of 1903-4."

In the metal-mines for many years eight hours constituted a day's work. The miners then were prospectors also, and they were encouraged, after completing their respective shifts, to take hammer, pick and shovel and search the mountains for their treasures. Times changed, however, and the new men who flocked into the mines cared little to prospect, and they were easily persuaded to be slaves of long hours, and often also at less pay. So they, too, fell short of the

cunning to cope with their employers. But they were not slow in observation and reflection, and they were soon possessed by the new philosophy of capital and labor and soon were fighting to regain the liberties they had lost. They have already measurably succeeded, and in many metal-mining camps, including the Cripple Creek district, the eight-hour day has been the established rule ever since Governor Waite took side with the miners in 1894.

It is an interesting social phenomenon to observe that the coal-miners and metal-miners and smeltermen, as mentioned above, were all, at some time in the industrial history of the state, the unappreciating recipients of an eight-hour day, and were each in turn or time economically fumbled out of this restful boon through their easy-going indifference and unwary trustfulness. This is an important fact and sufficiently explains why, in the struggle that ensued to recover lost ground, each of the three classes of workmen developed an alertness, determination and appreciation of their cause, and a class-feeling of loyalty to it that is almost without parallel in the labor conflicts of America.

(a) *Leadville Strike of 1880.*

The first strike in the metal mines of Colorado was at Leadville in 1880, and whatever may have been the purpose of the strike, it brought as a result the general adoption of the eight-hour system throughout the camp.* Our local historian tells us that the cause of this strike has always been obscure.†

But the government report just referred to adopts in part the mine-owners' version and avers that the cause of the strike was

**Rep. of Com'r of Labor* (Wash., 1906), "Labor Disturbances in Colorado," pp. 69, 74.

†*Dill's Political Campaigns of Colorado*, p. 50. He says: "It is now scarcely doubted that it was organized rather by certain mine-managers than by the miners themselves, and for the purpose of covering up the poverty of some of the mines until the principal stockholders could unload. The truth will probably never be known."

a demand of \$1.00 per day as increase of wages and an all-round eight-hour day, both for "topmen" and underground miners.* Joseph R. Buchanan, now labor-editor of Hearst's *New York Journal*, and referred to in the government report† as "the editor of *The Crisis*, the local organ of the miners," and as having been ordered by the citizens' committee to quit the county, certainly ought to be authority as to the cause of this strike. In his recent thrilling account of it,‡ he says the miners rose in protest because of a threatened cut in their wages. This was in anticipation of the early completion of the railroad, and as the men seeking work and fortune would then come trooping into Leadville by the thousands, the mine-owners caught a glimpse of the brilliant chance to apply the "iron law of wages." But the miners outwitted them. While the bosses were enamored of the glimpse, and were planning and dreaming, the miners, so to speak, became wise and broke in upon the pleasant dreams of their employers with an unanticipated strike. Though with a citizenship preceding this strike by several years, my own personal memory of it is very dim, except I well remember when Governor Pitkin declared martial law, and I heard him later apologize for it in a public speech in the ensuing campaign. In at least one public document his statement is permanently preserved, that he sent the troops to Leadville upon "gross misrepresentations" made by the mine managers and their friends.§

Here, then, is record evidence that in an industrial struggle the mine-owners, in order to rush out the troops, will not hesitate to impose even "gross misrepresentations" upon the governor of the state. We shall see more of this as we progress. Another interesting fact about this strike is given in the government report.|| At a meeting of the mine man-

agers on May 28, 1880, they declined to accede to the demands made by the "Miners' Coöperative Union," as the miners' hastily improvised organization was called, because of "telegrams received from the mine-owners and directors in the East." What a spectacle! Men on the ground, anxious and willing to give the world the jeweled wealth from the loins of the God-created mountains, held in leash by other men more than a thousand miles away! And by men, too, whose only functioning in the mining industry was to hold a written title to the mine, and post at collar shaft or tunnel entrance the tolls and terms upon which the miner might risk his life in taking out the precious metals—not for himself but for the absentee landlords.

Something important to remember further on must also be mentioned here in connection with this initial strike. Mr. Buchanan is my authority.¶ He tells us, in substance, that the mine-owners devised a scheme by which their spies and sympathizers were to jostle the striker on the streets, or engage them in altercation; and thereupon the constituted authorities,—in this case the police, invariably in league with wealth and power,—were to arrest the strikers and throw them behind prison-bars for a pretended breach of the peace. He tells us, too, that they actually worked this infamous scheme; and in a vacant space adjoining the jail, a lot was enclosed with a fence sixteen feet high, and there in this "bull-pen" the victimized miners were mercilessly thrown. It will be in point to remember a little further on, that where property-rights are pitted against human rights, men otherwise good and posing for "law and order" will not scruple at any criminal conspiracy that will help them win, and that in the case in hand they did not scruple to let innocent miners suffer both the penalty and the brand of

**Rep. Com'r of Labor* (Wash., 1905), p. 69.

†*Id.*, p. 73.

‡*The Story of a Labor Agitator*, by Joseph R. Buchanan, pp. 3-36.

§*Bu. Labor Statis.* (Colo.), 1887-8, p. 138.

¶*Rep. Com'r Labor* (Wash., 1905), p. 70.

||Joseph R. Buchanan's *Story of a Labor Agitator*, pp. 18-19.

crime, while they, the guilty, remained wholly "respectable" and absolutely immune from punishment.

(b) *Coal Strike of 1884.*

After the metal-strike of 1880, there was a small coal-strike in 1884, but upon that we cannot tarry. It is enough now to say that at no time in the history of Colorado, save at Trinidad in the recent strike, were the troops ever called out on account of a strike in any of the coal-fields of the state, and no property of any moment has ever been destroyed by the coal-miners. These plodding, docile workers are the burros of the toilers, seldom kicking back despite the many burdens they are made to carry. There is an apparent transmigration now, however, and long before corporate plunder has taken all the coal from our mountains, these tractable toilers are destined to be lions, in breaking their way to freedom from under the lid.

(c) *Bull-Hill War and Mine-Owners' First Army.*

After an industrial peace for about ten years, the lid receives another jolt and we see Governor Waite grappling with the Bull-Hill problem at Cripple Creek. We have referred to this strike in a previous article of this series, and must be brief in our reference to it now. It is a famous conflict in the industrial annals of the state.* It was a struggle for profit on the one side and for time and wages on the other. Most of the mines of the district, at least three-fourths of them, had been paying \$3.00 per day for eight hours' work. The new order, issued by mines owned largely by *foreign landlords*, undertook to make ten hours a day's work for \$3.00, with lunch on the men's own time, or \$2.50 the pay for a

day of eight hours. The moving local spirits to thus increase dividends out of the miners' hours and wages were David H. Moffat, Eben Smith and J. J. Hagerman. Their last preceding quarterly statements showed large dividends, and there was no apparent reason but greed for this new imposition upon the miners.† The laconic statement of the mine-owners was, "*the mines are ours to do with as we see fit.*"

At the time of this strike the Cripple Creek district was a part of El Paso county, with the county-seat some forty miles away at Colorado Springs. Sheriff Bowers was the backbone of the mine-owners' programme and a pliant tool to work their will. Had working-men ventured upon a programme so lawless, insurrection would have been declared and the leaders probably imprisoned or hung. Sheriff Bowers, with the knowledge and authority of the commissioners of El Paso county, began levying an army, or as styled by him, "swearing-in deputies," taking tramp thugs and thumpers from Texas and Wyoming and from Denver and Pueblo, until he had 1,200 men all equipped with newly-purchased arms.‡ He proceeded to divide them into infantry, cavalry and artillery,§ and they were all attended by a martially-prepared paymaster's department and commissariat. This equipment cost El Paso county \$81,592.45.||, and it was all undertaken at the instance of the mine-owners!

This military equipment was infinitely superior to that of the notorious Blennerhassett, and if human rights are equal to property rights it was equally treasonable, yet no governor or legislature has ever demanded an investigation! This was the first mine-owners' army ever marched in Colorado; the second will appear under the backing of the same mine-owners about ten years later. This first army was marched from Colorado Springs

*It is fairly treated in the government report. *Rep. Com'r Labor*, 1906, pp. 75-85. There is a well-written, able and conscientious brochure on this strike by Prof. B. M. Rasdall, now of the Ohio State University,

†*Rep. Com'r Labor* (Wash., 1906), p. 75.

‡*Id.*, p. 78-9.

§*Id.*

||Letter to writer, under date of July 27, 1906, from W. H. Reed, County Clerk of El Paso county.

to the Cripple Creek district as a military menace to the miners and to compel them by force to yield up the eight-hour day. But the miners would not be thus coerced. They hastily armed themselves and built temporary fortifications on Bull Hill, one of the highest and most commanding points in the district. They captured the "Strong" mine guarded by an advance squad of deputies, and worked by non-union labor, and some of the strikers were possibly senseless and reckless enough to blow up the shaft-house and machinery, much to the hurt of their own cause.*

The whole mine-owners' army at last began to move on Bull Hill, and squads of each side clashed, and a man on each side was killed. Governor Waite went upon the ground in person, and the miners appointed him their sole arbitrator with full power to act.

On June 4, 1894, he effected a settlement of pending differences with D. H. Moffat and J. J. Hagerman, whereby the miners retained their eight-hour day at three dollars. The settlement was in writing, and is especially noteworthy because the miners were represented by so high an official as the governor of a state, and especially because the governor signed as "appointed by and representing the Free Coinage Miners' Union, No. 19, W. F. M. A."† This is the "Western Federation of Miners" of America, of whom we must hear much further on.

But despite the governor's settlement, the mine-owners' army wanted to fight, and it again began a forward move. The miners throughout the state were indignant and concerted action was taken to fly to the aid of their imperiled brothers at Cripple Creek. Governor Waite for the second time in this strike called out

the militia, and threw the state's men between the contending forces, and peace was soon restored. But it was not restored until the mine-owners' army had made a threatening demonstration in the principal streets of Cripple Creek, and had "made numerous arrests of citizens and indulged in outrageous acts toward other citizens, many of whom, for no offense at all, were clubbed and kicked, dragged from sidewalks, and forced to march between the lines of deputies."‡

This work was cut short, however, by the militia, and the deputies were soon paid off and mustered out, and the first private army of the mine-owners of Colorado was disbanded. If this industrial armament was not an invasion of the military powers of the government and an insurrection against the constituted authorities of the state, what was it? Governor Waite so considered it,§ and Governor Peabody is probably the only person who would question his conclusion.

When the troops were first sent to Bull Hill during the strike, Sheriff Bowers represented to Adjutant-General Tarsney that they were needed to assist him in serving warrants, but Tarsney made his own investigation and found that the sheriff had no warrants to serve, and there was no danger in serving them if he had, and he exposed the sheriff and his ruse to the governor and the troops were immediately recalled.|| They arrived at Cripple Creek March 18, 1894, and left the next day. On the 23d of June following, this same Adjutant-General, while sojourning in Colorado Springs was forcibly taken from his hotel by fifteen masked men and driven five miles away to a lonely spot on the desolate prairie, and there stripped and tarred and feathered and left to suffer and shift

*Several years later one Lennox sued Sam. Strong for damages. Able lawyers were employed on both sides and the trial occurred in the District Court at Denver and lasted several weeks. Lennox claimed Sam. Strong blew up his own mine to defeat a title bond that he, Lennox, held on the mine,—he, Strong, finding out meantime that the mine was of immense value. The trial created a great deal of

local excitement at the time, the people taking sides. Many believed the plaintiff made out a case, but the jury did not so decide.

†*Rep. Labor Com'r* (Wash.), p. 80.

‡*Id.*, p. 83.

§*Id.*, p. 79.

|| *Id.*, p. 77.

as best he could.* What a climax to this unique instance of military industrialism!

(d) *Coal and Metal-Strikes of 1896.*

In 1896, two years after the Bull-Hill war, there was a coal-strike in the Northern field, and a strike among the metal-miners at Leadville. These strikes were both conducted by the Western Federation of Miners; the former, in which the managers recognized and treated with the union, without any disturbance of any kind or violence to person or property;† but the latter, in which the managers refused to recognize or treat with the union, was conducted with considerable turbulence,‡ and the buildings and the machinery of the "Coronado" mine were burned by a mob and the "Emmet" mine was attacked, and the union itself bought and distributed one hundred fire-arms.§ Both strikes were over wages. The metal-strike sought to secure a general wage-scale of \$3.00 per day for eight working-hours. At least 65 per cent. of the miners were already working on that scale, and those who were not totaled 968 and they went on strike. The mine-managers employing the remaining 1,300 men, at the regular scale, and with whom they had no grievance, locked them out. Here the lock-out was wholly sympathetic,—an employer's sympathetic lock-out,—and it certainly affords a precedent, if not a justification, for the miners' sympathetic strike at Cripple Creek in 1903-04. But we must pass on to other struggles, if not more important at least more in point.

PUTTING THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY IN THE STATUTE.

The educational campaign in the state for an eight-hour day had now proceeded by agitation, industrial diplomacy and

strikes for more than ten years. As early as 1887, not less than twenty pages of the first report|| of the Commissioner of Labor were devoted to this important subject. But to harmonize results and to make them more certain, secure and uniform throughout the state, the legislature was at last appealed to for an eight-hour enactment for furnace-men and miners. All the organized labor forces of Colorado joined in this appeal, made first to the legislature of 1895. But they were then repulsed by the supreme court answering an *ex parte* legislative inquiry upon the subject, to the effect that such proposed legislation would be "class legislation" and "unconstitutional" and void.¶

If the courts can thus recognize *classes* to their prejudice, the inquiry is pertinent why cannot the classes consciously recognize themselves and proceed by class-conscious methods to achieve their own respective ends? Is it not apparent that the employing class are already class-conscious, and that the throne-powers appreciate the advantage of having a court so fully in accord with their aims and methods, as to answer legislative inquiries affecting those who "do humbly beseech thee," as Labor's entreaty was answered above? Is it a part of the "system" that employers, *as employers*, should consciously know and act, and that employés, *as employés*, must unconsciously and blindly grope and act? It looks so, but much to the credit of Labor the scales are at last falling from its eyes and there are many hopeful signs, to the dismay of the politicians, that its eyes may soon open and that it will act consciously, as a class, and with intelligence and solidarity.

The above answer of the supreme court was of appreciable value, however, in unifying the interests of labor upon the

**Rep. Com'r Labor* (Wash., 1906), p. 85.

†*Bu. Labor Statis.* (Colo.), 1895-6, p. 16.

‡*Rep. Com'r Labor* (Wash., 1906), pp. 88, 89.

§It was claimed they were bought to protect the members and to aid the civil authorities, but the

legislative committee condemned the purchase. *Rep. Com'r Labor* (Wash., 1906), pp. 96, 100.

¶*Rep. Bu. Labor Statis.* (Colo.), 1887-8, pp. 245-264.

¶*In re Eight-hour Bill*, 21 Colo., 29.

eight-hour question. The State Federation of Labor was organized soon afterward, in 1896, and declared its purpose, in its preamble, "to unite our efforts for the universal eight-hour day." In its third annual convention, held at Colorado Springs in May, 1898, encouraged by the example of Utah, it declared as its first legislative demand, for "an effective eight-hour law applicable to such work as is dangerous to health, such as underground mines, smelters, reduction works and steel-works." The Western Federation of Miners was equally assertive and in earnest in the matter. Nor was the question neglected in the political campaign that followed, and a majority of the legislature of 1899, despite the above *ex parte* answer of the supreme court, was favorable to the measure. It seemed to be the legislative idea that our court would readily yield its *ex parte* opinion to the later elaborate opinions of the Supreme Court of Utah and of the Supreme Court of the United States. Accordingly the Colorado act was taken *verbatim* from the Utah statute, except in naming the penalty; and that statute had already stood the test of the courts—the Supreme Court of Utah* in 1896, and the Supreme Court of the United States† in 1897. Why should it not then become a law of Colorado in 1899? Well, the legislature said that it should, and enacted it, and the governor approved it, March 16, 1899, to take effect in ninety days. June 16th finally came and the law took effect. But the mine-owners and Smelter-Trust said the effect was no good. They haughtily ignored it, and the smeltermen struck and the miners threatened to strike. Yes, they ignored it as absolutely as if it had never been passed; exactly as if those who passed it and made it law, had been a bunch of trifling children who toyed away their time in building a house of blocks and called it a law. Yet those who made it

law were two of the great coördinate departments of government, the legislative department composed of one hundred men, fully one-fifth of whom were lawyers; and in the executive department was Governor Charles S. Thomas, then and now deservedly the Nestor of the Colorado bar. Still, these arrogant throne-powers literally hooted at the idea of supposing they were bound to treat this eight-hour enactment with any respect.

They appealed to the third department of the government,—the judiciary,—then composed of but three men, and asked those three men to topple over the house of blocks so exasperatingly put in their way by the 101 legislative and executive builders. *And they did it!*‡ And the smeltermen then on strike and the miners threatening to strike seemed to be stunned, and they submitted as passively as Longfellow describes the humble submission of the Acadians to the invading English. For the first time in Colorado, organized labor by this decision came into a realizing sense of the far-reaching effect of the American system of judicature in declaring a law "unconstitutional."

This feature of our system is the marvel of every traveler who comes to America.§ Nowhere else, not in England with its unwritten constitution, nor in Switzerland, Germany or France, with their constitutions in writing, can the traveler or student see the legislative and executive departments as here, degraded to the puerile function of making "play" laws, mere make-believe counterfeits of real laws, idly entertaining themselves at the great expense of the people in making mere tin toys, to be swept aside as trash and rubbish by another department of the government acting under an oath of no different order, and supposed to be concerned only in *construing* the laws. Yet we seem to like this unprecedented anomaly; and such a ten-pin scheme of government suits the corporations, throne-

*State vs. Holden, 14 Utah, 71.

†Id., 169 U. S., 366.

‡Is vs Morgan, 26 Colo., 415.

§Prof. Woodburn's *The American Republic*, p. 328; same author, *The American Judiciary*, p. 108.

powers, trusts and "interests" to a dot.*

Let us now see the law of economics at work among the courts.

It will be remembered, as stated in my article on the Smelter-Trust† that that trust came tramping into Colorado from New Jersey in April, 1899. This was but a few months before the eight-hour law took effect, and ex-Governor Grant, then shaping the politics of this trust, came upon the witness-stand before the Congressional Labor Commission as if he had a chip upon his shoulder, and at that very time his Trust was defiantly ignoring this new statute and his men in the smelter were out on strike.‡ The Colorado properties had been listed in the trust at a figure far above their market value, and no doubt there were millions of "water" in the proposition. An eight-hour day in the Colorado smelters of the trust would have easily added \$50,000 per month to the operating expenses, or \$600,000 a year, which is five per cent. on \$12,000,000. Think, then, of the immense dollar-figures involved, in scaling down the stocks representing these smelter interests to an eight-hour basis! No wonder ex-Governor Grant railed at Governor Thomas for his anti-trust message;§ and no wonder, too, that his part was so prominent in opposing the eight-hour law; and no wonder again that his joy was complete when his counsel succeeded in convincing the Supreme Court of Colorado that the views they urged were either distinguishable from, or were sounder law than, the views advanced by the Supreme Court of Utah or the Supreme Court of the United States.

Still, it is true that no other court has seemed to see any luminous light in the

Colorado decision upon this subject, and that it was expressly brushed aside by the Supreme Court of Missouri in sustaining the eight-hour law in that state for mills and smeltermen.|| And in Nevada the supreme court there expressly repudiates this Colorado decision and subjects it to severe criticism and even pokes fun at it. The Nevada court¶ speaks of it as an "attempt to discredit and overrule the doctrines announced by the Supreme Court of the United States in *Holden vs. Hardy*," and then says, "the Colorado court had no substantial reason for deciding contrarily to the Supreme Court of the United States,"** and finally concludes: "True, the Colorado court held such legislation unconstitutional and void; but it would seem after the facts stated, and after the admissions made by it, its conclusion against the validity of the enactment before it *was a non sequitur*!"††

Still the Colorado court can take some comfort in the fact, that while the Supreme Court of the United States could see its way clear to sustaining an act giving the miners and smeltermen an eight-hour day, yet by a vote of five to four it declared "unconstitutional" a similar act giving a ten-hour day to bakers.‡‡

The reader must now perceive that questions of this sort, and indeed all questions affecting labor, can be generally answered either way; that there is no rigid or unvarying rule; that in the last analysis the individual judgment of the judge must control, and the judge's views of capital and labor are inseparably commingled with his individual judgment. If, then, we grasp the point that courts like all other institutions are moulded by economics, an important lesson will be

*It has been inveighed against in certain quarters as a manifest usurpation ever since Chief Justice Marshall ingeniously promulgated the doctrine in *Marbury vs. Madison*, 1 Cranch, 137 (1803). See "The Great Usurpation," by William Trickett, in *Am. Law Review*, May-June, 1906, pp. 356-376.

†THE ARENA, February, 1906, p. 156.

‡*Rep. Indus. Com.*, Vol. XII., pp. 204, 207-8, 210.

§THE ARENA, March, 1906, p. 246.

||*State vs. Cantwell*, 179 Mo., 246; 78 S. W., 569

(Feb. 1, 1904), affirmed Nov. 6, 1905 (26 Sup. Ct. Rep., 749) by the Supreme Court of the United States in a memorandum decision referring to the Utah case of *Holden vs. Hardy*, 169 U. S., 366; 18 Sup. Ct. Rep., 368.

¶*In re Boyce*, 75 Pac., 1, 9 (Jan. 11, 1904); 65 L. R. A., 47.

***Id.*

††*Id.*, 14.

‡‡*Lockner vs. People of State of New York*, 198 U. S., 45; 25 Sup. Ct. Rep., 539 (April 17, 1905).

learned; and in selecting judges, labor will hereafter imitate the sagacity of the throne-powers and understand the candidates' economics, as well as his ability, integrity and knowledge of the law. We may also add that the initiative and referendum, properly framed, will restore to the people the usurped judicial function of declaring laws "unconstitutional."

PUTTING THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY IN THE CONSTITUTION.

Foiled as above by the courts in putting the eight-hour day in the statutes, labor's next move was to foil the courts by putting the eight-hour day in the constitution. The Western Federation of Miners was conspicuous among the forces of labor engaged in this task and furnished both the enthusiasm and the funds. The issue was taken into the campaign with a vim, and every political party declared definitely and strongly for the measure. The legislature of 1901, the same that submitted the familiar Bucklin amendment for local-option in taxation and the Rush amendment giving home-rule for cities, also submitted a proposed amendment to the state constitution, making it incumbent upon the legislature to pass an eight-hour day for smeltermen and underground miners.* The Smelter-Trust and other constitutional members of the throne-powers vigorously opposed this constitutional measure as it was passing through the legislature, and succeeding in destroying the self-executing features with which it was originally endowed. It finally reached the people, however, at the election held November 4, 1902, and it was adopted as a part of the state constitution by the tremendous majority of 46,714 votes.†

*This amendment as originally introduced was self-executing, and the writer advised that that was the only safe form to put it in. With honest and conscientious legislatures and courts, an ideal constitution will contain no legislation but merely a declaration of general principles. This course is still safe for the "interests" and throne-powers

LEGISLATIVE TREASON AND SHAME.

The duty of executing this constitutional mandate, as to an eight-hour day for smeltermen and underground miners, fell upon the legislature of 1903. The throne-powers, as represented by the Smelter-Trust, the mine-owners' lobby, and the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, fell also upon the same legislature. Under date of February 3, 1903, Messrs. Teller and Dorsey, general attorneys for the Union Pacific Railroad Company, in reporting upon legislative proceedings to Horace G. Burt, president of their company, say:‡

"Several bills have been introduced providing for an eight-hour law in respect to labor employed in smelters and underground mines. These bills are being vigorously contested by The American Smelting and Refining Company (Smelter-Trust), the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company (Coal-Trust), and other corporations more directly interested in defeating the measure than is the Union Pacific Railroad Company. We think the contest will be a close one in respect to these measures, as the labor element is still very powerful in politics of this state."

This is a railroad view of the situation then presented and it is both suggestive and correct.

The Democrats had the Senate and the Republicans the House. The eight-hour legislation was the chief business of the session, and all the people of the state were on tip-toes to see whether the law would come out in a corporation frame or would bear the impress of labor. No one was bold enough to suppose that the legislature would deliberately betray its trust and enact no law whatever upon the

that have "a friend at court," but not so for labor.

†The vote for the amendment was 72,980, and against it 26,266. The total vote for governor was 186,820.

‡*Behind the Scenes*, p. 38, New York Labor News Company.

subject. The struggle began almost with the first day of the session. House bill No. 1 was an eight-hour bill, and Senate bill No. 1 was an eight-hour bill* by Senator Moore, who had introduced the constitutional amendment upon the subject in the legislature of 1901. Beginning with January 27, 1903, the throne-powers started to issue unsigned bulletins,† and in the last, or No. 11, after showing how the eight-hour day would "increase the cost of production from 25 to 50 per cent.," it was said: "'Why not take the increased cost of production out of the dividends?' is a thoughtless question, because dividends are as the breath of life to growing industries."‡ This was the keynote of the throne-powers in conducting their fight; dividends must be paid, even if bread must be taken from the mouth of labor. Yet a keynote so false was of little avail, especially in the face of the standing mandate of the constitution absolutely requiring an eight-hour law to be passed. But the shuttlecock methods so familiar to legislative depravity were soon in evidence.§ The eight-hour bills were banded from house to senate and from senate to house again.

Finally, the last day of the session came, and while an eight-hour bill had passed either house no such bill had passed both houses, and the two houses truckling to the imperious throne-powers were still at loggerheads, each refusing to pass the bill of the other, and both deceitfully patting labor on the back while soothingly satisfying a lobby that knew how to deftly change from sophistry to boodle.|| At midnight of the ninetieth day—April 6, 1903—the gavel fell for final adjournment, and with it also fell the honor of the State of Colorado! It was then that the Fourteenth General Assembly dissolved, and passed its name down to history, to be written in treason, infamy and shame. The throne-powers were

*Report Com'r Labor (Wash., 1905), p. 58.

†Id., p. 60.

‡Id.

§The details are fairly given in Rep. Com'r Labor (Wash., 1905), pp. 58-67.

on the throne and the legislative lick-spittles were at their feet. The people's will, expressed by the overwhelming majority of 46,714, was deliberately defied and held for naught.

No eight-hour law of any kind had been passed! The Smelter-Trust and Coal-Trust and Mine Owners' Association Contemptuously spat upon the Constitution, and literally rubbed the bespittled instrument in the face of labor. As the organized embodiment of labor's forces in this fight, the Western Federation of Miners could not turn its face away so as to escape the noisome, desecrated parchment as it was rubbed in by the haughty victor.

The barbarisms of the past were scarcely more unendurable. For Labor now was in the stocks. It was put in the laughing stocks, and made to appear pusillanimous by those who themselves were infamous. It were now only needed to throw the miners into jails and prisons and cut off their ears to make the infamies of the twentieth century of like type and measure with those of the benighted fourteenth and fifteenth. Once more was labor made to bite the dust and to bury itself in sackcloth and ashes. Again was it insulted, outraged and betrayed; and this time by treason and anarchy in the organized powers of the state! Again were the "slaves of the wheel of labor" compelled to add one more count,—a stupendous, epoch-making count,—to their already long list of "immemorial infamies, perfidious wrongs and immedicable woes"! With the organized powers of government in conspiracy with the throne-powers to oppress and subjugate labor, why expect in Colorado peace and quiet when foment and explosion are daily seen in autocratic Russia? Why boast of our popular intelligence, if it is too weak to discern between tyranny and freedom? And when did America cease to sing in praise of every arm bared to

||Read also Ray Stannard Baker on "The Reign of Lawlessness," McClure's Magazine, May, 1904, p. 52.

smite oppression and fraud? In a system built on *beak and claw*, can sheep and cattlemen and capital use force and arms when their economic interests are hurt, and labor fail to imitate their conspicuous examples, when bread is taken from its mouth and victory is snatched from its hands by insult, fraud and crime?

With all the tribulations here in train, with labor's traditions of the bitter past, with dollar-signs on infants' bones, and ears of toilers cropped like swine, with memory of the "bull-pen" at Leadville, with the mine-owners' army at Bull Hill still unforgotten, with the original eight-hour day juggled out of mines and smelter, with the eight-hour day put in the statutes and taken out by the courts, with the decisions of Washington and Utah of no avail to save the eight-hour law, and finally, with the startling climax that the organized powers of government were

conspiring with the organized powers of greed and that the eight-hour day commanded by the constitution was defiantly trampled under foot, how could an explosion be avoided,—a real Anglo-Saxon explosion,—an explosion loud enough to be heard from Colorado to Idaho, and then around the world!

Well, it came. It came as every man of affairs and student of history must have known it would come. It was as inevitable as the revolution in Russia. And the legislative treason, anarchy and fraud inspired by the throne-powers, in over-riding the constitution and in cavalierly ignoring its mandate for an eight-hour law, was the prime, efficient cause of this now famous explosion,—known to the world as the "Great Strike of 1903-04."

Of this, more in my next chapter.

(To be continued.)

J. WARNER MILLS.

Denver, Colo.

SARMIENTO: THE GREAT SOUTH AMERICAN STATESMAN AND EDUCATOR.

BY PROF. FREDERIC M. NOA.

THE STORY which we are about to relate is strictly founded on facts, but is so remarkable as to seem almost incredible. In it are related the life and career of a boy whose hard-working parents were so poor that they could scarcely earn sufficient to afford their large family the bare necessities of life. This lad, born in an obscure little town, vanquished apparently insuperable obstacles through the force of his own indomitable will, became the most prominent public man and statesman of South America, and was honored even by emperors and kings.

Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, the subject of our sketch, was born, on the 15th of February, 1811, in the town of San Juan, Argentine Republic; the place of

his birth being situated at the foot of the Eastern slope of the lofty Andes mountains, which form the frontier between Argentina and its western neighbor, the Republic of Chile. He first saw the light in a humble hut; his mother, though illiterate, being a religious woman of sterling, sturdy qualities, while his father, equally ignorant, was a mountain muleteer, who earned a mere pittance by transporting merchandise on his mule hundreds of miles through the forbidding heights of the snow-clad Andes, thousands of feet above the level of the sea, encountering endless dangers in his laborious transit back and forth, between Chile and the Argentine Republic.

Domingo was the fifth child of eight

children born to his parents, and the only surviving boy. His earliest infancy was spent in the poorest quarter of San Juan, then a little town of not over ten thousand inhabitants, utterly lacking in schools. He came into the world at the stirring and dramatic time when South America rose in insurrection against the intolerable oppression of Spain, and was beginning her gigantic and heroic War of Independence. His father contributed his share towards the cause of South American liberty by serving as a muleteer in the liberating army of the celebrated Argentine General San Martin, which forced the passage of the ice-bound Andes at a height of fifteen thousand feet, and, descending westward into the fertile valleys of Chile, routed the Spaniards and thus forever assured the independence of that progressive, prosperous republic (1817-1818).

With the awakening of South America from the lethargy of four centuries of Spanish rule, came the desire for better things; hence, it happened that, in 1816, a public-spirited citizen of San Juan opened a school, where reading, writing, arithmetic and a few elementary branches were very imperfectly taught. Young Domingo, naturally a most precocious child, attended, and soon stood at the head of his classes, but the political troubles, wars and revolutions with which the whole of the Argentine territory was cursed, compelled the closing of the school, and the lad soon saw the door of opportunity closed tightly against him. Moreover, the extreme poverty and destitution of his parents early compelled him to seek some kind of employment; this, he obtained, at a dollar or two a week, in a small country grocery and provision store. He now rose with the dawn, swept the store, and all day long, until nine at night, attended to his duties behind the counter. He would then repair to the house of one of his uncles, a priest, and receive instruction from him in common branches and Latin. He was a voracious reader of what few books

he could find, but acquiring an education continued with him an uphill task. Even a free scholarship was denied him by the Argentine government, although he passed a most brilliant examination, in 1823, because the six candidates from the Province of San Juan, who were to be educated at the expense of the state, were selected by lot, and young Sarmiento's name did not happen to be drawn from the ballot-box. His energetic nature and restless activity refused to acknowledge defeat, and he was not yet fifteen before his striking personality began to be recognized not only in his native town of San Juan, but also in all the country round about. His alert mind saw a land of wonderful possibilities in the extensive territory of the newly established Argentine Republic, but he perceived that chronic revolution would forever render progress impossible as long as Buenos Aires and the few other widely scattered cities, where European culture and civilization were to be found, remained isolated by hundreds of miles of a wild wilderness of vast prairies or pampas, infested by hordes of lawless bandits, malefactors, *gauchos* or South American cowboys, and savage Indians.

Argentina no sooner became free from the yoke of Spain, than two sharply defined parties sprang up in the newly-emancipated republic. On the one hand, there were the cultured classes of Buenos Aires and the other Argentine cities, who advocated modern constitutional liberty and enlightenment; and, on the other hand, the ignorant, embruted denizens of the vast pampas or prairies, who delighted in living by plunder and revolution. The former party received the name of "*Unitarios*"; the latter were called the "*Federalists*." In the irrepressible conflict between these two antagonistic parties, which could now only be settled by the sword and a deluge of blood, Sarmiento, a beardless youth, ranged himself on the side of the *Unitarios*. Opposed to him was the sinister and redoubtable Juan Manuel de Rozas,

a wealthy rancher, who rallied to his standard the lawless hordes of the pampas, and gave to his partisans the name of *Federalists*.

In the frightful civil war that ensued, fortune alternately favored one party, and then the other, until, in 1840, Rozas almost completely crushed the armies of the *Unitarios*, became master of Buenos Aires, and absolute dictator of the so-called Argentine Republic. His despotic rule was marked by the most sanguinary excesses, and, for the next twelve years, he established a reign of terror infinitely more terrible than that of France after the Revolution of 1789.

Sarmiento had already suffered imprisonment, and narrowly escaped being assassinated in cold blood, because he proved to be a veritable thorn in the flesh of the tyrant Rozas, who found in him a spirit that was absolutely fearless. The Dictator of Argentina could no longer brook the presence of that young man of less than thirty, who was publishing severe denunciations against him, and accordingly, he decreed his immediate banishment. Sarmiento and many of his most illustrious compatriots now braved the terrors of the lofty, snow-bound, frigid Chilo-Argentine Andés, turned their faces westward, and sought refuge in the progressive, stable and liberty-loving Republic of Chile.

When the dauntless young Argentine exile arrived in Santiago, the capital of Chile, he found himself a friendless stranger in a foreign land, and was forced to begin anew the bitter struggle for existence. It was not long, however, before his remarkable talents and ceaseless energy became recognized, and won for him the friendship and respect of the most eminent public men and statesmen of Chile. He was offered the position of editor of *El Mercurio*, the first newspaper published in South America, at a salary of thirty dollars a month. The originality of his contributions to that paper and his vigorous, trenchant style, instantly attracted public attention. With

a frankness that was startling, and even sometimes brutal, he mercilessly attacked existing abuses, and pointed out that Chile could never hope to reach the highest level of civilization until she attended to the matter of compulsory, universal education. He now rendered, during the twelve years that he enjoyed the hospitable protection of Chile, inestimable services to that South American Republic. Through his initiative, primary, high and normal schools were established. In order the better to understand the needs and conditions of the country, he worked, for a time, as a common miner in the recently opened copper mines of Copiapo. Later, when the University of Chile was founded, he accepted, at a salary of \$1,200 a year, the appointment as a member of the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities. While thus nobly serving the free republic whose protecting hospitality he shared, he never, for a moment, forgot the duty he owed to his unfortunate and desolated native country Argentina, on the other, or eastern slope of the Andes. He infused into his fellow Argentine exiles his own undying resistance to oppression, barbarity and ignorance. While the blood-thirsty Rozas, the scourge and Dictator of Argentina, continued indulging in his orgies of massacres, and was scattering to the four corners of the earth the cultured, patriotic Argentines who escaped his blind ferocity, Sarmiento took up the gauntlet thrown down by that Weyler of South America.

Sarmiento now waged his campaign against Rozas with relentless energy, publishing a large number of books and pamphlets which were widely read, not only in Chile and Argentina, but throughout America and Europe. He was thoroughly familiar, from long experience, with his subject, as his early boyhood and youth had been spent in close proximity to the vast Argentine prairies or pampas over which he had frequently beheld wild, savage hordes of Indians and gaucho cowboys ride, like the Vandals of

Atila, carrying destruction wherever they went, and especially letting loose their fury and unbridled passions in the Argentine cities where they imposed a reign of terror. The most redoubtable of all these gaucho rough-riders was one *Facundo*, the ready tool of the tyrant Rozas, but whose excesses caused him finally to be assassinated by own his followers.

Sarmiento, who knew this scoundrel's history perfectly, published a book, entitled: *Facundo o Civilizacion y Barbarie* ("Facundo; or, Civilization versus Barbarism"), which was not only an accurate portrayal of the career and character of the gaucho bandit, but also contained powerful descriptions of the scenery, life and customs of the Argentine Republic of seventy-five years ago.

This epoch-making book created a sensation throughout the civilized world, and was translated into English by the late Mrs. Horace Mann, of Boston, Massachusetts, under the title of *Life in the Argentine Republic*. Thus was Sarmiento slowly but steadily undermining the sinister power of the Dictator Rozas, in spite of all the tyrannical and repressive measures adopted by the latter to check his implacable adversary's propaganda.

The Government of the Republic of Chile, recognizing more and more the value of Sarmiento's services, commissioned him, in 1845, to make a special study of the educational systems of Europe and America. The illustrious Argentine exile first repaired to Paris, France, where he was received with the highest honors, and later crossed the Atlantic to the United States. He visited Boston, where he gained the friendship and esteem of Horace Mann, the Massachusetts educator and statesman.

Lack of means prevented Sarmiento from staying more than a few months in the United States, but, during that time, he studied closely the American system of universal public instruction and clearly perceived that the only way of rescuing and redeeming Spanish-speaking Amer-

ica was through the liberal institutions which had rendered the United States free, prosperous, great and enlightened.

On his return to Chile and South America, he published a voluminous series of reports on the moral, intellectual and material progress of the United States, which began powerfully to affect public opinion in Mexico, Central America and South America. Thanks to their potent influence, a silent and peaceful revolution took place in those hitherto backward countries, where more and more attention was gradually paid to the education of the masses, the building of railways and docks, and the encouragement of agriculture, industry and commerce.

Even in the desolated, war-ravaged Argentine territory, a region more than four times as large as the state of Texas, the black, tempestuous night of oppression, barbarism and ignorance was drawing to its close. The sanguinary tyranny of the Dictator Rozas became too intolerable even for those of his partisans who had most loyally supported him. In 1852, a certain General Urquiza, the governor of an Argentine province, and a man of rather broad views, raised the standard of revolt and secured the coöperation of Brazil and the neighboring Republic of Uruguay. Thousands of volunteers joined the allied army of liberation, which advanced rapidly towards Buenos Aires, the capital of the Argentine Republic. On the 3d of February of that year, at Monte Caseros, within ten miles of the city, the semblance of a battle was fought, the soldiers of Rozas speedily surrendering and throwing down their arms. The cowardly Rozas, disguised, sought refuge in the British consulate, from whence he embarked for Europe and died in a wretched exile. The victorious General Urquiza summoned a constituent congress, thus assuring the future of the wonderful Argentine fatherland along the path of progress and constitutional liberty.

As Argentina was now delivered from

the yoke of Rozas, Sarmiento and the colony of eminent Argentine exiles who, for twelve long years, had been protected in the progressive Republic of Chile, were free to return to their own native country.

The return of Sarmiento, the son of the humble mountain muleteer, whose mighty pen had overthrown one of the worst reigns of terror ever recorded in history, was fraught with significance for the Argentine Republic. High and responsible public offices were at his command. He became editor of *El Nacional*, one of the principal newspapers of Buenos Aires, and advocated the most sweeping reforms. He pointed out that Argentina required, for her development, a well-devised system of public instruction based on that of the United States, the encouragement of worthy immigration from Europe, the establishment of banks, the construction of railways and docks, and, in a word, the reclaiming of the howling wilderness of the Argentine [pampas or prairies which, he declared, ought to be converted into agricultural colonies. He proved that this was practicable by opening up, at Chivilcoy, a large tract of many thousands of acres of land to German, Italian and other European laborers. It was not long before this region, for centuries a waste, blossomed like the rose and became highly productive.

In the political reconstruction of his country, he played a most important part. He served with distinction as a representative and senator in the Argentine Congress, completely reorganized and modernized the public-schools of Buenos Aires, and, in a moment of national danger, when the redoubtable *Chacho*, the last of the gaucho rough-rider chiefs, threatened to destroy civilized institutions, took the field against him in person, and utterly broke his power, *Chacho* himself being killed.

In 1864, President Mitre appointed General Sarmiento Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Ar-

gentine Republic to the United States. The distinguished Argentine statesman accepted the post, but first repaired to Chile, where he was accorded a warm welcome. He tarried a considerable time in that Republic and foster home of his, and threw the weight of his tremendous influence in support of the Monroe doctrine, at the very moment when Spain was violating it by seizing the Chincha Islands off the Pacific coast of Peru. It was in large measure owing to him that Chile, Peru and Bolivia unitedly declared war against Spain, the armies and navies of the three allied South American republics proving finally victorious, and thus vindicating the independence of South America from European aggression.

In 1865, General Sarmiento arrived in Washington, and was officially recognized by President Andrew Johnson as the Argentine Minister. Space forbids enumerating the many honors conferred on him by American scientific, educational, historical and literary societies, perhaps the greatest of these being the degree of Doctor of Laws given him by the University of Michigan. He devoted the three years of his residence in the United States to the study of American institutions, public and private schools, universities and technical institutes. Meanwhile, in his own country, the Argentine Republic, a new election for President was approaching, and, instinctively, the great majority of the Argentines looked towards him as their best friend and savior. When the Argentine Electoral College met, 131 out of a total of 210 votes were cast for him, and he was declared the President-elect.

General Sarmiento embarked at New York, in 1868, and, immediately after his arrival in Buenos Aires, assumed the duties of his new office. As President, his administration was strictly constitutional, but, during the six years of his term, he ruled his country with a rod of iron, and relentlessly suppressed all attempts at revolution and anarchy. He imported an army of North American

teachers, extended and improved the entire public-school system, vetoed vicious legislation, founded at Cordoba an astronomical observatory, of which the celebrated American astronomer Apthorp Gould was appointed the director, gave a strong impetus to public libraries and museums, and aided in every way the industrial and commercial prosperity of Argentina. His powerful, uncompromising personality naturally raised up enemies against him, and one of these, an Italian anarchist, at the very close of President Sarmiento's term, shot at him one day, as the latter's carriage was going through the streets of Buenos Aires. Fortunately, the dastardly attempt failed, as the shot went wide of the mark, and the assassin was captured by the police and imprisoned.

In 1874, Sarmiento laid down the reins of office, and witnessed the peaceful inauguration of his freely-elected successor, President Avellaneda. His own public career, however, was by no means over; he served in the Argentine Congress, and continued to take a very active part in perfecting universal education. He had the satisfaction, in 1880, of seeing tardy justice done to the memory of General José de San Martin, the Liberator of Argentina, Chile and Peru from the yoke of Spain under whom his own father, as a muleteer, had crossed the lofty, snow-capped Andes into Chile. It was now, in 1880, that, through Sarmiento's instrumentality, General San Martin's forgotten remains were brought over from

France, and, amid the most imposing ceremonies, deposited in a magnificent sarcophagus in the beautiful cathedral of Buenos Aires.

For some years longer, the illustrious ex-President Sarmiento continued rendering inestimable services to his country, but the veteran's astonishing activity was now sapping even his vigorous constitution. In the summer of 1888, he fell dangerously ill, and his friends hastened to remove him to the mild, tropical climate of Asuncion, Paraguay. Here, he appeared to improve, but he chafed under inactivity, and insisted upon superintending the digging of an artesian well in the grounds of the cottage where he was staying. The effort was too much: he contracted acute pneumonia, and, on the 11th day of September, at the age of over seventy-seven, breathed his last.

His death was universally mourned throughout the vast continent of Latin America. The coffin containing the body of the great South American educator and ex-President was covered with the flags of four Republics, those of Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay, and was conveyed down the broad, majestic Parana and Plata rivers to Buenos Aires, where, in the splendid cemetery of La Recoleta, all that was mortal of the mountain muleteer's son found its last resting place, amid impressive ceremonies such as are usually paid only to emperors and kings.

FREDERIC M. NOA.

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SOCIALISM AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

BY WILLIAM H. WATTS.

SOcialism, as it is tersely defined by one of our speakers, is the public ownership and popular management of the industries. When the American people, animated by socialist sentiment, na-

tionalize the industries of the country they will nationalize the production and distribution of liquor along with other industries; thus taking the profit out of the business and destroying at once the

main incentive to its sale. At present it is to the interest of the liquor-dealer to sell as much liquor as possible, to adulterate that liquor as much as possible, and to charge as much as possible for it. While socialism may cheapen the liquor, it is a mistake to suppose that because whiskey can now be made at a cost of about twelve cents per gallon that, therefore, when we adopt socialism it can be sold for twelve cents per gallon; for when we have socialism the men who are engaged in its manufacture will work much shorter hours and receive probably twice as much pay as they do now. This will greatly increase the cost of manufacture. At the same time the man who handles the liquor at retail will also work fewer hours and receive much larger pay; still further increasing its cost. If under socialism the people decide to make liquor for themselves they will have no interest in adulterating it and the liquor that is sold will, therefore, be pure. Much of the trouble that liquor produces now is caused by the abominable adulterations that turn a man into a raving maniac, where pure liquor would merely put him to sleep. Socialism, however, would not make the saloon respectable. That is something that cannot be done. If under socialism the people want saloons they will have them; but if they do have them the saloons will be just as much of a disgrace to our civilization as they are now.

Socialism will abolish poverty. There will be no more hunger or cold for the worker, no more crowded and unsanitary dwellings, no more overwork and exhaustive nerve strain. The predisposing causes which, under our present social system, are driving men to drink having been disposed of, the consumption of liquor will be considerably reduced.

Socialism will make woman economically independent of her husband. She can, by working only a few hours each day, secure for herself a better living than a sober laboring man under our present system can secure for her. Under socialism if a man wants to keep his wife he

will have to behave himself. Thus a great moral restraint will be brought to bear upon the appetites of drinking men.

Socialism will, therefore, produce an effect on both sides of the bar; it will take profit away from behind the bar and it will materially reduce the appetite which stands in front.

But when we have socialism we shall still have many people who will drink, and many who will drink to excess. Intemperance will still be a social problem for public consideration. Liquor will still be an evil. What under socialism shall we do with this evil? There are four things which we can do with it: We can continue the open saloon as we have it now, we can change it for the dispensary in which liquor is sold only in sealed packages, we can stop the retail sale by local option, or we can stop making the stuff except for medicinal, mechanical and scientific purposes, which would be national prohibition.

Suppose when we have socialism we undertake to decide for or against the saloon by referendum vote under a local option arrangement, how will socialism affect the alignment of the forces in the field? First, it will give us the votes of a multitude of good women whose personal safety and convenience, as well as their moral sense, is opposed to the sale of liquor (for under socialism women will have the franchise the same as men). Second, it will give us the votes of a large number of sober men who have no use for the saloon themselves, but who, at present, defend it because of their financial interests. Let us see how this is.

At present the product of the laborer is divided into two parts; one part is the laborer's wages, the other is the employer's profit. Out of his profit the business man is supposed to pay the taxes of the community. Anything, therefore, that will reduce taxation is to the financial interests of the business man. The revenue from saloon licenses pays a large part of the municipal expenses, thereby reducing taxation. It is true that the

police expenses are larger in a city with saloons, but the police-court fines and the revenue from saloon licenses pay the police expenses and furnish a handsome revenue to the city besides. The laboring man supports both the saloon and the police; that is why sober business men who never drink themselves and, personally, have no use for the saloon, will fight tooth and nail in defense of the liquor business whenever a local option fight is on. The saloon is the business man's scheme for making the poor man pay the taxes and at the same time use up his financial reserve so that if a strike occurs he cannot hold out. Thus our enterprising business man kills two birds with one stone; he reduces the laboring man to a condition of helplessness and at the same time relieves himself of a burden of taxation. Under socialism this same man will just as strenuously oppose the retail sale of liquor; for with socialism there will be no business interests to tax and it will be to every man's personal interest to increase the productivity of society. Liquor reduces the productivity of society by keeping vast numbers of men who might be productive at work that is worse than unproductive and by stupefying the worker. For these reasons public sentiment generally will oppose the sale of liquor. Such towns as Wichita, Leavenworth, Atchison and Kansas City, Kansas, where saloons run wide open in a prohibition state, will at once become "dry." The law will not be violated for no one will have any financial interest in violating it. The only ones who will oppose the law will be the drinking element, who are, at the most, but a minority of the population, and they can only get liquor by sending for it in small packages by mail or express.

What then may we prophesy will be the effect of socialism on the liquor traffic?

Will it solve the problem? The immediate effect of the introduction of socialism will be that hundreds of localities that have heretofore been unable to cope with the liquor evil will at once become dry. Neighborhood after neighborhood, town after town, state after state, will vote to stop the retail sale of liquor, until the sentiment of the nation will finally stop its manufacture. As abolition sentiment grew and flourished in those states where slavery was unprofitable, so prohibition sentiment will grow and flourish in the entire country when the financial interest in the sale of liquor is destroyed. The tobacco trade will be affected in the same way.

It may be said as an objection to socialism that these arguments are a confession that profit is the incentive of industry, and that if the liquor traffic fails from a lack of that incentive all other industries will also fail for the same reason. But in useful industries there will be a greater incentive than that of profit—the desire to secure the best possible living with the least possible work. In the case of liquor and tobacco the only incentive will be the desire to cater to a depraved appetite. It is not profit that now furnishes the incentive of the laboring man to work, but hunger and cold. Remember that with socialism the people will regulate the industries of the country directly; the liquor industry as well as everything else. Such a strong organization as the W. C. T. U. is in some places would have the right to demand a referendum on the liquor question at any time they might see fit. Let social reformers take notice: *Socialism will unify and release the moral force of both sexes of the entire nation.* Consider well what that means.

WILLIAM H. WATTS.

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A KING AND A FOOL.

BY CHARLES TOWNSEND.

THE KING was young and comely, and he looked at the world with merry eyes, distrusting nobody. A witty king, too; for he could give the court Fool jest for jest; albeit he had not yet learned to plume the shafts that burn and scar. He was born laughing, the old wives said, and he brought the glad sunshine on dark days. The children laughed loud and clapped their tiny hands when he rode by, while the hard-palmed waved their caps and cheered.

Now the court Fool, though old and crabbed, was wise beyond his motley. He saw many things that were hidden from the King, and at last he spoke with a Fool's freedom:

"Who is it," he said, "that gives nothing and gives all; that gets all and gets nothing?"

"A riddle, a riddle!" cried the King. "Expound, sir Fool."

The Jester laughed and jangled his bells. "Oh fool of kings," said he, "go get you a palmer's staff."

"Oh king of fools," answered his majesty, "palmer's staves are for beggars."

"And a king who gives nothing to the mighty barons gives all their loyalty to the winds; while he who gets all praise from the common people gets nothing. Call for the beggar's staff; you will need it when the evil days come."

"The common people are the thews and sinews of my land," said the King, "and I deal with them justly."

"Good, good beyond all whooping," laughed the Jester; "but what of the rich and mighty? You have made them bear their part of the taxes—an unheard of atrocity—and you prevent robbery by great corporations. You will not allow the money-sharks to control your finances nor even select the members of your coun-

cil. You have allowed dame Justice to bag some of the big thieves; and, making worse, you have taxed those smug and fine club-houses—usually called churches! Bad and bad again, beyond all swearing."

"Why, master Fool," cried the King, "do you then object to this or that?"

"Not I: but you were a mighty simple to do it. You should have talked big and done nothing. Then the stupid people, who are ever satisfied with chesty promises of square deals, would have shouted for you even as now, while dumbly submitting to the plunderers. Thus your uncle made tantlings of them; and did not the laboring idiots yawp huzzahs and supply great moneys for his pleasures—new mansions, floating palaces and joyous junketing trips? Go to! You need a schoolmaster."

The King yawned and laughed. "You are a tiresome Fool," he said. Then he went forth to ride, while trumpets blew and people cheered.

Left to himself the Jester sat thinking—his chin resting in his hands. Of a verity it was a day of days to sit and dream, a drowsy day when the soft air, breathing rich perfumes as if from the far-away Isles of Spice, lingered and loved and fondled; when the birds made melody in copse and park, and the brook laughed madly as it hurried on to the great green sea.

"And he rides without escort," growled the jester, "though the old king would not visit a fair nor pass through a city without a crowd of spies and men-at-arms to keep the common rabble from his august person. Such are kings—bullies and braggarts, or just plain fools. Thank the blessed saints that I am not anointed!"

"So you were, which would you be—

a bully or a simple?" cried a merry voice at his elbow.

"Fair Princess Ida," answered the jester without changing position, "when-somuch you presume to address us without our royal permission, be less strenuous and more humble. As for your trite question, please recall the fact that I am a king's Fool, and therefore could not be a fool king. No. If unkind fate had set me up to rule I should have been a braggart and bully—as Modred will be when he clutches the diadem."

"Modred?" gasped the Princess, all the laughter gone from her voice.

"Modred," echoed the Jester, with a shrewd, sidelong look. "You have seen it then?"

"Seen,—seen what?"

"The imperial bee in his bonnet which makes him long to grasp the crown—that he may hear the sycophants shout: 'Long live King Modred and Queen Ida!'"

The Princess flushed hotly. "You are insolent, knave!" she cried, giving him a resounding slap that made his ear burn. "Modred will never be king; and were he lord of all the land and sea none should hail me his queen."

"My faith," laughed the Fool as he rubbed his buzzing ear, "if you were king the realm would be safe. Since you can give such a cuff at fifteen, 't is certain you may brain an ox at fifty."

"Truly, if his head were no harder than yours. It must be a jelly head that lets you talk of Modred."

"Once upon a time—" began the jester.

"A fairy tale? Good, good!" and the Princess clapped her hands in glee.

"You may find it so," continued the jester grimly; "though it is not so long ago but that I remember it well. In that day the people ruled in this land. To be exact they fancied they ruled—because they elected their public servants. Some of these varlets held office—elective or appointive—so long that they imagined

they were masters, not lackeys. Then, in combination with the vulgar rich, whose fathers sold swine, grease and the like, they decided to make this a kingdom in name as it was already in fact."

"Why not?" asked the Princess. "The people voted for it, as my history proves."

"History proves nothing," retorted the Jester. "Most men lie at some times; but most historians lie at all times. Vote? Why, the people voted it down in spite of party sheep and brainless cads. Yet, when the votes were published—verily, they told a different tale. And so we have a kingdom and a king."

"Also a king's Fool who is wise—else his story means nothing," said the Princess.

"Also a beautiful visitor—a little Princess from the west—who is wise in her love and hate; so this story is not in vain."

"Tell me how."

"Easily done," said the Jester, unconscious of a cat-like listener who glared at him from the nearby shrubbery. "As you hate Modred and love the King—cover up your blushes; a princess has no more right to show her heart than a jester to be sensitive: as you would favor him you love beg him to send Modred far away—to the devil if possible."

"But why?"

"Because the King lacks that smuggy meanness, that vile pettiness hidden under a breezy outside, which made his predecessor so popular with the big knaves and small jacks. Modred has the traits and so the great thieves would have him king."

The Princess laughed merrily. "Oh, but you are a delicious Fool to dream so idly!" Then she passed on, humming a gay tune, and promptly forgot the warning.

That night the honest old Jester lay dead: and Modred's quiver had one less arrow.

The King was wroth and offered a famous reward to him who should declare the murderer. But it ended there; since

those who knew dared not speak, so much was Modred feared.

And things speedily came to pass as the jester had said. For once, as the King lay sleeping, disdaining the multitude of guards with which some petty imitators of royalty surround themselves, he was seized by the hirelings of the wily thieves whose plundering he had stayed. Under the orders of Modred he was borne in swift silence to a castle at the far north, where he was kept hard and fast. Then the King's name was forged in a letter of abdication, naming Modred as his successor. This was read throughout the kingdom with much show and noise; whereat the dregs of the people—fools ever—tossed high in air their greasy caps and shouted for Modred.

At once the plunderers came forth like noisome rats: some from over sea whence they had fled; others from prisons, set free by the new king; all with itching palms, beady eyes and sharpened fangs—human hyenas all.

Then, as of old, they stood high in the council chamber. Again, as of old, they made laws to benefit themselves. Again the surplus was squandered and the treasury looted to pension many undeserving—the rich, the lazy able-bodied, the skulker—while oft the brave and needy received nothing: or at best a mere pittance. And again canting hypocrites, whined sacred songs through their noses, bought cheap souls with tainted money, and served the Enemy in secret; while proscribed and hated peoples once more crawled forth and openly worshiped the golden calf.

Now for a time the land enjoyed a seeming prosperity. Nature smiled, and abundant harvests followed. Trade was brisk therefore, and hired talkers kept up the cry of good times. True it was that prices of food, fuel, raiment and shelter mounted higher and higher, while the purchasing power of wages fell lower and lower. Yet if the common people dared complain they were rated soundly

by the new king's councillors who assured them that high prices were a sign of prosperity: as if, in effect, that the less they earned the more they had, and the more they were taxed the richer they were. There were troublous times ahead. So four years passed away. And the storm was gathering.

Meanwhile the Princess Ida, now a blooming maid of nineteen, was detained in Modred's court as hostage for the payment of an old debt. Her father's kingdom was small and weak, and Modred meant to benevolently assimilate it, after the manner of big bully nations whose rulers, with upturned eyes and snuffing whine, lay the blame of their own greed on Heaven itself! But Modred omitted the hypocrisy and simply lied. He promised, if the Princess would marry him, to clear the debt and guarantee the integrity of her father's throne. But the Princess, true to her love for the banished King, would have naught of him. Then Modred sought to gain by guile that which could not be had fairly. But the Princess was wise in her years and not easily trapped.

Now there was no jester at the court since Modred came, for he had cowardly slain the last Merry Andrew and none sought the place. But one day, when public discontent was ripe, came riding there a new jester out of the west, bearing a note of praise. He was painted on the face after the manner of the time, and bore an ugly hump on one shoulder. The courtiers were mightily pleased with his keen wit and broad humor; so they begged Modred to retain him. And Modred consented, for he had a plan in his wicked mind whereby he hoped to make the jester useful.

Before the day was done the man in motley was summoned.

"Listen, sir Fool," said Modred; "is your tongue smooth and ready enough to gain a friendly pause from the Princess?"

"I can lie," answered the Jester,

"as well as your majesty—may desire."

"Good! Then convey a message to her as if from her father or the late king. Cleverly hold back a part so that it shall bring her, eager for more news, to the terrace before your quarters at a late hour to-night."

"And then—?"

"Why then you will be observed; that is all. But have no fear: no harm shall come to either of you if you are wise. Now go."

As he was bidden the Jester sought the Princess. It was a fair message that he bore to her; and there was a curious light in her eyes after he had departed.

That night, as the pale moonbeams lay across the terrace in bands of tell-tale light, the Princess, close shrouded, crept along as if in hiding toward the humble quarters where the Jester lodged. He met her at the door, which was within the shadows, where they conversed a little in low tones that none might hear. Then, as she turned to go, she came, as if by ill chance, face to face with Modred.

"You?" she gasped, as in sudden fright.

"Even I," he replied, smiling evilly and passing on without more words.

When the next day had come he demanded an interview.

"Are you ready to wed me now?" he asked abruptly, laughing at her agitation.

"Neither now nor ever!" she answered bravely.

"So?" and his little eyes snapped viciously. "Would you then be haled forth as the leman of a wretched zany?"

"At whose word?" she asked quietly.

"Mine, fair Princess."

"Yours?" She looked him up and down in slow contempt. "Where is the moonstruck oaf that would take the word of such a liar and coward?"

"Have a care!" he threatened. And she laughed in his face.

Then Modred, inflamed by passion and maddened by her scorn, seized the Princess and would have kissed her. But his profaning lips had not reached hers when he was throttled and hurled to the floor.

It was the Jester.

Modred wore no sword; but his ready dagger was in his hand as he sprang to his feet. Yet his fierce rush stopped suddenly, for the Jester drew his own sword like a flash. And behold! It was not a toy of wood, but a man's weapon of shining, deadly steel. Stepping backward he bowed the Princess out, then closed and locked the door.

"The lady whom you insulted," he said, "is my bride-elect. Thus you are doubly a traitor. You know the penalty."

"Who—who are you?" gasped Modred, livid with fear.

In reply, the Jester threw off his jacket when the deforming hump fell to the floor. The Jester stood erect.

"I am the King!" he said.

Modred rushed to the casement to call his guards. His appearance was greeted with shouts: "Down with him! Down with Modred! Long live the King!"

Justice was swift. And when the people heard that Modred's career had ended in a loop of strong twine, they seized on the great criminals who had plundered them of food, light and heat; and those villains were hung, too—sometimes without ceremony.

The days of greed were done. The swine that walked like men disappeared. There was joy in the land.

About the King and Princess? Oh, they were married, of course, and lived happily ever after: just as they do in the good old story-books.

CHARLES TOWNSEND.

Weedsport, N. Y.



THE SPIRIT OF THE CENTURY.

Drawn by Ryan Walker expressly for THE ARENA

POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS SEEN BY THE CARTOONISTS.



McDougall, in *Philadelphia North American*.

"I WISH TO GET IN TOUCH WITH THE COMMON PEOPLE."



Warren, in *Boston Herald*.

SOARING.

A report from Washington states that the cost of living this year is higher than at any time since 1890.—*News Item*.



From the *New York American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

"NOTHING IN IT."

"My European observations convince me that municipal operation is the last desperate means that ought to be resorted to."—From an interview with "Mayor" McClellan, cabled from Berlin.



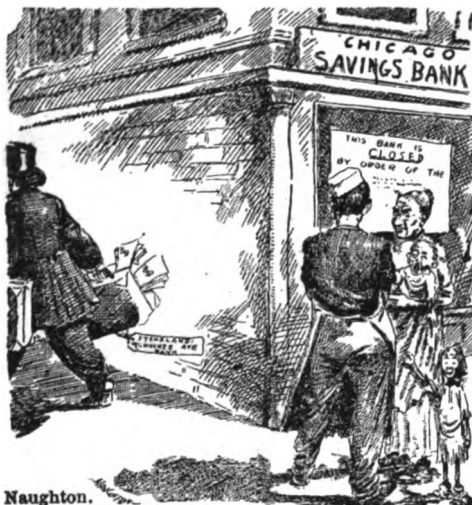
Lovey, in Salt Lake Herald.

THE ELEPHANT—"W-w-what is it? Another earthquake?"
THE OFFICE BOY—"N-no, sir! It's the B-Bryan bunch coming to town."



Warren, in Boston Herald.

OUR OWN GRAND DUKE.



Naughton.

SPECULATIVE BANKING.



Warren, in Boston Herald.

HIS MASTER'S VOICE.



Spencer, in Omaha World-Herald.

WHERE IT HURTS.

"I do n't mind the fines, but this is serious!"



Swinnerton, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. B. Hearst.)
ROCKEFELLER NOW WALKS BAREFOOT!

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

HON. GEORGE FRED. WILLIAMS AND WINSTON CHURCHILL: TWO
NEW ENGLAND DEFENDERS OF THE
PEOPLE'S CAUSE.

The Present Battle Between Democracy and Plutocracy Within The Demo- cratic Party.

THE DEMOCRATIC Party is again being burdened by the "old man of the sea" who came so near engulfing it at the last national election—privileged interests or reactionary plutocracy. The trusts, public-service corporations and other monopolies, not satisfied with dominating the Republican machine, and viewing with alarm the rising tide of popular resentment against the reign of graft and corruption due to class-legislation and the domination of the criminal rich in business and political life, have determined to keep up the same disorganizing or "rule or ruin" tactics which have marked this element ever since it failed to continue to control the democratic organization in 1896.

The sudden and apparently spontaneous call for Mr. Bryan by the so-called "safe and sane" guardians of Wall street and plutocratic influences deceived few. It was recognized at once as an attempt on the part of the Wall-street gamblers and their confederates primarily to check the rising tide of popular favor, which was setting in toward Mr. Hearst on account of the aggressive and systematic manner in which he has fought the law-defying and people-oppressing trusts and monopolies; while, secondarily, its aim was to create dissensions among the radical forces of the Democratic party and thus divide the elements that threatened to bring the government back into the hands of the people and thus break the power of the present commercial feudalism. It was doubtless the expectation of the reactionary or plutocratic leaders that Mr. Bryan would not immediately take issue with the element that now had seemed to come over to him and who were hailing him as a conservative statesman. It would have been a very easy matter a little later to have discovered that he was more radical than the vested interests felt safe, and they would then have been able to have centered upon a man of the Justice Gray or Senator Bailey stripe—

men agreeable to corporate interests or who would have been accepted as satisfactory by such interests.

Happily for the Republic, Mr. Bryan failed to fall into the trap, and by showing that he was more radical than he was in 1896, he practically cut the ground from under the upholders of special privilege and class-legislation before they were ready to repudiate him. When, however, he requested one of the most offensive and notoriously undemocratic political bosses in Illinois to step aside in the interests of harmony, good government and the success of the party, the true animus of the pretended friends of Mr. Bryan was uncovered in the action of this same representative of corporate interests and corrupt politics, Mr. Sullivan, who savagely denounced Mr. Bryan and refused to yield the point of vantage, showing clearly by the action the insincerity of the pretensions of the plutocratic or reactionary corrupt element in the Democratic party.

It is highly probable, however, that the pretence of friendship for Mr. Bryan will be kept up for some time after the reception accorded him in New York on his return to this country by the men who are committed to the interests of class-government or plutocracy, for only in this way would it be possible for them to seriously disorganize the radical democratic movement a little later and thus render Republican success certain; whereas, if the plutocratic element was eliminated from the Democratic party, the triumph of radical and progressive democracy would be inevitable.

In our judgment, the hope of democracy at the present crisis depends upon the resolute stand that shall be taken by the radical democratic leaders in unswervingly refusing to recognize the corporation tools, the corrupt bosses and the reactionary element which has proved not only the great disorganizing element in the party, but has also prevented the party from gaining the confidence of the rank and file of the people.

Leaders of True Democracy.

Happily for the nation, in all sections of the land to-day in the two great parties as well as among the more radical organizations, we find high-minded statesmen and public leaders who are resolutely refusing to bow the knee to the arrogant and determined commercial feudalism that for a quarter of a century has dominated the politics of our country, and, through this domination, has been enabled to steadily acquire unearned wealth by various indirect and often lawless methods, and whose ascendancy has been marked by corruption of the people's servants, the enthronement of servile tools in places of political trust, and the driving into obscurity of those political leaders who were aggressively honest and inflexible in their loyalty to the fundamental demands of democracy or free government and the rights of all the people.

All over the land are men who in the face of the greatest temptation—the lure of office or of gold and the various prizes that the ambitious self-seeking covet—have spurned to betray the people or become recreant to the high demands of justice and patriotism for any gift within the power of those who have subtly assailed free institutions, robbed the masses and debauched the government in all its departments. Happily for the Republic, these worthy successors of Franklin, Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln are not confined to any party. Senator La Follette, the Republican of Wisconsin, has dealt as powerful blows for the people and the triumph of the principles of true democracy as has Governor Folk of Missouri. Mr. Winston Churchill in New Hampshire is fighting for the cause of civic morality and free institutions as aggressively as is Mr. Moran, the progressive democratic District-Attorney, carrying forward the same battle in Massachusetts, where his impartiality, as between the rich and the poor lawbreakers, and his searching out of the evil doers in attempting to break up organized corruption is making his name a terror to the criminal rich and the political machine bosses who are the lieutenants of corrupt corporate interests. Mr. Bryan and Mayor Tom L. Johnson, as representatives of the more individualistic democracy, and Mr. Hearst, as the representative of the New Zealand school of progressive democracy, are other typical characters who have been bravely, steadfastly and conscientiously fighting

reaction, corruption, injustice and the despotism of a powerful plutocracy, standing ever by what they conceived to be the right and refusing to compromise when compromise meant dishonor or the betrayal of the interests of the people.

Hon. George Fred. Williams, of Massachusetts.

Hon. George Fred. Williams of Massachusetts is another leader in this group of high-minded patriots of the old order. Mr. Williams in many respects resembles Wendell Phillips. Like Mr. Phillips, he was reared in a home of culture and refinement. After graduating from Dartmouth, he studied at Heidelberg and Berlin. Returning to Boston he entered the practice of law. Being a man of engaging personality, of refinement and of broad culture, he was welcomed into the most exclusive circles of New England society. He is a fine public speaker, clear, forcible, direct and convincing, while, possessing in a rare degree all the hall-marks of a true gentleman and a man of inherent nobility, he necessarily attracts and wins the confidence and regard of those who value all that is most sterling and worthy in man; but, with this broad culture and refinement there is no weakness, no disposition to compromise or sacrifice principle or to abandon right, justice and the great principles of free government for fear of hurting some one's feelings, or because policy dictates silence or compromise.

It will be remembered that at the time when Wendell Phillips espoused the cause of the black man, he was a favorite in the most exclusive circles of Boston society; but, on his taking a brave stand for justice, he was suddenly socially ostracized. Very similar, indeed, was the treatment accorded Mr. Williams in certain circles of Boston society when he ranged himself on the side of the people in the campaign of 1896—the great opening battle of the friends of free institutions against corporate control of government and the debauching of the people's servants by privileged interest. But it was long before that date that the corrupt and criminal classes had learned to fear this intrepid young leader, because of his uncompromising and aggressive honesty.

He entered the Massachusetts legislature in 1899, at a time when the people were sleeping, while their rights were being stealthily taken from them. A powerful and a corrupt

lobby was busily at work in the interests of certain great corporations seeking immensely valuable public franchises. Political bosses and machines were not then such powerful factors in politics as they have been since the corporations found that by liberal campaign contributions and other methods known to privileged interests they could, by gaining control of the political machine, further their interests with less danger of detection than by pursuing the old-time lobby methods.

Mr. Williams soon beheld what all thoughtful people now recognize—the grave peril that menaces free institutions from corporate wealth seeking special privileges, and especially from the public-service companies, and he raised his voice against the prevailing corrupt practices and the systematic betrayal of the people in a way that startled the “safe and sane pillars of society” who pose as the “better element” while plundering the people of their richest sources of revenue through influencing legislation and securing the election to responsible posts of their tools or persons who can be influenced to betray their trust for the enrichment of the privileged few. He compelled a legislative investigation that, with a Charles Hughes in the seat of the Attorney-General, would probably have proved as sensational as the recent insurance exposures.

We remember very distinctly Hamlin Garland, who had been following the exposure and attending the so-called investigation for material which he worked up into his vigorous novel, *A Member of the Third House*, calling at our editorial rooms one morning. He was very full of what he had seen and heard. “Flower,” he exclaimed, “are you keeping your eye on George Fred. Williams? There is as fine a type of the high-minded and true statesman as can be found. The country needs just such men at the present time more than anything else.”

“Yes, and because he is that kind of a man,” we replied, “he will be a marked man from this time forth. Privileged and corporate wealth rightly dread such men, for they awaken the people to the fact that their birthrights are being taken from them, while they are being placed under financial bondage to those who are obtaining priceless rights and franchises for nothing.”

Mr. Garland felt as we did, and subsequent events confirmed our impressions. From the day that Mr. Williams alarmed the great Mas-

sachusetts corporations, he became the subject of criticism from all the public-opinion organs and agencies which they controlled. He was elected to Congress, however, and served from 1891-93, while in 1895, 1896 and 1897 he received the Democratic nomination for Governor and carried on vigorous educational campaigns almost single-handed, as the press of the Democratic party of the old Bay State was almost as completely under the control of the public-service companies as was the Republican press. Henry M. Whitney, the most baleful character in Massachusetts politics, as the head of the greatest municipal corporation interests, posed as a Democrat, and his influence on the press had long been almost as supreme as his influence in the legislature, where he secured practically everything he asked for. All of the grafters, all of the corrupt machine element and all of the privileged classes were solidly united against this man who could not be bought or bullied into silence, while the state, of course, normally was overwhelmingly Republican. Though Mr. Williams was successively defeated, he sowed the seed of justice in the hearts of thousands of people and aroused a large element in the sleeping Commonwealth to a recognition of the perils that confronted them.

When William J. Bryan was nominated in 1896, Mr. Williams understood the real issue as clearly as did the alarmed plutocracy who trembled lest their corrupt domination of American politics would be overthrown. He had seen the political farce-tragedy played in the state legislature and at the national capital, and he knew what hundreds of thousands are only just coming to understand—that the real or supreme issue was whether plutocracy or democracy should prevail, whether or not class-government, beholden to and supported by privileged interests, should gain permanent ascendancy over a popular government aggressively honest and administered in the interests of all the people.

In a recent interview given to Hearst's Boston *American*, Mr. Williams, in referring to the present general awakening on the part of the masses to the peril of the arrogant aggressions of the corrupt and conscienceless plutocracy, said:

“The Renaissance of Real Democracy is simply the opening of the eyes of the people to the truths which were the moving forces of the platform of 1896.

"The money forces were able, in that campaign, to befog the national platform by appeals to prejudice and ignorance on the money question, but in point of fact the whole platform constituted a splendid protest against the perversions of government by the money power, which had controlled it without a break for a quarter of a century.

"The press, controlled by this same power, had insisted that the rulers of money and industry were the only true guides in political progress.

"The giant money forces were combined to create the belief that whoever attacked the domination of government by the industrial leaders attacked the prosperity of the country, were leading a general attack upon the wealth producers of the land.

"The banks controlled money. The railroads controlled the avenues of trade.

"The banks and the railroads were themselves in the hands of high finance, which reached into all the great industries of the country.

"It was not then realized that those who controlled money and the railroads were gradually building up a system of industrial monopoly, the roofs of which are now beginning to tumble into the foundation. It has taken ten years for people to learn that these leaders of high finance were not only absolutely immoral, but even criminal, in their scheme of aggrandizement.

"Much is now clear which was only dimly seen in the year 1896, and it is now understood that the great Money and Railroad Trusts have been the deliberate builders of a system of monopoly throughout the country.

"It is they who have made the Coal Trust defiant of human rights and of human needs. It is they who, by their unlawful discrimination, have set up the greatest monopoly of the world, the Standard Oil Trust, and have ruthlessly destroyed its competitors.

"It is they who have placed the trust in practical possession of the great steel industry, and particularly of the sources of its raw material. It is they who by unlawful favors have put the animal food of the entire republic into the control of a few unprincipled exploiters.

"It is they who have perverted the great life insurance companies of the country, and have turned what should have been the savings-banks of the people into dens of thieves.

"In other words, it now appears that a set of absolutely unprincipled and lawless men

have been teaching us our morals, making our laws, and, worse than all, preventing the enforcement of law where their misdeeds were involved."

It is not strange that all the grafting horde in the political machines of both parties, no less than their masters—the campaign-contributing and courtesy-bestowing corporations—united openly or covertly to destroy their formidable antagonist. This could not be done by attacking the man or his motives, nor yet by attempting to answer his powerful arguments. The opposition, therefore, either strove to ignore him or to sneer at his utterances while liberally applying offensive adjectives, which men without a cause and innocent of principles are accustomed to use in lieu of arguments. In a normally Republican state a minority leader, who had the press of his party and the old corruptionists that had long dominated the party, fighting him, had little chance of success until the rank and file of the people became awakened to the true condition of affairs. Hence the combined opposition, aided by the powerful corporation interests that were bent on the political destruction of this David in Massachusetts politics, finally, by the employment of sharp practices, gained control of the party organization in the state and Mr. Williams retired from active participation in politics, devoting his time to his law practice and awaiting the awakening of the people to the dangers that threatened free institutions, no less than their own well-being.

At length, Mr. Hearst started the *Boston American*, and thus gave to the progressive democracy of New England a fearless, aggressive and incorruptible organ. The paper was a phenomenal success almost from the start, and it is now the widest-circulated daily in New England. With its success, the progressive democracy again came to the front, the first notable victory won for the people at the polls being the election of John B. Moran for District-Attorney of Boston, in spite of the united opposition of the grafters, the machine-politicians and the privileged interests. The general uncovering of political and business corruption throughout the United States and the vigorous warfare that has been waged by Mr. Moran against the criminal rich who pose as the "better element" in Massachusetts, are serving to open the eyes of the people of New England, as elsewhere, to the character

of the high-priests of modern finance and the leaders of the commercial feudalism which has of late dominated our political life, so that the eyes of the nation are at last being opened and, as Mr. Williams recently pointed out:

"It is now seen by all right-thinking men that if high finance has shown itself to be fraudulent, criminal and even, as in the case of the Beef Trust, murderous, there is but one remaining resort for a healthy republic, namely, the resort which Jefferson and Jackson found always available and responsive—the honesty, justice and patriotism of the great masses of the people. Where, it may be fairly asked, is there hope for the regeneration of our institutions, political and commercial, unless it be found in the sturdy character of the people of the republic?"

"McCall and Perkins, in 1896, held up the money which they stole from the people's savings, with hypocritical appeals to save the honor of the country.

"Mr. Baer left the Democratic party in 1896, with protests against national dishonor, that he might more perfectly fix the monopolistic control of his master, Morgan, upon the coal supply of the country.

"The best-conducted railroad in the world is claimed to be the Pennsylvania Railroad, and we find its management honeycombed with corruption, favoritism and lawlessness.

"Food of the people was poisoned by the Beef Trust ten years ago as ruthlessly as it was a year ago; but the people would not then believe the utter immorality of the ruling forces, which made possible even wholesale poisoning for purposes of profit."

The seeing of these things is creating a popular revulsion in public sentiment that is causing a panic in the ranks of the grafting politicians, as well as the interests on whom they depend for corrupt funds with which to betray the cause of the people; while the electorate, beholding that they have been cruelly deceived and plundered, are at last turning to their true friends, just as the people of New Zealand in the early nineties, after being deceived and betrayed by the reactionary and capitalistic party, turned to the liberal radicals, installing Ballance and Seddon as the master-spirits in their political life. In so doing they brought into power the noblest and most sanely progressive band of statesmen that has appeared in the political arena during the past

fifty years. In the Renaissance of Democracy the people will demand a high place for Mr. Williams, because no political leader of New England commands so fully the absolute confidence of the conscience-element of the electorate—the earnest men who think for themselves instead of taking their opinions from a corporation-controlled press or blindly following their prejudices and voting "as father voted."

Mr. Williams on The Master Issues of The Present.

Wishing to present to the readers of THE ARENA the ideas of the strongest and most representative leaders of the new Democratic-Republican Renaissance as to what should be the dominant demands in the present crisis, we recently obtained from Mr. Williams the following brief and concise statements of his opinions in answer to our questions:

Q. What, in your judgment, should be the cardinal demands of the democratic party in the great conflicts that will be fought between now and the closing of the polls at the next Presidential election?

- A. (a) Direct-Legislation: Initiative, Referendum and Recall.
- (b) Public-ownership of public utilities.
- (c) The selection of candidates not in league with the spoliators.
- (d) Nominations by primary elections.
- (e) A limitation of the present power of the judiciary to invade the executive department under guise of equity jurisdiction.

Q. Do you not feel that Direct-Legislation should be made a strong issue,—that it is of first importance that the government be brought back into the hands of the people and that the rule of corporations through corrupt bosses and machines be thereby broken?

A. The complication of issues under our representative system has proven a weakness in that system, which prevents a direct responsibility of representatives on any given question. Hence the necessity for the added Democratic measures of Direct-Legislation on specific questions.

Q. Do you think that public-ownership of public utilities should also be made a strong issue from now on?

A. The alienation of representatives from loyalty to popular rights has been mainly instigated by the private owners of public functions, which have been donated to private

capitalists for purposes of profit. These latter are the great corrupters of politics, and we shall not have real popular government until their proprietary interest in the public business has ceased. Therefore the sovereign powers delegated to private persons must be withdrawn by the state which gave them. Private ownership of the highways also creates favoritism in transportation, which is an inevitable creator of trade monopoly, and has a powerful effect upon economic conditions. The nation must take over the trunk-lines, in order to open up the great highways of commerce, and the states can simultaneously possess themselves of the minor or local lines.

Q. What is your position in regard to the unlimited exercise of the injunction power by the courts which has been so marked a feature of our government since corporate interests have dominated the political machines of the two great parties?

A. The use of injunctions in labor disputes has been much abused and is wrong in principle. It is an invasion of the executive and police functions by the judiciary, and also circumvents the constitutional guarantees of trial by jury and due process of law. In my judgment, after much study, a fundamental attack must be made on the system, which may require constitutional amendments.

Winston Churchill.

When Winston Churchill was nominated for the New Hampshire Legislature, we shared in common with many other Americans who had enjoyed his excellent novels and who especially appreciated the broad, fine, statesmanlike spirit and the moral idealism which marked *The Crisis*, the hope that here was a young man who would reflect the Lincoln spirit—that loyalty to the cause of popular government and civic integrity that was, and is, the supreme demand which the Republic makes upon her statesmen in the present crisis. We felt strongly inclined to believe that one who had studied our history as painstakingly as had Mr. Churchill and who had dwelt so sympathetically and intelligently on the character of Abraham Lincoln, would not fail the people in the hour of their greatest need. Still, we knew how many had fallen by the wayside, victims of subtle opportunism and seductive promises or sinister threats of the commercial feudalism, so that we almost feared that he might fail to measure up to the high demands of the hour. Happily for the Republic, this

popular young novelist has thus far proved himself to be as morally great as he is intellectually brilliant.

Unlike Mr. Williams, he has not yet aroused the united opposition of all the privileged interests that are fattening off of the sustenance of the people by the aid of special privileges, monopoly rights and corrupt control of the people's servants. Indeed, up to the present time the fight is local rather than general, although the issue is national in that the evil that he finds incarnated in the Boston and Maine railroad is from the Atlantic to the Pacific one of the master-sources of political corruption and individual oppression in the Republic; and he who in this great conflict throws his influence on the side of civic righteousness and the people's cause, soon becomes a marked man. The political bosses and their masters, the corporations, invariably decree his political assassination and secretly or openly they lay their plans for his destruction. And if to-day some leading papers, which are notoriously dominated by public-service interests, outside of New Hampshire are still favorable to him, the hour is at hand when he cannot hope for their continued support if he remains loyal to the people's cause and becomes a formidable factor in political life.

Mr. Churchill's Exposures Are of National Concern.

Mr. Churchill is doing in New Hampshire precisely what Senator La Follette has so splendidly accomplished in Wisconsin. He is placing his hand on one of the greatest sources of political corruption in the Republic—the railways, and by exposing the Boston and Maine road he is giving a concrete example of what may be found everywhere throughout the nation where great trunk lines have heavy interests. The Pennsylvania, the Southern Pacific and the Santa Fé are other notable examples of roads whose corrupt control of states has long been a national scandal. It is a fact of first importance that cannot escape the thoughtful student of American political problems, that wherever we find public utilities or natural monopolies in the control of private corporations, we find, sooner or later, two evils rampant—the people at the mercy of human avarice which knows no moral bound are discriminated against and exploited for the unjust enrichment of the few, while the city, state and na-

tional governments, slowly, but steadily and invariably, come more and more under the corrupt control of the greed-dominated privileged interests until the people's representatives become more solicitous for the interest and favor of corporate power than for the rights and welfare of those they are supposed to represent. And in the searching exposures of the methods of the Boston and Maine Railway in its regal-like rule of New Hampshire, Mr. Churchill has exposed a nation-wide evil which the people must meet and destroy if the Republic is to exist other than merely in form and name.

The Master-Issue Clearly Stated by The Novelist-Statesman.

The Boston *Herald* of August 14th published a copyrighted statement from the pen of Mr. Churchill describing political conditions in New Hampshire as he has found them during his two sessions as a member of the legislature. As this paper is one of the most statesmanlike contributions that has been made to the literature of the present conflict between the people and that portion of the feudalism of privileged wealth which is represented by the railroad corporations, we, through the courtesy of the Boston *Herald*, quote somewhat extensively, because few things are more important at the present moment than that the voters should clearly understand the political conditions as they actually exist. In referring to the fundamental theories upon which our government rests and the three great moral epochs in our political history, Mr. Churchill observes:

"The foundation theory of all representative government is that it should be carried on by disinterested citizens for the common good. This is the ideal. The incentive to holding public office should be the honor which that office confers. We have so far strayed from that ideal that a politician has come to be known as a man who has a commercial interest in politics. And these men, with a commercial interest in politics, are called practical politicians, as opposed to men who have no commercial interest. The honor of holding public office, however, has not completely disappeared. That honor still is a sufficient incentive to rich men to pay large sums to the practical politicians to go to Congress or to be governors. Men who are willing to do this are also mean-spirited enough, when they have

bought their way into office, to obey the commands of the politicians who sent them, which commands are those of the corporations, the masters of the politicians.

"There have been two great epochs of thought and action in this country when great moral and political questions arose and overshadowed and swept away, for the time, private interests. Even to read of these epochs is to have one's blood stirred; and we are now coming into a third, which, I believe, will be as stirring as the other two. The first epoch followed our revolution, and in it men of high character like Hamilton and Adams and Jefferson wrote and spoke and worked for the public good. We were a little confederacy then with a homogeneous population, and the farmer and the lawyer and the merchant read *The Federalist* and discussed questions of self-government at the country stores. The second great epoch preceded the civil war, when the great moral issues of slavery and the preservation of the Republic so pervaded the minds of men that they were at length willing to leave their homes and fight and die for them.

"In this, our third epoch, the principle of self-government is at stake—the principle upon which this nation was founded. And all over the United States men and women are gradually awakening to that fact. They have not realized it, so insidiously has the disease grown upon us. In a country which offers the greatest opportunity for material prosperity in the world, the citizen has become so absorbed in his own affairs that he has neglected to do his share in a government which depends upon individual interest. The citizen has grown to regard politics as a form of traffic, a trifle nefarious, to be indulged in by men who wished to make money out of it.

"But now the citizen is awake to the fact that he has all but lost his birthright; that self-government has been taken away from him even while he still cherished the delusion that he had it. So craftily have the corporations substituted their own government for that of the people that for a long time nobody realized it."

Attempted Bribery by Pass.

Our readers will remember our calling attention to the letters which C. P. Huntington wrote to General Colton and which were placed in evidence in a famous trial instituted some years since in California by the widow General Colton. In these letters the great

railroad magnate described in detail how he and Tom Scott, then the master-spirit of the Pennsylvania railway, battled for control of the railway committees of the two national Houses and how they influenced and controlled the people's representatives. He also revealed how the railway corporations secured the nomination of their tools and the defeat of the people's incorruptible representatives, how the railway interests of California controlled the governor and the legislature of the State and how the railway legislation of Washington was influenced, when not shaped and completely controlled, by the great railway magnates. One of the things Mr. Huntington bitterly complained of was the fact that Tom Scott controlled or had such cordial arrangements with all the railways entering Washington that he could influence Congressmen by the lavish gift of passes. This, Mr. Huntington pointed out, placed him at a serious disadvantage in his fight with Mr. Scott for special privileges coveted by both these railway magnates. These letters gave the deliberate testimony of one of the greatest and most unscrupulous of the railway magnates, showing how potent a form of bribery was the railway pass. Yet, in spite of this, and in spite of the everywhere recognized fact that the railways give courtesies, passes and favors only for favors which they expect in return, such has been the power of the railway organizations and the venality of the public servants, from senators, representatives and judges down to municipal councilors, that the pass bribery has continued and no legislation has been enacted making the receiving of such bribe a penal offence. Hence it is not strange that the interests of the people have been for years persistently and deliberately betrayed and sacrificed when they conflicted with the interests of the great railway corporations, and that even when the public indignation flamed so menacingly as to compel some sort of legislation, the railways have always modified and usually emasculated the proposed measures of relief.

Mr. Churchill had no sooner been elected to the Legislature of New Hampshire than the Boston and Maine railway—the master or real autocrat of that Commonwealth's politics—sent the new member a free pass. This bit of history is thus described by the young statesman:

"Before I went to Concord I received a pass

from the Boston and Maine railroad. I was not foolish enough, even at that time, to think that a railroad which covered the entire state should be entirely disinterested in the politics of that state. I knew that the railroad must have sent it to me for a purpose which was not wholly charitable, and I came to the conclusion that if I used that pass I should be under an obligation to them which would hamper my inclination to vote as my conscience dictated. I therefore threw the pass in the waste-basket."

We wonder how much the moral idealism imbibed by Mr. Churchill from his study of the life and times of Lincoln, which so manifestly fired his own ethical enthusiasm when he wrote *The Crisis*, had to do with clarifying his vision that he so clearly beheld the moral pitfall placed before him by the notorious seducer of the people's servants.

The Politicians Wearing The Corporation Collar Fight Shy Of The Statesman With a Conscience.

There can be no real community of interest between the politicians who are beholden to corrupt corporations and money-controlled machines and high-minded, conscience-guided statesmen who are inflexibly true to the interests of the people. Our readers are familiar with the studied attempts of the corporation henchmen and political bosses that throng the United States Senate to snub, slight and discredit Senator La Follette. Mr. Churchill thus gives his experience at the State Capital at Concord:

"I was welcomed at Concord by the politicians very much as a spectator at a game of poker is welcomed. Nobody supposed that I wished to take a hand—and I did n't, at poker. They did n't even tell me how to play the game. I had to learn that for myself—how they played it.

"I was welcomed to their rooms, but when I came in and sat on the bed the conversation ceased, and they began telling funny stories. If I tried to talk politics I was told a funny story. I was not trusted.

"I wish to be just, and I wish in all seriousness to thank those gentlemen for not trusting me."

A Striking Illustration of How Public-Service Corporations Rule The People.

Of the mastership and rulership of the free men of New Hampshire by the Boston and Maine railway, through the money-controlled

machine and its venal tools, Mr. Churchill gives a vivid picture in the following words:

"Before the session was over I came to the conclusion that all these gentlemen were in the employ of the Boston and Maine railroad. Most of them were attorneys, but there were some so active in the interests of that corporation and so assiduously in attendance at the 'railroad room' that their connection with the railroad was a moral certainty, if not an established pecuniary fact. In the 'railroad room' at the hotel sat an elderly gentleman who distributed passes, and whose word was law, and whose connection with the railroad was official and openly acknowledged. It did not take me long to discover that he was the court to which all legislative measures were referred.

"I also learned that it was high treason to mention the Boston and Maine railroad above a whisper, unless you praised it. I also learned that the gentleman in the 'railroad room,' with the assistance of the rest of the lobby and with an occasional suggestion from the speaker, had made up the committee of the House. The judiciary, the railroad committee, the committee on appropriations and some others were made up with extreme care. I discovered that the gentleman in the 'railroad room,' with the advice and assistance of the chief railroad attorneys and one or two other members of the lobby, had chosen the speaker, and had nominated and elected not only the majority of the 24 senators, but the governor and council, who appoint the railroad committee, which is supposed to represent the people's interests with the railroad.

"I saw during that session and the one following many franchises for electric roads, which would parallel the Boston and Maine railroad, buried in the railroad committee. I saw indignant members of the House, to whose communities electric railroads were becoming necessary, forget themselves and rise up in their seats and denounce the Boston and Maine railroad. The railroad committee would listen with great politeness and patience to these requests for franchises, but they invariably bestowed so much thought and so much careful consideration upon the measures that somehow the session was within two or three days of its close before the bills were reported back into the House."

The young statesman also shows how powerless are the country members who honestly

seek to further the interests of the people, in fighting against the shrewd lawyers and old parliamentarians who are placed in the state government and held there by the Boston and Maine railway. He also points out a fact, which does not now seem to impress him with its true significance as it will, doubtless, later. The state Republican leaders, who constitute the lobby and the machine, are also the employes of other privileged interests besides being the servile tools of the real master of the state—the great railway monopoly. He says:

"It was a long time before I realized that these gentlemen who are hired by the Boston and Maine railroad to put its candidates into office made a large part of their income by receiving money from clients to advocate or oppose measures. Those measures, of course, in no way affect the Boston and Maine railroad, or they would not for a moment be admissible."

Some day before long Mr. Churchill will awaken to the fact that all the great public-service corporations and privileged interests are part and parcel of the present feudalism of privileged wealth, that they will, one and all, stand shoulder to shoulder in the battle against the people, and that every statesman who cannot be bought or bullied into silence will find, sooner or later, the various agencies, which are controlled by privileged wealth, openly or secretly seeking to compass his ruin. The Boston and Maine railway is no greater offender than a number of other railroad corporations or other privileged interests that may war with one another in a petty way, but which always unite in any struggle between the people and "the interests." "The Boston and Maine railroad, for gain," says Mr. Churchill, "has seized the government of this state." This is true, and, in like manner, the Pennsylvania railroad has seized and long held the governments of Pennsylvania and New Jersey through corrupt mastery of the Republican machine and practical ownership of enough Democrats to render certain the mastership of the corporation in any contingency that might unexpectedly arise. How completely the Boston and Maine railway has subjected the state is seen by the extent to which its bribery by passes and courtesies has seduced the press of New Hampshire. Out of seventy-five weekly papers published in the Commonwealth, only five have dared to raise

their voice in the interests of the people in the present revolt led by Mr. Churchill against the autocratic rule of the railways. Mr. Churchill is delighted to know that many conservative papers outside of New Hampshire have warmly endorsed his fight. He will soon learn, if he does not compromise with the machine or weaken in his battle on corporation aggressions, that these same papers will desert him as soon as he becomes a commanding national figure—that is, as soon as the real masters of these papers in the various states become alarmed at his power over the imagination of the people.

The case of Senator La Follette furnishes an illustration in point. When he was fighting the local railway interests of Wisconsin, he was heartily cheered and defended by many of the same conservative papers that are now praising Winston Churchill, but so soon as he appeared at Washington and showed that he would not compromise with the criminal rich and their tools in the Senate, so soon as he delivered the most masterly and fundamentally sound speech in behalf of civic integrity and the popular cause in the Senate that has been delivered in that body during the last quarter of a century, almost every one of these conservative papers, as though their editorial pens were moved by one hand, began to disparage the great statesman whose arraignment of the railways they could not answer and whose

speech had alarmed every public-service corporation in the land; and since that day, these same conservative papers—these “safe and sane” tools of the criminal rich—have neglected no opportunity to sneer at the brave, incorruptible and brilliant statesman of the people, who, if he had been willing to compromise with the interests and merely make a show of fighting for the people without striking at the public-service corporations in their really vital and vulnerable parts, would have been hailed by the same press as a “profound statesman” and a great “constitutional authority,” as these same paper are wont to term Spooner, Knox and Bailey. Either Mr. Churchill must make some sort of compromise with the masters and rulers of the people or the “so-called” conservative papers will, ere long, all line up with the seventy papers of New Hampshire that wear the collar of the Boston and Maine railway, for these papers are also the bond-slaves of privileged wealth. If Mr. Churchill has the manhood, the courage and the patriotism to bolt the corrupt machine and defy the rule of the corporations, he will become a true leader in the coming battle for independence on the part of America’s millions. If not, he may be applauded and held in high favor for a time by “the powers that be”; but, in that event, in the great conflict that is pending he will fail to prove a Navarre on the firing line of the battle for free institutions.

FRUITS OF THE FEUDALISM OF PRIVILEGE.

▲ Striking Official Revelation Disclosing Wide-Spread Uninvited Poverty in Our Heyday of Trust and Monopolistic Prosperity.

ALMOST fifteen years ago, when we published in *THE ARENA* our studies in the social cellar of Boston, entitled “Society’s Exiles,” “The Democracy of Darkness,” “Two Hours in the Social Cellar,” and “A Pilgrimage and a Vision,” the facts set forth in these papers were promptly questioned by certain upholders of conditions as they are, and one or two persons who were engaged in Associated Charity work were greatly distressed because of our “injuring the fair fame of Boston” by revealing the conditions as we found them. Happily, we had in the Rev. Walter Swaffield, the Pastor of the Baptist Bethel Mission of the

North End, and the Rev. Charles Demming, of the Bowdoin Square Baptist Church, two intrepid clergymen who had accompanied us on our rounds and who were ready to prove the truth of all the statements made, and we were also fortified with flash-light photographs of conditions described, so that the wholesale denials indulged in by the representatives of those who prosper by special privileges, class-legislation and economically unjust conditions only serve to conclusively establish the truth of our contentions and thus wrought good instead of evil by enabling the facts to be fully substantiated.

When Mr. Robert Hunter published his deeply thoughtful and very valuable work on *Poverty*, the upholders of privilege and conventional injustice were quick to sneer at the

facts they could not disprove, and to intimate that the fine young student and scholar was permitting his heart to run away with his head, a criticism that all deep students of present social conditions in America knew to be wide of the truth.

Now, however, comes a government report, —an official document that makes a most startling revelation of conditions as they are in regard to uninvited poverty in our midst, clearly showing the falsity of the persistent declaration of general prosperity which affords abundant opportunities for work wherever the laborers are willing to toil. For months the special advocates of the feudalism of privileged and predatory wealth have been iterating and reiterating this cry of nation-wide prosperity and abundance of work, probably on the presumption that if a falsehood should be continually repeated, it would finally be accepted as an undeniable truth.

In the recently-issued Bulletin, No. 64, published by the United States Bureau of Labor, the actual "Condition of Living Among the Poor," as found in the District of Columbia, is dwelt upon in a most comprehensive and circumstantial manner. In preparing his report, Commissioner Neil says: "The people, the intimate facts of whose domestic economy are herein set forth, are representative of thousands of other people in the District. Taking the country over, they are representatives of millions of honest and industrious citizens who help to make the world around us the pleasant place it is." Here, it will be noted, the United States official deliberately states as a positive fact that the wretched conditions of the industrious poor he is about to picture represent the condition of millions of human beings who are industrious, willing to work and worthy, and who "help to make the world around us the pleasant place it is." The Commissioner then points out the fact that his investigation does not concern "the living conditions which prevail among paupers, or among those who have reached the lowest stages of destitution.

"In every case, the expenditures exactly equaled or slightly exceeded the income, and in hardly any case, would it have been possible by the shrewdest management to have saved any money. Every family was visibly, palpably, actually poor. The loss of a day's wages would have caused keen embarrassment, the loss of a week's wages would have caused serious discomfort, if not suffering, while the loss of a

month's wages would have resulted in an enforced appeal to charity.

"An examination of the food budgets shows great fluctuation from week to week in expenditures for food, which means that when there was rent to pay or debts to discharge out of a week's wages, *there was not enough to eat*. In a number of families, it is plain that the food purchased was at no time *sufficient to provide proper nourishment*. In nearly all of the families under observation, there are appearances at times, of excessive and injurious economy in food purchases.

"Employment, and consequently income, *are very irregular* in some of the families. The causes which operated most powerfully to bring these families down to the poverty-line and keep them there was the irregularity with which the wage-worker was employed."

In describing one typical family the Commissioner says:

"There is no decent furniture in the house; the family is very poorly clad; the children *are not sent to school*, because the family, for the purpose of saving rent, lives so far on the outskirts and so far from a school-house that it is not practicable to send them to school.

"The examination of the food budgets brings out vividly the truth *that the greater part of the earnings of the poor is expended for something to put into the stomach*."

Again the Commissioner says:

"Most of the houses are so small as to preclude the idea of privacy and some are crowded beyond the point of decency. Almost every house investigated is *matched by tens, sometimes by hundreds of houses around it*. The sanitary conditions of the houses of the poor *are almost uniformly bad*. To what extent the houses themselves may be considered fit for human habitation may be determined by considering that the total assessed value of fifteen of the houses (not including the land) is only \$3,650, and that of these there are ten that have a combined value of only \$1,500."

These are conditions that obtain in a land of fabulous wealth—a land which, were it not for shameful inequality of opportunities, born of special privilege and monopoly rights, would reward honest labor with ample for all its wants for to-day and make it possible for savings to be made which would provide for comfortable old age. Of the clothing of many

of those industrious citizens who are bravely battling for a bare sustenance, Commissioner Neil observes:

"In some of the budgets there is hardly any recorded expense for clothes. The husband receives a cast-off suit from a prosperous brother, the wife a decent dress from a prosperous sister. Sometimes the church assists, either by donations or by the agency of the 'rummage' sale.

"How inadequately the poor are clad cannot be brought out by the figures and statements of a printed budget. A true conception of clothing conditions in these families can be acquired only by visiting the homes. In some of the families, the husband, though a regular wage-earner, has no 'best suit' and the wife no 'best dress.' In several instances, *the children are not permitted to go to school because they are not properly clad.*"

The very poverty of the people places them at a cruel disadvantage, even when it comes to buying the common necessities of life. This fact is brought out in the following observation:

"The budgets have all been found to contain records of bad bargains. The poor housewife knows what good bargains are, but the meagreness of her purse oftentimes prevents her from purchasing supplies except in very small quantities. She goes to the grocery store and buys a single bar of soap for five cents, knowing very well that she could get six bars for a quarter; but perhaps if so much is spent for soap there will not be enough left for food. She is buying potatoes at the market. For her large family, a bushel would not be an oversupply, and that quantity can be bought for \$1, but the outlay of \$1 for potatoes would not be possible, so she pays 8 cents for a quarter of a peck, or at the rate of \$1.28 a bushel. She has gone the rounds of the market and has nearly finished her purchases, but there are still butter, sugar, coffee and salt to be bought, and besides, some matches are needed. For all these things she has 25 cents remaining. Butter is 30 cents a pound, sugar 5 cents, coffee 15 cents, salt 5 cents a large sack or three cents a small sack (the latter being half as large as the former); matches, three boxes for 5 cents or two cents a box.

"The purchase of a pound of butter cannot be thought of. The purchase of a half pound would leave but 10 cents for sugar, coffee, salt

and matches. If all these desired articles are to be bought, the remaining 25 cents must be skilfully spent. Practice has taught the housewife the art of making skilful divisions. She buys a quarter of a pound of butter for 8 cents, a half pound of sugar for 3 cents, half a pound of coffee for 8 cents, a small sack of salt for 3 cents, a box of matches for 2 cents and has one cent left with which to buy an onion for the soup. *She has lost heavily on every one of these articles, including the onion, and she knows she has lost.*"

Now, while it is not claimed that these glimpses of the life of certain American toilers of to-day represent the general condition of the working millions, it is stated as the mature conviction of the government's careful and painstaking official, based on his exhaustive personal investigation of prevailing conditions, that the pictures presented are representative or typical of the condition of millions of "honest industrious citizens."

In the presence of such official revelations, and remembering that ours is a land of inestimable riches and that we are annually producing ample wealth, if it were equitably distributed, to make all sober and industrious citizens genuinely prosperous, no man can be quit of moral criminality who joins in the general clamor of the privileged classes that government shall "stand pat," that we shall "let well enough alone," or that we shall not strive, as New Zealand has striven, to bring about general prosperity by just and equitable conditions. The call of the present is for men—brave and honest men of the old order—who are dominated by conscience and that moral idealism that places justice and the rights and interests of all above any sordid or selfish concern.

A Striking Case of Corporation Contempt of The People and Their Government, Aided by The Courts.

ONE of the most amazing illustrations of the high-handed attempt of a corporation to defy and nullify the municipal law of a city and to compass its ends by the aid of a complaisant judge was seen in the action of the old street-car corporation of Cleveland in ignoring the orders of the City Council, commanding them to remove their tracks from a certain street over which they had no longer permission to operate. The council provided that if, at the end of thirty days, the street-car corporation

had not complied with its mandates, the proper city officials were to remove said tracks.

In passing, it is well to notice that if an individual should be thus enjoined to do a certain thing by the city government, and he defied or ignored the mandate, he would be promptly proceeded against for his defiance of the properly constituted legal government, but rich corporations have so long exploited the people, controlled their government, either directly or through manipulation of the money-controlled machines, and evaded or defied laws, orders and mandates which they have been unable to prevent being passed or issued, that they now frequently exhibit the same cynical contempt for the people and popular government, whenever the latter runs counter to their personal interests, that has been the most odious feature of monarchical, bureaucratic and aristocratic despotisms in the past history of civilized society.

After waiting forty-five days for the company to comply with the order of the council, Mayor Johnson instructed the proper officials to carry out the mandate of the City Council, and the work of taking up the tracks was accordingly commenced. Thereupon, the company set out to find a complaisant judge to come between the law and the rights and the interests of the people and the law-defying corporation, to the end that the corporation might continue to defy the people's representatives to the detriment of the public interest. The injunction which the street-car corporation prayed for was finally granted by Judge Ford, based, it is said, on false representation on the part of the street-car company's attorneys. The injunction paper was served upon Mayor Johnson, but there was no endorsement on the back of the same to indicate what it was, and Mayor Johnson, without opening the paper, placed it in his pocket for examination at a later date.

Meanwhile, the work of taking up the tracks went vigorously forward. The Mayor was next proceeded against for "contempt of court." The corporation, which had showed such contempt of the regularly ordered government of the city, contempt of the people and contempt of legal forms when they interfered with their systematic exploitation of the people, was greatly scandalized at the alleged "contempt of court" by Cleveland's incorruptible and aggressively honest Mayor. But, inasmuch as the paper handed to the Mayor was not properly endorsed on the back by having a memorandum stating the subject of its con-

tents written upon the outside, the action against the Mayor proved futile.

The story of this recent exhibition of arrogance and contempt of law and the people by a typical public-service corporation was admirably summed up by Mayor Johnson in the following statement published in the *Toledo News-Bee* of July 27th:

"The City Council granted the Cleveland Railway Company or its successors the right to operate a single-track line in Fulton road. The general ordinances of the city—and they are the law—provide that a street railway must lay its tracks where the city may direct and that tracks must be moved from time to time as the city may order. The City Council then granted the Forest City Railway Company a franchise to lay a single track in this part of Fulton road. The Cleveland Electric Railway attacked that franchise, fought it out in the courts and the courts declared that the Forest City Railway had the right to construct its tracks there. The City Council, in accordance with the court's finding, properly and in the usual and lawful way, then notified the Cleveland Electric Railway to move its tracks to one side and ordered the executive department of the city to move the track if the railroad failed to do so within thirty days. Formal notice was served upon the railroad company and was not even acknowledged. The thirty days elapsed and then fifteen more went by and the executive department of the city proceeded to carry out the command of the council, as its members are sworn to do. This was not done at night or by stealth, but in open day. The railroad company then committed a contempt of court and of the State by seeking to have the court repair the company's delay and laxity and disregard of law. The railroad company rushed into court with a lying petition, deceived the court, misstated the facts and conditions, and when the court suggested that the city be heard before an injunction be issued the railway further deceived and persuaded the court. But even the court refused to grant all the prayer of the railroad and only allowed a modified injunction. The railroad then had served upon the city officials a paper which showed nothing of what had been granted, and which, if it showed anything, misrepresented the court's decree. Then, in court the railroad's attorneys admitted the petition had not told the truth. Admitting that the court had been deceived and tricked, the railway declared that

the honor of the court must be sustained. The attorney for the railroad then went on to deliberately misinform the court as to my attitude and Mr. Springborn's as to the court. He told the court that we 'sneered at the court,' which is false; he told the court that Mr. Springborn said: 'I do n't know whether I am enjoined from blowing my nose or from what,' which was equally false. He repeated imaginary remarks and mythical attitudes, and then he talks about contempt of the court. In business such conduct is called buncoing; in law, pettifoggng; and in plain every-day English, lying. Contempt! Why, for years the courts of this county and State have been contemptuously used by this corporation. Contempt if I fail to comply with an unserved and fraudulently secured mandate! Or is it contempt to secure a court's order by fraud, deceit and chicanery?"

The Battle Between The Plutocracy and The Democracy in The Democratic Party of Massachusetts.

THE BATTLE between the plutocracy or the corporation-controlled machine and the democratic masses in the old Bay State is strictly typical of the conflict which is in progress throughout the United States between the spoilers and the spoiled. Not since the domination of privileged interests in city, state and nation has such genuine alarm been manifested by both the corporations and the political bosses as is evidenced at the present time.

When John B. Moran, the Folk of Massachusetts, ran independently for district-attorney for Boston, his candidacy created considerable amusement among the two money-controlled machines of Boston, they having united on a man of their own choice for district-attorney. Mr. Moran fought a single-handed battle with but one paper supporting him, and was triumphantly elected. Later, when he announced his willingness to run for governor, provided the people should understand that he stood for radical democracy, for the initiative, the referendum, public ownership of public utilities, the safeguarding of women and children from the avarice and greed of the modern commercial feudalism, the limitation of the power of the judiciary so as to prevent its arrogating functions that clearly belong to other departments of government, and other fundamental democratic demands, genuine consternation reigned in the corporation councils whose will and interests are under the pres-

ent régime of paramount consideration with the money-controlled Democratic as well as Republican machine.

The Democratic machine immediately made up a slate to be headed by Henry M. Whitney for governor, with Congressman Sullivan for lieutenant-governor. Congressman Sullivan, it will be remembered, was the congressman who branded himself with ignominy and disgraced his state by voting to pay himself mileage from Washington to Boston and return for Mr. Roosevelt's constructive recess, the recess being of less than a minute's duration. Therefore this voting for money for mileage was a clear-cut attempt to rob the treasury of the United States by certain Congressmen, whose action clearly showed the character of the men.

Naturally enough, this ticket, headed by the man who has long been the most sinister influence in Massachusetts politics and the greatest corporation influence in the state, was hailed with delight by the "safe and sane" exploiters of the people. It was not a question of whether the Democratic party of Massachusetts would accept the slate or not. The machine felt certain that with Whitney's immense wealth at its command it would be able to pack the convention without any difficulty, especially as it had the machinery so well in hand.

At this juncture, however, Hearst's Boston *American* published an editorial leader exposing Whitney and Sullivan in the direct, forcible and unsparing manner for which the Hearst papers are famous, and the publication of that editorial instantly destroyed the card-house of the bosses who were not so blind as not to see that there was absolutely no hope for success with such a ticket in the field, and that with Mr. Moran running as an independent candidate the probability was that he would poll a far larger vote than the corporation-controlled Democratic ticket, and possibly than the Republican. Hence pressure was brought to bear from various sides upon ex-governor Douglas, to get him to enter the field as the only person who could stay the rising tide of popular sentiment in favor of Mr. Moran. Mr. Douglas, unfortunately for himself, partially consented, but later refused to run unless he received the united endorsement of the party. This action further demoralized the plutocratic plans, and in desperation Mr. Quincy, the head of the Quincy-Gaston-Whitney-Thayer-Sullivan machine, asked Mr. Moran to allow Mr. Bryan to choose between Douglas and Moran.

At the same time the corporation henchmen were raising a general cry against the fearless district-attorney because he had published a declaration of his principles. They seemed to think it was a shameful thing for a man to let the people know what he stood for before they voted for their standard-bearer, and they charged Mr. Moran with being a dictator and with seeking to rule the party. On Sunday, August 26th, Mr. Moran replied to his critics in a statesmanlike letter published in the Sunday papers, in which, after declaring that he would be a candidate in November, he in the following words thus ably noticed the criticism that he was attempting to rule the party or play the rôle of dictator, and incidentally restated his position on several of the most fundamental issues before the people:

"I know that corporations and their allies within the party have criticised my announcement of a programme of policies as undemocratic, dictatorial and unusual. This is among the excuses, not the reasons, for their opposition to my candidacy. I take it that any sound-thinking man would appreciate that a candidate who announces the principles and policies for which he stands in time for the people to pass upon them before they have elected delegates favorable or unfavorable to him, adopts by far the most democratic methods yet discovered to give the people a chance not only to select a candidate whose character is satisfactory, but whose policies when in office will be equally satisfactory. Can there be anything more undemocratic, more dictatorial, than the method of concealing or withholding a candidate's opinions until after a convention has assembled, the delegates to which have been elected without knowledge on the part of the masses of what the party policy and platform is to be?

"The candidate who announces his principles and thus permits people to decide whether or not they wish these to be the party principles, adopts a referendum to the people more democratic than conventions can possibly be. I am not attempting to dictate to the Democratic party its platform: I am only giving the masses of the Democratic party the opportunity, which they ought to have, of approving or disapproving of my candidacy when they have known all the material facts concerning it.

"Among those facts none is more important and material than a knowledge of the things which the candidate proposes to do if he should

be elected. I submit my cause to the people. I do not ask them to submit their cause to me. I say to the masses of my party:

"Here are the policies which appear to me the best means of correcting present evils. Do they meet with your approval?"

"I do not ask the masses of my party to nominate me, trusting that I will devise, without their knowledge or approval, the best remedies. I believe in the initiative and referendum because I regard a people capable of self-government to be capable of approving or disapproving intelligently that which the public servant they are about to elect proposes to put into operation.

"It is well known that wherever the question of public ownership and of direct legislation has been submitted to the people it has met with their approval, despite every effort which united corporation power and the tremendous influence of money could bring to bear against this reform that would eradicate the two greatest dangers to the Republic.

"The overtime bill which passed the legislature under Governor Bates, and was by him vetoed, caused his defeat by the workingmen of Massachusetts without respect to their party affiliations. The same bill passed the House this year, passed the Senate on a fair test of its merits and was defeated by a contemptible and unscrupulous parliamentary trick by the President of the Senate, who was rewarded for his service with an appointment to the bench by a timid and irresolute Governor, who dared not face the wrath of the workingmen if he vetoed the bill, and feared the anger of the corporations if he signed it. No man doubts that the workingmen would stand unitedly behind this measure, and no man doubts that they compose a vast majority of the citizens of the Commonwealth.

"A proper restriction of the powers of the courts to interfere by injunction between employer and employed in industrial disputes is a purpose for which the workingmen in every State in the Union have now united for determined political action. I believe they are right, and I believe they comprise a majority of our citizenship, and, therefore, have a right to enact this proper restriction into law. I do not fear the popular verdict on these and other principles announced. Space will not permit me here even to make reference to them, but later I shall discuss some of them in detail."

The Latest Chicago Bank Robbery From The Inside: A National Scandal.

WE CALLED attention some time ago to the shameful defence of John R. Walsh by Secretary Shaw, after the former had wrecked three banks. It would be difficult to overestimate the injury to the cause of sound morality and honest finance which results from the position of Secretary of the Treasury being held by a man who is ready to rush to the defence of bank-wreckers and who is not zealous and active for the rigid enforcement of the national banking laws. Nothing can so surely lead to reckless banking and the wrecking of public institutions as the championing of bank-wreckers by the head of the treasury department.

After the unseemly defence of Mr. Walsh by Secretary Shaw, it is not surprising to find Chicago again the scene of another of those great banking scandals that are bringing the national banks of the Republic under suspicion and into disrepute. A prompt and vigorous action against Walsh, marked by the same relentless determination that is

present when a small criminal or law-breaker is caught in the toils, would have been a wholesome and restraining influence on all other reckless bankers; but with a Secretary of the Treasury rushing to the defence of a great bank-wrecker, it is not surprising that Chicago is again the scene of a shameful bank-scandal. The recent robbery of the Milwaukee Avenue Bank of Chicago of over a million dollars, from the inside, is another example of modern high finance by which the hard-working, honest and industrious people are plundered and the nation disgraced for permitting such loose banking methods. This great scandal, however, and the more recent breaking of a large national bank in Chelsea, Massachusetts, through reckless speculation on the part of one of the leading officers, may result in some good by adding to the growing sentiment among the more thoughtful people as to the importance of the nation taking the banking business out of the hands of irresponsible exploiters of the people and entrusting it to the people as a whole.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE REDEMPTION OF THE REPUBLIC.**Mr. Bryan's Triumphant Home-Coming and His Great Address at Madison Square Garden.**

WE CALL to mind no reception attending the home-coming of a private citizen who fared forth on his own initiative and around whom shone no halo of military glory, of diplomatic triumph, or the glamor of high office, that could compare with that accorded Hon. William J. Bryan when he returned to his native land the last week in August. The demonstration was significant not only as a tribute of America's millions to a fearless statesman who is known to be absolutely incorruptible, candid and conscientious, but also as indicating the growing radicalism throughout the nation,—the steadily rising tide of discontent and popular rage that the growing arrogance of the trusts, monopolies, privileged interests, political bosses and party machines have steadily fed by years of insolent refusal to frankly meet the imperative demands of the people for relief from the avarice and selfish desires of the privileged few. Last autumn the unprecedented popular enthusiasm that marked the

entire mayoralty campaign of Mr. Hearst, and which doubtless elected him to the office for which he was nominated, was another of those popular signs of the times that only Bourbons could fail to note.

Mr. Bryan's address, delivered before twenty thousand people at Madison Square Garden, on the night of August 30th, was one of the bravest, ablest and most profoundly statesmanlike utterances that have been delivered in years. Even the Boston *Herald*, probably the most subservient voice of the public-service corporations in New England, was forced to say editorially:

"In his address at New York last night Mr. Bryan pitched the 'keynote' high. It is really entitled to be called a great speech, reviving the best traditions of American oratory. In elevation of tone, moderation of statement, felicity and forcefulness of diction, and that 'soul of eloquence' which finds expression in sincerity and earnestness, it surpasses all of Mr. Bryan's previous efforts."

The news dispatches of the same paper thus excellently characterized the address:

"At Madison Square Garden to-night Tom L. Johnson of Ohio specifically released the Bryan boom for the presidency in the presence of 20,000 wildly cheering people, and then Mr. Bryan followed with a confession of faith which made the conservatives gasp, while it filled the radicals with joy. No longer can he be regarded as a 'safe and sane' substitute for Hearst.

"So touched was Mr. Bryan by the welcome he received that as he stood waiting for eight minutes for the cheers to subside his eyes filled with tears, and he wept as he strode nervously from side to side of the narrow platform.

"Government ownership of railroads, the extermination of private monopolies by federal legislation, approval of an income tax, an eight-hour day for workmen, arbitration of disputes between labor and capital, as well as international arbitration; opposition to government by injunction, the enforcement of the criminal clause of the Sherman anti-trust law, the direct election of senators, and an attack on the tariff, constituted the chief articles in the creed which he professes, and such of those as were most objectionable to the 'safe and sane' Democracy he emphasized with a fervor which left no doubt as to his sincerity."

The People's Battle in Wisconsin.

THE ARROGANT plutocracy which has controlled the dominant party and largely influenced and directed the minority organization in various American commonwealths, is at length thoroughly alarmed at the rising tide of public indignation, owing to the exposures of systematic corruption on the one hand and the inability of the people to obtain fundamental relief on the other, due to the power of corporate wealth entrenched in government.

The people at last have awakened to the fact that not only are laws year by year enacted and precedents established which increase the power of the corporations and their creatures, but all reform measures are either strangled in committee in one of the two houses or are emasculated in such a way that the principal or radical reformatory features are eliminated from them.

Hence a desperate effort is being made through the regular machines of both the parties on various pretexts to hold the power now so seriously threatened.

In Massachusetts not only is the dominant party in the hands of the reactionaries, but the Democratic machine has desperately striven to defeat the nomination of the one official in the state who has consistently, bravely and impartially enforced the law and assailed the corrupt and oppressive trusts and corporations.

In Illinois the Democratic party has become the tool of the most corrupt and immoral element that has ever controlled the Democracy of that state, and in this way the plutocracy has been able to paralyze the rising tide of popular sentiment in favor of radical reform through the Democratic party of Illinois, thus insuring the continued domination of the corporation-governed Republican organization.

In Wisconsin all the power of the old corrupt machine crowd, the public-service companies and the grafters has been centered against Senator La Follette. There the battle is a peculiar one and peculiarly difficult for the intrepid reform leader and the champions of civic righteousness in the state, for the reason that the present governor of the state was elected as a La Follette man. He is a Norwegian of excellent character, although somewhat conservative and not the kind of leader which the present crisis imperatively demands. Senator La Follette has fought the "associated villainies" of Wisconsin too long to be ignorant of the fact that only a clear-thinking, intellectually strong, aggressively honest leader who in all things is fearless can successfully carry forward the magnificent work which he so efficiently inaugurated before being elected to the United States Senate. Such a man is found in Mr. Lenroot, a brilliant young Swede who as Speaker of the House has proved himself to be the kind of man which the present crisis demands. Senator La Follette has wisely urged the selection of Mr. Lenroot. Governor Davidson, the present incumbent, however, has not seen fit to yield in the interests of the great issues at stake, and the reactionary and corporation interests, seeing that their only hope of success lies in aiding Governor Davidson, are said to have contributed liberally to his campaign fund; while all the multitudinous public opinion-forming agencies of the state, which are and long have been their subservient tools, are employing every means at their command to secure the nomination of Davidson and the defeat of Mr. Lenroot.

Those who are acquainted with the power and resources of the plutocracy when it is alarmed and fighting for its life as it were, understand the almost insurmountable obstacles which the people have to meet and overcome. Senator La Follette, however, is a tower of strength in himself. His magnificent intellectual power is only surpassed by his moral enthusiasm, his loyalty to principle, his fidelity to the people and to the sacred trust which they have from time to time imposed upon him. He is, in our judgment, the greatest statesman in the United States Senate to-day, as well as the safest and most intrepid leader in the Upper House; and if he is able to get the ear of the people of his state, we doubt not but what he will triumph in this almost single-handed battle which he is fighting against the Spooner machine, the public-service corporations and the army of grafters of Wisconsin.

A Practical Illustration of The Vital Difference Between a Free State and a Classed-Ruled Commonwealth.

How VITAL is the difference between a truly democratic commonwealth and a state under the power of class domination or the rule of privileged interests, has been recently strikingly illustrated in many ways by the story of events in the democratic Republican state of Oregon and the corporation or machine dependency of New York.

In Oregon the people enjoy the blessings of free government. There law, order and popular rule prevail. When the privileged interests recently strove to evade even a slight tax which it was proposed to levy upon them, and succeeded by methods that are prevalent in New York, Colorado, Washington City and elsewhere in killing the legislation the people demanded, the voters through the initiative brought the question before the real sovereigns of a democratic state—the people, and the corporations were compelled to bear a fair share of taxation. The election was peaceful, orderly, and the will of the people was triumphant.

In New York City, when an election was held marked by thugging and thievery, and a general demand was made for a recount of the ballots cast, not only did the corrupt practices known to have prevailed fully warrant such a recount, but under similar conditions the court of appeals had formerly ordered a recount, and all honest men could not but favor the granting of this petition, because

nothing could be gained by those who were said to have been defeated, if fraud sufficiently great to vitiate the election should not be clearly shown by the recount, while the title of the officers so seriously questioned would have been firmly established in the event of a recount failing to change the result. Yet no sooner did it become apparent that the courts would be asked to grant a recount than there was consternation in the camp of those who had been declared elected and of the great public-service corporations, their tools and henchmen in both parties, who had good reason to fear the election of Mr. Hearst.

Alton B. Parker, who previously had voted for a recount when on the court of appeals, in a case analogous to that in question, had some time before this entered the employ of the Ryan-Belmont ill-famed public-service organization. He now became the counsel for the alleged mayor and fought to reverse the decision which he himself had voted for when on the court of appeals. He succeeded in getting the court of appeals to deny the petition. Mr. Hearst then went to the legislature. A committee was appointed and enough ballots were opened to show not only the presence of grave discrepancies in the counting of the ballots, but discrepancies great enough to entirely change the result of the election, provided anything like the ratio of error continued throughout greater New York.

Then it was that the Republican machine, dominated no less than the Democratic machine by the public-service corporations, joined hands with the latter and stopped further investigation. Mr. Hearst then went to the attorney-general, as had been suggested by the courts, and asked him to proceed in the matter. The attorney-general apparently did not read the brief prepared by Mr. Hearst's lawyers, but took his reply, in which he refused to allow the people of New York to know whether Mr. Hearst was elected or not, apparently from the brief presented by the counsel for the corporation and machine interests.

Here at every step the public-service companies were powerful enough to prevent the settlement of the question as to whether or not Mr. Hearst had been elected, by the only constitutional method possible—*vis.*, a recount of the ballots cast. Only in a commonwealth governed by privileged interests and the corrupt tools of the same could such procedure, at once unjust and inimical to the

best interests of free government, be possible.

Another illustration of the difference between a government of the people, by the people and for the people, and a government of privileged interests and high finance, for the private enrichment of the few, was afforded in recent supreme court decisions rendered almost simultaneously by the supreme courts of Oregon and New York in regard to the constitutionality of state laws regulating the time of work for toilers. The Oregon court, following precedents, common-sense and the spirit of popular government, found such legislation to be constitutional. The New York bench declared a law involving the point in question to be unconstitutional. On the absurd position taken by the New York supreme court Mr. Post in the Chicago *Public* makes these excellent observations:

"On this point the New York decisions are somewhat in the nature of legal curiosities, in view of the fact that until the question of labor time became part of the burning labor question, the courts uniformly held that legislatures have full power to regulate labor time. The old cases arose on the basis of the Sunday laws, which were attacked as being enacted for religious reasons. The courts admitted that if the laws had no other purpose than to legalize religious observances they would be invalid; but they sustained the Sunday laws on the ground that public policy demands that one day in seven be a day of cessation from work, and this being so that the legislature has full power to choose the day, the fact that it chooses a day of religious observance being merely incidental and having no bearing upon the question. That line of decisions appears to have been thrust completely aside by the New York courts in their efforts to nullify laws exactly like the Sunday laws in principle, but which are made for the protection of persons whom other laws have made helpless beggars for opportunities to work."

Mr. Ralph Albertson on The National Federation for People's Rule.

AT OUR request Mr. Ralph Albertson, Secretary of the Massachusetts Referendum League, who is at the present time in Washington, D. C., sends us the following information relative to the National Federation for People's Rule:

"A National Federation for People's Rule has been organized with headquarters at

Washington, D. C., for the purpose of overthrowing machine-rule and establishing the rule of the people in its place. The initiation in forming this federation was taken by the People's Sovereignty League of America, and federated with it are the National Direct-Legislation League and a large number of State Referendum and Direct-Legislation Leagues. The new organization invites the cooperation of all non-partisan organizations who are working for a better system of government and who wish to assist in the overthrow of machine rule. Notable among the organizations that are cooperating with this Federation is the American Federation of Labor, the entry of which into the political arena in this fall's campaign, has introduced such a large element of uncertainty in the minds of the machine manipulators. The Granges are also taking an active part.

"Candidates for Congress are being questioned as to their position in regard to the Advisory Initiative, to apply to questions concerning interstate commerce, civil service, immigration, trial by jury or any modification of the law of injunction, eight-hour day in government contract work, and the submission of constitutional amendments for the initiative and referendum, election of United States Senators by the people, election of fourth-class postmasters by the patrons of each office; and the Advisory Referendum (optional), to apply to laws of Congress and measures passed by either House.

"Candidates for the office of governor and for the various state legislatures are also to be questioned.

"Should any candidate refuse to pledge, there will be carried on an active non-partisan campaign for his defeat. A candidate will be nominated whenever needed for the success of the people's cause.

"The questions above referred to are officially endorsed by the American Federation of Labor, through its Labor Representation Committee, Samuel Gompers, James O'Connell and Frank Morrison, and this signed endorsement on the letterhead of the A. F. of L., together with its seal, is printed on the question blanks that are sent out to candidates.

"Evasions and excuses on the part of candidates will not sidetrack this campaign. Every candidate who fails to answer unequivocally in favor of the people's rule will be considered opposed, and this fact will be published throughout his district.

"RALPH ALBERTSON."

MUNICIPAL-OWNERSHIP IN THE OLD WORLD.

Mr. McClellan on Public Ownership in Germany.

THE LITTLE fraud mayor of New York is convinced that American cities should take over the ownership and operation of their public utilities "only as a last desperate resort."

He has "discovered conditions in cities like Frankfort and Dresden, which own their street-railways, which no American city of second-rate importance, to say nothing of New York or Chicago, would tolerate."

And his "discovery" has been noised about in America by newspapers that are opposed to the public-ownership of public utilities.

But what are these amazing "conditions" that Mr. McClellan has discovered?

Did he find a European city in which the public utilities were not privately owned that had been subjected to the humiliation and wrong of having the corporations thrust upon it by fraud, *a mayor who had not been elected?*

Does he know of any "conditions" that are more inimical to the welfare of a free people than the conditions provided by the public-service corporations that enable him to be the mayor of New York this minute?

Does he not know that wherever in Europe the principle of public-ownership of public utilities has been tried, corruption in government has disappeared, because the corrupters—the private service corporations—have been legislated out of existence?

And what about the street-railway service provided by the municipalities of Frankfort and Dresden, anyway?

Does Mr. McClellan not know that however poor it may be as compared with the street-railway service provided by private corporations for American cities, that it is better than the service that was given to Frankfort and Dresden under private-ownership?

Does n't he know that it is the history of public-ownership and operation, wherever it has been established in Europe, that it provides more efficient service at less cost than the private owners provided?

And does n't he realize that if the service given American cities by private owners is better than the service provided by European cities for themselves that nothing is proved

except the superior quality of American inventive and administrative genius?

And if he does realize this fact, why is he so unfair that he does not make comparisons between German cities that have public-ownership and German cities that have not?

Is it because he realizes that to do so would be to call attention to the superiority of German public-ownership over German private-ownership?

And is he afraid to invite the conclusion that private-ownership in America, productive as it is of relatively superior service, might be outdone by public-ownership, as it has been outdone everywhere else?

Perhaps it is no more than a coincidence that when this gentleman who now wants to save America from public-ownership wished to hire a lawyer to help him to retain his stolen office that he hired Alton B. Parker, the attorney of Thomas F. Ryan and August Belmont, traction magnates who *also* do not believe in the public-ownership of public utilities.

Mr. McClellan talks like a man who had been hired to go abroad and see things that are not there. Of course he was n't.

ALLAN L. BENSON.

Another Victorious Year for Glasgow's Municipal Street-Railways.

THE RECENTLY-published annual report of the Glasgow Corporation Tramways affords another striking object-lesson for our people, showing, as it does, the wisdom and sanity of Municipal-Ownership and operation of street-railways. This report shows that during the past year the total income from the municipal street-car service was £820,938. 14s. 7d. or a little over \$4,104,693. The working expenses, not counting depreciation, were £456,268. 19s. 2d. or a little over \$2,281,340, leaving a gross balance of £364,669. 15s. 5d., to which should be added the interest on surplus revenue, making in all £369,415. 2s. 2d. or a little over \$1,847,075. Of this amount a little over half a million dollars was paid into the Sinking Fund and for interest. Over sixty thousand dollars was paid for taxes; over four hundred and twenty thousand dollars was credited

for depreciation. Over three hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars was credited to the Permanent Way Renewals Fund; over one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars was paid into the Common Good Fund for city improvements that will benefit the individuals of the community, raising the standard of living and fostering the happiness and development of all the people; and over one hundred and eighty thousand dollars was carried over to the General Reserve Fund. This is only part of the good story found in this report, for it is shown that of the total 208,069,833 passengers carried during the year, a little over 89 per cent. traveled for either half a penny or one penny per ride,—that is, they paid one or two cents only for their ride; and a little over 7 per cent. of the remainder traveled for one and one-half pence or three cents a ride, so that over 96 per cent. of all passengers carried paid from one to three cents per ride; while the number who traveled for four cents brings up the percentage to a little over 98 per cent. of all fares paid.

**The Disposal of Glasgow's Telephones to
The Government and How The Cap-
italistic Press Has Misrepre-
sented The Case.**

WHEN the city of Glasgow recently decided to turn over her telephone system to the government, which operates the most extensive telephone system throughout the realm in connection with the telegraph system, both of which, it will be remembered, are operated in conjunction with the government post-office department, there arose a simultaneous cry on the part of those great dailies that are owned or controlled by the public-service corporations throughout the Republic, that municipal-ownership of the telephones had proved such a failure in Glasgow that the city had sold the telephones. Here we have another of those almost daily examples of pernicious misrepresentation in the interests of corporate wealth by kept editors who do the bidding of enormously rich interests in such a way as to deceive the people, in order that their real masters may continue to plunder the public.

Now, inasmuch as this case is typical, we desire to call special attention to it; and that the reader may have all the facts clearly in mind, let it be remembered that there are three things which Public-Ownership aims to accomplish for the individual and the state:

first, the prevention of extortion, or the robbery of the people in the interests of those organized appetites known as public-service corporations; second, the wresting of the government from the iron grip of a thoroughly corrupt and irresponsible despotism of privileged interests that systematically misleads and deceives the public through its multitudinous agencies while absolutely dominating the money-controlled political machines in such a way as to debauch the people's servants, to drive into retirement the incorruptible and aggressively honest statesmen, and to elevate to positions of power their own intellectually brilliant, but venal and subservient tools, while supplementing their influence in legislation, when necessary, by the power of a corrupt lobby, and in this way transferring the real seat of authority from the voters to irresponsible corrupt wealth and corrupt political bosses; third, the securing for the municipality, the state or nation of the legitimate earnings of public utilities, to the end that taxes may be reduced, service improved, and money added to the fund for the Common Good, for the extension of schools, parks, libraries and other beneficent public provisions for the health, development and happiness of the people.

Now, if the question had been one of turning over the immensely valuable telephone monopoly to a private corporation to exploit the people, the citizens of Glasgow would have been the last people in the world to entertain such a proposition. They know too well that whenever public-service companies operate public utilities, the people are exploited in such a manner that millions upon millions of dollars are diverted into the pockets of the few, while, what is even a greater evil, there is always a steady deterioration in the character of the people's representatives where public utilities are operated by private individuals through the corrupt influence of the interested parties. In turning over the telephone to the government, two of the ends of public-ownership were safeguarded as thoroughly as they would be under municipal-ownership—that is, by government ownership the citizens were protected from the exploitation of irresponsible and rapacious monopolists and also from the corrupting influence ever exerted in politics when private corporations operate natural monopolies. The one remaining great benefit of municipal-ownership was the revenue which could be

turned into the fund for the Common Good, but this benefit was offset by disadvantages incident to the operation of the two telephone systems. In the first place, the cost for the operation of the two was necessarily much greater than the cost of the operation of one system, and, in addition to this, the municipal subscribers were placed at a serious disadvantage if they had occasion to frequently use the long distance telephone, because there was an excess in tariff charges over that paid

by the government subscribers when the subscribers of other telephones used the government's long-distance system; and, since long-distance telephoning is becoming so general, this disadvantage was becoming more and more serious with each passing month. It was, therefore, a part of wisdom, since the people would be protected from exploitation and their government from the corrupting influence of the private monopolists, to turn the telephone over to the government.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN LIGHT AND DARKNESS IN FOREIGN LANDS.

The Recognition of Civil Marriages by The Spanish Government.

THE ACTION of the new Dominguez ministry in Spain indicates that, in spite of the activity of the reactionary clericals, the government feels that the hour has arrived when Spain must show a greater degree of religious liberty than has marked the monarchy in the past. One of the first decrees of the new ministry created great indignation among the upholders of the old *régime*, but was received with corresponding satisfaction by the liberals. It settled the long-standing controversy which has been marked by great bitterness of feeling in regard to civil marriages. In the past the clergy refused burial in consecrated ground to all persons married by civil form only. By the decree recently promulgated by the minister of justice, Count Romanones, civil marriages are declared to be within the legitimate prerogatives of the government, and clerical restrictions upon burial in consecrated ground for persons who have only been married by the civil form are forbidden. Many persons regard this decision as marking the first step in a movement toward divorce of Church and State.

Mr. Morley's Loose Use of Terms in Discussing England's Socialistic Experiments in India.

THE HON. John Morley, if the press reports of his notable speech in Parliament are to be trusted, committed the very common error of using the term "socialist" for "socialistic" in his address, when he referred to England's

public works in India as a vast and successful experiment in State Socialism. We have frequently insisted upon the importance of writers and speakers employing these terms in an accurate manner. The Emperor William, as we have pointed out, is perhaps the greatest enemy of Socialism in Europe, but he is none the less a strong advocate of such socialistic measures as state ownership and operation of railways. Many, and indeed, we think, a great majority of the more independent and thoughtful people of our land who have no financial interests in public-service corporations and who have studied the question sufficiently to entitle them to judge intelligently, believe in popular ownership of the great public utilities; and yet a large proportion of them are not believers in the philosophy of Socialism. The experiments to which Mr. Morley refers were socialistic in character, but their introduction has little to do with socialism as an economic philosophy.

Marked Success of Governmental Ownership and Operation of Railways in India.

Of special interest, however, were the facts stated by Mr. Morley in regard to the eminent degree of success that has marked the public-ownership and operation of the Indian railway system. Here, as he pointed out, is a socialistic experiment on a vast scale. The Indian system now comprises thirty thousand miles of railway, and about one thousand miles are being added to the system each year. The average fare last year for the 250,000,000 passengers carried was but one-fifth of a penny

per mile, and the average charge for freight was one-half of a penny a ton; and yet at these rates the railway shows a yearly profit of over ten million dollars.

Mr. Morley dwelt also somewhat at length on the vast system of irrigation and government forestry being successfully managed by the state. The net increase in forest revenues during the past five years was over five million dollars.

Extreme Poverty of India's Millions.

During the address Messrs. Keir Hardie and J. M. Robertson, Labor and Radical members of Parliament, brought out the appalling fact that the average income of India's millions was about ten dollars a year and that the government exacts almost one dollar of that wretched pittance in taxes.

Lest some readers may think this statement incredible, we would observe, in passing, that Lord Curzon has stated that the average annual income of India's millions is ten dollars per head and the average laxation is over eighty cents per head.

This pitiable condition is nothing new, for India is a vast empire where from time immemorial the masses of the people have been exploited by native despots and the privileged few when not under the subjection of foreign conquerors, and the poverty is undoubtedly largely due to the masses being denied free access to the soil and the enjoyment of a responsible part in government. Free land, a free voice in the state and equality of oppor-

tunities and of rights must complement public ownership if it is to be anything more than a valuable palliative measure.

When one remembers the lavish expenditure of the Viceroy's household and that of general officialdom in India, and the military as well as the civil burden endured by the people, he can easily understand why there is such growing discontent and restlessness throughout India on the part of the millions who are denied a controlling or responsible influence in their own government. When we remember that the average income of the people is but ten dollars a year and that almost one-tenth of that sum is taken in taxation to support a government in which they have practically no voice, we can easily understand why the Indian Empire is slowly becoming a seething caldron of discontent, especially since Japan has inspired Asia with the dream of independence, progress, power and renewed civilization.

India looked to Mr. Morley for relief from many unjust and oppressive acts of the preceding Tory administration. Especially was the righting of the wrong in the partition of Bengal demanded and confidently expected by the Indians, but the great liberal statesman now seems overtaken by the conservatism that so frequently comes with age. He has failed to measure up to his own ideals and to the expectation of India. He has not been great enough to be just, and so the discontent in the Orient that might have been greatly assuaged is being augmented under the liberal *régime*.

JEAN JAURÈS' VISION OF THE SOCIALIST STATE.*

BOOK-STUDY.

I. A SUBJECT ABOUT WHICH NO INTELLIGENT CITIZEN SHOULD BE IGNORANT.

THE DAY is past when any intelligent person can remain in ignorance of the fundamental contentions or general aims of the Socialists of the world. It matters not what one's view-point may be,—whether he is an upholder of autocracy or monarchical or class-rule under the form of a plutocracy or a feudalism of wealth and special privileges, or whether he is a democratic republican or a believer in any other form of rule, he cannot, if he would appear reasonably intelligent, remain ignorant of the philosophy of Socialism.

A few years ago editors, clergymen, politicians and others, presuming on the ignorance and prejudice of the masses, frequently used interchangeably such terms as Anarchist, Nihilist and Socialist, and they indulged in the most absurd and misleading descriptive epithets and phrases when referring to Socialism. Though discreditable, there was of course nothing new in this method of treating the new theory of political economy. In all historic time the conventionalists and conservatives have sought to crush their antagonists by making absurd charges and misrepresenting the position of the innovators. But with us the general intelligence of the people rendered impossible the long-continued deception of the masses by deliberate misrepresentation. For a time the people will accept unquestioningly the dicta of those in authority in school, church, state, and literary fields. Later, however, they investigate for themselves and a general reaction in public sentiment ensues. We are now reaching this stage in regard to Socialism and the public mind.

II. IMPORTANCE OF CLEARLY DIFFERENTIATING BETWEEN SOCIALISTIC MEASURES AND THE PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIALISM.

Still the upholders of privilege and class-rule are battling to confuse the public mind, not merely with regard to Socialism, but also in ref-

erence to those thoroughly practical advance steps imperatively demanded at the present time and which appeal favorably to the sober judgment of hundreds of thousands of the more intelligent people who do not accept the Socialistic philosophy. On every hand we see the deliberate and persistent effort on the part of the upholders of class interests and monopoly rights, to confuse the public mind by characterizing as Socialism all measures that are Socialistic in character. They then proceed on the assumption that all persons favorable to these measures are necessarily Socialists, ignoring the fact that a large proportion of the most pronounced individualists, who are not pecuniarily interested in private ownership of public utilities, are strongly in favor of these Socialistic measures. Moreover, they are also favored by upholders of limited monarchy and by such autocratic rulers as the Emperor William, no less than by the electorate of the freest of all republics—that of Switzerland.

It is very important that the confusion in public thought, resulting from deliberate misrepresentation on the part of unscrupulous capitalistic organs, should be replaced by a clear understanding of exactly what different schools of thought stand for. In reply to a recent request from the *New York World*, the Editor of *THE ARENA* wrote the following statement touching these important phases of present-day discussion, which we reproduce as bearing directly on the matter:

"There is probably no great question before the American people about which there is so much confusion of thought as about Socialism. The mind of our people has been so generally centered on the acquisition of material wealth, or on the struggle for a maintenance, that we have become in a real sense a nation of superficial readers rather than accurate or profound thinkers. Our writers also are frequently inexcusably careless in the use of descriptive terms, while at times some of them sink to the level of the pettifogging special-pleader in unscrupulous employment of words for the purpose of mis-

**Studies in Socialism.* By Jean Jaurès. Translated, with an Introduction by Mildren Minturn. Cloth. Pp. 198. Price, \$1.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

leading their readers and discrediting that about which they are supposed to be informing the public. . . .

"It is difficult to escape the conclusion that those who are not inexcusably ignorant are deliberately and intentionally dishonest when they characterize public ownership as Socialism. The German Government owns and operates such public utilities as the railroads, yet who will claim that the Kaiser and his councillors are champions of Socialism? Switzerland, probably the freest government in the world, owns and operates such public utilities as the railways. England believes in municipal trading or the ownership and operation of municipal utilities, and the wisdom of the masses in regard to this is admitted by a vast majority of her ablest statesmen; yet neither England nor her statesmen can be said to believe in Socialism.

"Again, there are large numbers of the most pronounced individualists in general theory of government who are equally insistent on public ownership and operation as the best if not the only way, under present conditions, to conserve the interests of the individual and prevent the destruction of free government through the increasing influence of corrupt privileged corporations operating public utilities. This is notably true of the Single-Taxers, who hold that with free government, bulwarked by direct-legislation, and with land made free in effect through taxation, together with freedom of trade and the public ownership and operation of public monopolies, the fundamental requirements of democracy—equality of opportunities and of rights—would obtain to such a degree that there would be no call for further extension of government functions, and that under such conditions of freedom humanity would unfold and develop as never before. These men, though believing in public ownership of public utilities, are pronounced individualists, and Socialists dissent from their views, believing that their remedies would prove inadequate.

"Mr. John Wanamaker would not be called a Socialist, yet he fought for governmental ownership of the telegraph and telephone. George Foster Peabody, William Jennings Bryan and Mr. Louis F. Post, the able editor of the *Chicago Public*, could not be called Socialists, and yet they all favor public ownership.

"What, then, is Socialism as it is understood in America? The answer to this question is

that the Socialist philosophy and ultimate aim are the same in all nations, but the individual programme differs in autocracies, monarchies and republics, because in reactionary and class-ruled governments political emancipation or political equality has to be battled for. The philosophy and aim of Socialism, however, are the same the world over, and perhaps cannot be better described in a few words than by quoting the following definition given by the Social Democratic Federation of Great Britain. Its great and ultimate object is 'the socialization of the means of production, distribution and exchange, to be controlled by a democratic state in the interests of the entire community, and the complete emancipation of labor from the domination of capitalism and landlordism, with the establishment of social and economic equality between the sexes.'

"The Socialists hold that the last great revolutionary epoch gave political emancipation to the nations which we call free, without having properly bulwarked that freedom. Switzerland, however, by the initiative, referendum and recall, has adopted practical and simple methods that meet the dangers of changed conditions so as to properly guard representative government. But the revolutionary epoch, while giving political freedom, did not provide for economic freedom, which is also demanded if the ideal of democracy—liberty, freedom and justice—is to be realized. Hence the Socialistic philosophy aims to supplement political freedom with economic independence, making conditions which would abolish a parasite class, guarantee freedom and protection to childhood and economic freedom to all workers, male or female, while giving to every individual ample time to develop whatever special talents he possesses; ample time to enjoy life and to call out and cultivate the best that is in him."

III. THE TRANSLATOR'S LUMINOUS DIGEST OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIALISM.

The value of the work we are considering is materially increased by the translator's really admirable pen-picture of present social conditions as viewed by Socialists, and the luminous but necessarily brief outline of the Socialist philosophy, largely condensed from the writings of eminent Socialist authorities, with occasional direct quotations from recognized leaders. We know of no very brief

presentation of the Socialist contention that is at once so plain and comprehensive as is this essay, complementing and adding materially to the value of M. Jaurès' brilliant studies, the whole making probably the best work that has appeared for general readers in search of a brief yet thoroughly intelligible presentation of the Socialistic philosophy. In the introduction the translator defines Socialism as "the doctrine that the means of production (that is, capital, land, and raw materials, or in other words, all wealth which is used for the creation of more wealth) should not be owned by individuals, but by society."

Continuing our author observes:

"In order to understand the process of thought by which Socialists have arrived at this formula, we may imagine an unprejudiced observer of a philosophic turn of mind who has set himself to consider the spectacle offered by modern societies, and to judge it according to two standards, the standard of abstract justice and the standard of social expediency.

"The first thing that will strike such an observer is the extraordinary difference in the amount of material comfort enjoyed by different members of the same political group, a difference so great that the community may be almost said to represent two civilizations; and the next thing will probably be the difference in social standing, which practically divides the community into groups of masters and servants.

"As he looks about him he sees some men beginning to work at sordid and unpleasant labor at seven o'clock in the morning and keeping on till six at night, and at the end of such a day going home to a two-room tenement; he sees that they and their wives and children are under-nourished, that their clothing is insufficient, and that all the conditions of their lives are unsanitary and uncivilized. And he sees some men whose work is far lighter and more agreeable, or who do not work at all, and yet whose lives are made up of every material satisfaction their imaginations can conceive. Although between these two extremes there exist an almost infinite number of degrees of wealth, statistics will tell him that in both England and America 'nine-tenths of all the realized property to-day belongs to a class that comprises only one-tenth of the population—that ninety per cent. of the citizens, the great mass of the peo-

ple, share among them, even including their little homes and furniture, and all their much-vaunted hoards, the ownership of not more than ten per cent. of the capital wealth.'"

It is for the few that the many are toiling, striving, and receiving only a portion of what they earn. The favored few are able to give their children the best of educational advantages, careful care and the thousand and one aids to the development of full-orbed life that the toiling millions are unable to supply for their offspring, even though they labor incessantly from dawn to dark.

Nay, more, the investigator sees that the compensation received is so small, in the cases of hundreds of thousands, that the children's earnings are demanded, and thus the little ones are compelled to slave when they should be at school and enjoying that freedom absolutely essential to the proper development of the youthful body and mind.

"The philosopher will naturally try to discover the reason for this abyss which, in dividing the nation into owners and non-owners, divides it also into two civilizations. He may be tempted to accept the easy generalization current in society which will run somewhat as follows:

"Wealth is in the first instance a reward of industry. It comes to a man as the natural result of the work he performs. If he is very industrious or very skilful and earns more wealth than he needs to satisfy his immediate wants, or if he is very thrifty and sacrifices some of his less pressing desires, he is able to accumulate wealth. This accumulation he will use to create more wealth, and he then becomes a capitalist. The capitalist, therefore, is either an exceptionally industrious, an exceptionally skilful, or an exceptionally abstemious man. In any case he is an exceptionally valuable member of the community, and deserves his exceptional rewards."

"But a study of the facts will lead our enquirer to discover some weaknesses in this pleasantly simple solution. He will see that up to a certain point the theory holds good, but to a certain point only. It is true that the unskilled laborer, who gives work of least value to the community, receives the lowest wages, the skilled laborer next, the engineer next, and so on. But this comprehensible ascending scale is thrown out of all proportion by the appearance on the scene of the shop-

keeping and trading class. The relation between services and rewards becomes confused: the rewards seem to mount up by some magical compound-interest process. Our neat little generalization about industry and thrift takes on a singularly inadequate, not to say comic, appearance when applied to the manipulators of the stock-market or the railroad barons. And in the case of a large number of persons who perform no kind of work whatever (or who perform work that has nothing to do with the source of their wealth) and yet into whose hands a regular supply of wealth flows incessantly, the explanation breaks down altogether.

"Another factor has entered in, and this factor is the private ownership of capital. It disturbs the relation between services and rewards; its action illustrates the law 'unto him that hath shall be given' without regard to what he has done or is doing."

Again, the philosophical investigator sees that a large class of men are gambling, often with loaded dice, as, for example, when the great stock speculators of Wall street secretly agree on a course and proceed to deliberately deceive the people, so that they reap millions coming and going. He sees that by craft and shrewdness rather than by just procedure and honest toil, millions of dollars are required. Now being interested in the larger view of the case, he cannot escape the conclusion that a vast proportion of the wealth acquired by modern methods is unearned by those who enjoy it. Furthermore, "it is impossible to establish any casual connection between the ownership of capital and its wealth producing quality. It may be owned by a single man, or by a group of men, by an idle woman living in Europe, or by a little child: the owner, as owner, is a negligible quantity. And if the 'smart man' is not an organizer or manager as well as owner, he contributes nothing to the process of creating the yearly return."

Investigation clearly reveals the fact that wealth, under the existing régime, "does not go in due proportion to the people who have created it. But is it perhaps distributed according to some principle of social expediency? He will ask himself whether it is well for the community that a premium should be given to the quality of smartness at the expense of the qualities of thrift and industry, a premium so great that its benefits accrue

not only to the man himself but to his children and his children's children, who may have no socially valuable qualities whatever. Is it well for society that the trust organizer should have an income five hundred times as great as that of the college professor, that a good business head should get so much greater a return for its exertions than a fine scientific brain? And is it well that the son of a bank president should receive, as a reward for merely existing, a share of the common wealth two hundred times as great as that meted out to the civil engineer? Again the answer must inevitably be 'no.'

"But this is not all. Not only are the material desires of the owners satisfied out of all proportion to the work they perform, but they also occupy a position of social superiority which practically divides society into groups of rulers and ruled.

"The reason for this is to be found in the conditions under which wealth is created. The process is simple. To live a man must have not only the wealth that he consumes in food, lodging, and clothing to-day, but the means of creating a new supply of that same wealth to-morrow. His strength and skill are of no use to him unless he has the material on which to exercise them. But as that material is all in the hands of other men, he has to go to them to ask for the privilege of working in order to live. From that moment their power over him begins to be exercised. Though it is true that the owners of wealth need the labor of the non-owner in order to make their wealth yield its increase (or as the optimistic conservatives are so fond of putting it, 'Capital and Labor are partners'), they do not need the labor as much as the laborer needs the wealth. For the laborer's position is essentially a hand-to-mouth one: he must have instant access to the material, while the owners can very well let it stand over for a while if it seems more to their advantage to do so. The most they can lose by delay is an expected addition to their wealth: he loses the necessities of life. From this superior position in the matter of the labor contract it results that the owners or their agents do actually control the conditions of life of the non-owner. They decide in the first place whether he shall work at all: if for any reason it seems more profitable for them that he should remain in idleness, they deny him access to the material he needs in order to work, and he has no choice but to wait their good pleasure.

"In the second place, they decree the kind and amount of labor he shall perform and the conditions under which he shall perform it: hours of work, sanitation, comfort, safety, are all controlled by the owners.

"And in the third place, they decide how much of the product he shall have as a reward for his labor, and in so doing they practically determine the quality or quantity of food he can eat, the lodging he can inhabit, the clothes he can wear, the amusement he can indulge in, the degree of health and efficiency he shall enjoy—in a word they may be described as determining by their action the kind of person he is to become and (what is more extraordinary) the kind of people his wife and children shall become.

"After all the modifying factors have been taken into consideration, it remains generally true that wealth-producing wealth may give to its owners so great a power over the lives of those who must get at that wealth in order to live that it may fairly be described as tyrannical. . . . According to the standard of justice and social expediency the process by which wealth is created is as imperfect as that by which it is divided.

"It would be a mistake, however, to hold the individual owner responsible for social injustice. The tyranny of the owner is in most cases an impersonal tyranny, not deliberate or malevolent, but mechanical, indirect, and inevitable. He does what is called 'investing his money,' that is, he puts the wealth-producing wealth at his disposal into the hands of a group of other men, organizers, managers, and so on, who take upon themselves the care of making it yield a certain return. Self-interest and honesty combined make them see to it that he gets as large a return as possible. . . . Our vast organization of industry has completely separated the owner from the producer. He may feel a sense of responsibility for the lives of those non-owners whose work brings him his yearly quota of comfort and pleasure, but he is as helplessly a part of the system as the poorest laborer.

"It is the system and not the individual who profits by it that is the important factor in the situation, and it is therefore not so important to enquire whether the moral character of the individual can be reformed, as to discover whether the system can be so changed that it will become impossible for the natural egotism of man to bring about conditions so

unjust to the majority and so inexpedient for society as a whole."

At this point the investigator confronts the conventionalist, who assures him that the inequalities are merely due to the inexorable law of nature summed up in the famous phrase, "survival of the fittest."

"This is a seductive theory, but the knowledge of a little history and a little science candidly brought to bear upon it will soon reveal its superficial nature. Ever since the first group of savages found that it was safer for them to unite in the eternal fight against the animals and against other savages than to face the hostile world as individuals, there have been two sets of phenomena to be considered: those which have to do with man as an individual, and those which have to do with him as a member of a community. The 'scientific' critic quoted above forgets that Nature is as much interested in the development of the community as in the development of the individual, and that the process of producing communities fit to survive has had a distinct reaction upon the primitive instincts of the individual.

"Society has evolved from savagery to barbarism, from barbarism to feudalism, from feudalism to individualism, and with every change the relations of individuals to each other have been modified, the form of the struggle has altered, and the situation of those individuals who have not been successful is somewhat improved. The position of the modern industrial wage-earner is bad, but it is a step in advance of serfdom, as serfdom was a step in advance of slavery. And if we can judge society by the situation of its most unfortunate members as a chain is judged by its weakest link, we must acknowledge that society is moving in the direction of justice."

Our translator next gives the following concise statement of the main Socialist theory as expressed by Professor Menger of Vienna:

"The Socialist, or Popular Labor, State," he says in substance, "rests on the fundamental notion that its primary object is identical with the primary object of each citizen, and this is, the preservation and development of the life of the individual and the propagation of the race. But in order that the State

may be able to fulfil this object, it must control those natural riches which are necessary for the maintenance and development of the individual, instead of the rights over these being vested in a certain number of individuals as is now the case. We must, however, distinguish between those riches which are not destroyed by use and those which are destroyed by use. The former, when controlled by individuals, bring about the present economic superiority of a class, with all the frightful results we know so well: the latter only concern the individual who uses and destroys them, and are not therefore matters of public concern."

These views by Professor Menger are supplemented by the following observations by M. Jaurès:

"The State must assure to every citizen without exception the right to life by means of work: that is, the right to labor and to the full product of his labor. If it does this, it will satisfy the most exacting demands of human nature and fulfil its social duty."

Space forbids our noticing the very admirable pages devoted to the division of the socially-owned capital. Sufficient to say they are extremely clear and well presented and will do much to enlighten thousands of people who have been grossly misled by the mendacious and reckless statements of capitalistic agents who place the interests of their masters above the high demands of truth and justice.

Of the two great schools of Socialists our author observes:

"Upon the question of Method, as it is called, European Socialists are separated into two schools: the one, followers of the great militant, Karl Marx, are called Revolutionists, Marxists, or Orthodox; the other, Opportunists, Reformists, Revisionists, Fabians.

"The Revolutionary Socialists do not necessarily believe in the use of force to obtain their ends. Indeed, as Jaurès points out, the partisans of the General Strike are the only ones who hope to win by other than legal political methods. But what they do believe in is the possibility of establishing the Socialist system in its entirety, after they shall have obtained political power. They depend upon the 'class-warfare' that undoubtedly exists, to bring about a revolution, possibly peaceful in character, which will have for its object

the abolition of private property in the means of production and the substitution of social property in its place. Their method of action, then, is to rouse the non-owners to a sense of their position, and to teach them to look forward to the day when they shall be strong enough to bring about this radical change.

"This belief in the 'revolutionary' method has two practical results. In the first place, it makes those who hold it indifferent to any less sweeping reforms: they are working for complete political power and a complete social reconstruction. In the second place, the necessary stress laid upon antagonism of classes makes them especially unwilling to enter into political alliance with other parties, who represent the owning class, even if such alliance would result in the gain of certain concrete advantages for the non-owners.

"The Reformists, on the other hand, think that the coming change is too complex to be instituted as a whole. Their ultimate ideal is the collective ownership of capital, but they believe that they can best reach that ideal by introducing reforms gradually as the strength of their party and economic conditions admit, instead of hoping to apply a cast-iron dogmatic system as a unit. The details are too complicated, the new factors that may have to be considered in the field of industrial invention alone are too diverse for any cut and dried revolutionary action to meet with success. The general principle on which the Reformists must act is clear enough to them: it guides them into the practical solution of each problem as it presents itself. And by the light of this principle they have formulated in every country party programmes which, according to their Fabian method, will be gradually adopted by the various legislatures.

"These Socialist programmes demand as a rule the same general reforms: a legal limitation of the working day, a legal minimum wage, compulsory insurance against illness, accidents, and non-employment, old-age pensions, compulsory arbitration on the New Zealand pattern, drastic amendment of factory legislation, especially with the object of abolishing child-labor, the substitution of an income-tax or land-tax for all indirect taxation, and, most important perhaps of all, the gradual extension of the domain of public services (national and municipal), beginning with railways, mines, and other 'natural monopolies.' Socialists are also advocates of at

least parial disarmament and of the extension of international arbitration, and most of the party programmes contain statements to that effect."

IV. M. JAURÈS: THE STATESMAN AND SOCIAL LEADER.

M. Jaurès is considered by many the most brilliant and effective orator of France. But he is far more; he is a statesman of the first order, a man of broad mental vision and of high moral idealism. More than this, even, he is sane and practical, constructive and reasonable, even when far in advance of his time and nation. He is the implacable foe of militarism, reaction, injustice and despotism in all its forms, and a strong advocate of international peace. We think it is doubtful if any statesman of France within a quarter of a century has exerted so great or positive an influence for peace as has M. Jaurès, because, wielding such power over the workingmen, he has been able to show this class, that in the past has been always so susceptible to the jingo cries of ambitious and conscienceless politicians and the advocates of war on the slightest provocation, that the toilers have nothing to gain and much—very much—to lose in the event of war.

He has been tireless in his efforts to foster closer relations with England and to draw together the old-time foes, who are, however, the two most powerful representatives of liberal government in Europe. On November 26, 1903, at the celebrated Anglo-French Parliamentary dinner, M. Jaurès made a notable and brilliant address, during which he showed how the French Revolution reacted favorably for freedom in England.

"The French Revolution," he said, "animated without disturbing the evolution of the English nation: this nation has been able to pass without a shock from the oligarchical suffrage of Pitt to the almost universal suffrage of Gladstone; it has been able to enlarge the foundations of its public life without disturbing them."

Later on in the address he observed:

"Human life, and international life especially, has been saturated with hate, jealousy, and deceit for so long, that even to-day, in the midst of profound European peace, there are some minds who cannot see two nations drawing closer together without speculating

against whom or against what they are uniting. These people could not, I suppose, attend a wedding without asking against whom the marriage was directed. No, if the great free peoples, living under the parliamentary régime, England, Italy, and France, join hands and become friends, it is not with the idea of using the advantages of freedom to secure selfish ends. They do it to help on the great European and human alliances, by enlarging and extending national friendships. They do it to serve the cause of civilization, of justice, and of peace, in Europe, in the Near East, and at last in the entire world!

"And the workers of France and England long passionately for this great European peace, the peace of all humanity, stable, well organized, and permanent. In these quiet and smiling days I cannot forget that a few years ago, at the very height of the crisis that threatened the good relations of the two countries, delegates from the English trade-unions came to Paris and entered into a compact of brotherly friendship with the French unions at the Bourse de Travail. And they said then a wise and true thing: that we ought to build up a reserve of confidence and solidarity between the two nations in peaceful years, upon which we could draw during the trials and excitements of difficult times.

"This is what we are doing to-day, gentlemen. We are devoting to the cause of peace that faculty of foresight which, until to-day, man has reserved exclusively for the service of war."

And he closed his earnest plea for fellowship and peace between the English and French peoples by giving the following exquisite and suggestive parable:

"Once upon a time there was an enchanted forest. It had been stripped of all verdure, it was wild and forbidding. The trees, tossed by the bitter winter wind that never ceased, struck one another with a sound as of breaking swords. When at last, after a long series of freezing nights and sunless days that seemed like nights, all living things trembled with the first call of spring, the trees became afraid of the sap that began to move within them. And the solitary and bitter spirit that had its dwelling within the hard bark of each of them said very low, with a shudder that came up from the deepest roots: 'Have a care! If thou art the first to risk yielding to the wooing of the new season, if thou art the first to turn thy

lance-like buds into blossoms and leaves, their delicate raiment will be torn by the rough blows of the trees that have been slower to put forth leaves and flowers.'

"And the proud and melancholy spirit that was shut up within the great Druidical oak spoke to its tree with peculiar insistence: 'And wilt thou, too, seek to join the universal love-feast, thou whose noble branches have been broken by the storm?'

"Thus, in the enchanted forest, mutual distrust drove back the sap and prolonged the death-like winter even after the call of spring.

"What happened at last? By what mysterious influence was the grim charm broken? Did some tree find the courage to act alone, like those April poplars that break into a shower of verdure and give from afar the signal for a renewal of all life? Or did a warmer and more life-giving beam start the sap moving in all the trees at once? For lo! in a single day the whole forest burst forth into a magnificent flowering of joy and peace.

"Gentlemen, if you will allow me to fit my toast to this old allegory, and to give it before you and with you in the form of an invocation to Nature, I will drink to the sunbeam that charmed the whole forest into bloom."

Of this great progressive statesman the translator of the present work well observes:

"Jaures is probably the most conspicuous and at the same time the strongest personality in French political life at present. He is continually before the public; his activity and versatility seem unlimited. His personal organ, *L'Humanité*, contains almost daily articles signed by him, and represents his policy in every department of life: in its advanced interpretation of social legislation and social conditions in general, in its pacific attitude toward foreign affairs, even in its criticism of literature, art, and the stage. Jaures is an *intellectual*. He graduated at the head of his class at the Ecole Normale Supérieure, and has been twice Professor of Philosophy at Toulouse."

V. M. JAURES ON THE SOCIALISTS' AIM.

The great French Socialist leader is not only profoundly convinced that his political philosophy holds the solution for society's master-problem at this stage of economic evolution, but he is sane in his methods. It

is only by reason, only by convincing the majority of the people, that Socialists can hope to win. His appeal is ever to the brain and the heart. He is always the foe of force, the champion of peace and victory by education and the ballot-box. Of the master-aim of Socialism he says:

"The main idea of Socialism is simple and noble. Socialists believe that the present form of property-holding divides society into two great classes. One of these classes, the wage-earning, the proletariat, is obliged to pay the other, the capitalist, a sort of tax, in order to be able to live at all, and exercise its faculties to any degree. Here is a multitude of human beings, citizens; they possess nothing, they can live only by their work. But in order to work they need an expensive equipment which they have not got, and raw materials and capital which they have not got. Another class owns the means of production, the land, the factories, the machines, the raw materials, and accumulated capital in the form of money. The first class is, then, forced to put itself into the hands of the second, and naturally this capitalist and possessing class, taking advantage of its power, makes the working and non-owning class pay a large forfeit. It does not rest content after it has been reimbursed for the advances it has made and has repaired the wear and tear on the machinery. It levies in addition every year and indefinitely a considerable tax on the product of the workman and the farmer in the form of rent for farms, ground rent, rent of land in the cities, taxes for the payment of the public debt, industrial profit, commercial profit, and interest on stocks and bonds.

"Just as the old feudal road was blocked and cut up at every step by toll-rights and dues, so, for the proletarian, the road of life is cut up by the feudal rights imposed upon him by capital. He can neither work nor eat, clothe nor shelter himself, without paying a sort of ransom to the owning and capitalist class.

"To have responsibility without authority, to be punished without having been even consulted, such is the paradoxical fate of the proletariat under the capitalist disorder. And if capital were organized, if by means of vast trusts it were able to regulate production, it would only regulate it for its own profit. It would abuse the power gained by union to

impose usurious prices on the community of buyers, and the working class would escape from economic disorder only to fall under the yoke of monopoly.

"All this misery, all this injustice and disorder result from the fact that one class monopolizes the means of production and of life, and imposes its law on another class and on society as a whole. The thing to do, therefore, is to break down this supremacy of one class. The oppressed class must be enfranchised, and with it the whole of society. All difference of class must be abolished by transferring to the whole body of citizens, the organized community, the ownership of the means of production and of life which to-day, in the hands of a single class, is a power of exploitation and oppression. The universal coöperation of all citizens must be substituted for the disorderly and abusive rule of the minority. This is the only method by which the individual can be enfranchised. And that is why the essential aim of Socialism, whether Collectivist or Communist, is to transform capitalist property into social property.

"In the present state of humanity, where our only organization is on the basis of nationality, social property will take the form of national property. But the action of the proletariat will assume more and more an international character. The various nations that are evolving toward Socialism will regulate their dealings with each other more and more according to the principles of justice and peace. But for a long time to come the nation as such will furnish the historical setting of Socialism; it will be the mould in which the new justice will be cast.

"Let no one be astonished that we bring forward the idea of a national community now, whereas at first we set ourselves to establish the liberty of the individual. The nation, and the nation alone, can enfranchise all citizens. Only the nation can furnish the means of free development to all. Private associations, temporary and limited in character, can protect limited groups of individuals only for a time. But there is only one universal association that can guarantee the rights of all individuals without exception, not only the rights of the living, but of those who are yet unborn, and who will take their places in the generations to come.

"If, then, we invoke the nation, we do so in order to insure the rights of the individual

in the fullest and most universal sense. Not a single human being for a single moment of time should be excluded from the sphere of rights. Not one should be in danger of becoming the prey or the instrument of another individual. Not one should be deprived of the sure means of laboring freely without servile dependence on any other individual.

"Social ownership of property is merely opportunity of action brought within the reach of all."

VI. SOCIALISM AND HUMAN ELEVATION AS SEEN BY M. JAURÈS.

Socialism will, according to our author, exalt and ennoble humanity. It will level up all men and give new meaning and dignity to life.

"The domination of one class," he observes, "is an attempt to degrade humanity. Socialism, which will abolish all primacy of class and indeed all class, elevates humanity to its highest level. It is therefore a duty for all men to be Socialists."

And in discussing "Socialism and Life," he continues:

"In modern society the word 'justice' is taking on an ever larger and more definite meaning. It has come to signify that in every man, in every individual, humanity ought to be fully respected and exalted to its complete stature. Now true humanity can only exist where there is independence, active exercise of the will, free and joyous adaptation of the individual to the whole.

"Now let this word 'life' be boldly expanded; let its meaning comprise not bare subsistence only, but all life, all the development of human faculties.

"Socialism alone can give its true meaning to the Declaration of the Rights of Man and realize the whole idea of human justice. The justice of the revolutionary bourgeoisie has freed humanity from many personal fetters: but in forcing each new generation to pay a tax to the capital accumulated by the generations that have preceded it, and in leaving to the minority the privilege of collecting this tax, it has in a sense mortgaged the personality of every living human being for the benefit of the past and of a single class.

"We, on the contrary, maintain that human activity in all its forms should have free access to the means of production and of wealth accumulated by humanity, so that humanity as a whole may gain freedom as well as riches through the efforts of the past. According to us, every member of society has henceforth a legal right to the means of development that society has created. It is not then a human being in all his weakness and nakedness, that is born into the world, a prey to every form of oppression and exploitation. It is a person with certain vested rights, who can claim for his perfect development the free use of the means of labor that have been accumulated by human effort.

"Every human being has the right to his full physical and moral growth. He has then the right to exact from humanity everything needed to supplement his own effort. He has the right to work, to produce, and to create, and no category of mankind should be able to exact usury from the fruit of his work, and bring it under their yoke.

"The Declaration of the Rights of Man had also been an affirmation of the dignity of life, a call to life. The Revolution proclaimed the rights of the living man. It did not recognize the right of a humanity that was past and gone to bind the humanity that was present and active. It did not recognize in the past services of kings and nobles the right to bear heavily on the present living humanity, depriving it of its fullest freedom of action. On the contrary, the living humanity seized hold of and appropriated to its own use all that was vital and strong in the legacy of the past.

"The unity of France, which had been the work of royalty, became the decisive instrument of revolution against royalty itself. In the same way the great forces of production amassed by the bourgeoisie will become the decisive instrument of human liberation from the power of privileged capital.

"Life does not destroy the past, it subdues it to its own ends. The Revolution is not a rupture, it is a conquest. And when the proletariat has conquered, and Communism has been instituted, all the stored-up human effort of centuries will become a sort of supplementary nature, rich and beneficent, which will welcome all human beings from the hour of their birth, and assure to them their full and perfect development.

"Thus Socialism arose from the French Revolution under the combined action of two forces, the force of the idea of right, and the force of the new-born activity of the proletariat. It is therefore no longer a Utopian abstraction. It gushes forth from the most turbulent and effervescent of the hot springs of modern life.

"No, Socialism is not an academic and Utopian conception, it is ripening and developing in closest touch with reality. It is a great vital force, mingled with all phases of life, and will soon be able to take command of the life of society. To the incomplete application of justice and human rights made by the democratic bourgeois Revolution, it has opposed a full and decisive interpretation of the Rights of Man. To the incomplete, narrow, and chaotic organization of wealth attempted by capital, it has opposed a magnificent conception of harmonized wealth, where the effort of each would be supplemented by the coördinated effort of all.

"Now at the same time that the real substantial forces back of Socialism are growing and developing, the technical means of turning Socialism from a theory to a practical fact are also defining themselves. If we look at the national organization we see that it is constantly becoming more unified, more clearly sovereign, and that it has been forced to take on more and more economic functions, which we must hail as a sort of rude prelude to the social property of the future. In the great urban and industrial centers we see that the question of hygiene, housing, lighting, education, and food are bringing the democracy into ever closer touch with the whole problem of property and into the administration of that part of property which is already collective. Most important again is the growing coöperative movement, including as it does coöperatives for both production and distribution. And finally, we have the labor and professional organizations, that are growing, changing, and becoming more complicated and elastic all the time: trade-unions, federations of unions, central trade committees federations of trade, and federations of labor.

"There is then a practical technical preparation for Socialism just as there is an intellectual and social preparation. There are children who, carried away by the magnitude of the work already accomplished, think that

all that is now necessary is a decree, a *Fiat lux*, of the proletariat to make the Socialist world rise up forthwith. But on the other hand they are senseless who do not see the irresistible power of evolution which condemns the unjust ascendancy of the middle class and the whole class system to extinction."

Space prevents our even briefly noticing many very important chapters. Among these we regret having to pass over the masterly discussion of private property and also the chapter termed "Rough Outlines."

On no point is M. Jaurès more outspoken than in his insistence that advance lies only through education that shall win over the majority.

"It is not by any sudden explosion that democracy takes possession of States, and Socialism takes possession of the democracy. The laws by which, from 1860 to 1885, England has obtained an almost universal suffrage are as far-reaching in their effect as revolutions, and yet no one except persons of a certain learning knows the exact date at which they were passed. It is like the silent budding of the trees in spring. The new rôle of the working class and the peasantry in the national and governmental life of Italy is also the peaceful equivalent of a revolution; it is another *risorgimento*. And the same is true of the many-sided growth of the French proletariat. Tsarism can harass and weaken all these movements. It can envelop governments by its diplomacy at once subtle and weighty, but it cannot check the irresistible tendency of nations toward complete democracy, and the irresistible growth of the working class within the democracies.

"To-day, as much as fifty years ago, we must guard against the *revolutionary phrase* and set ourselves to understand the deeper meaning of *revolutionary evolution* in the new era."

And again he insists that:

"Those great social changes that are called revolutions cannot, or rather can no longer, be accomplished by a minority. A revolutionary minority, no matter how intelligent and energetic, is not enough, in modern societies at least, to bring about a revolution.

The coöperation and adhesion of a majority, and an immense majority, is needed.

"The Socialist Revolution will not be accomplished by the action—the sudden surprise stroke—of a bold minority, but by the definite and harmonious will of the immense majority of the citizens. Whoever depends on a fortunate turn of events or the chances and hazards of physical force to bring about the Revolution, and resigns the method of winning over the immense majority of the citizens to our ideas, will resign at the same time any possibility of transforming the social order."

M. Jaurès believes that the philosophy of Socialism, when once clearly presented, will appeal irresistibly to the brain, the conscience and the heart of the vast majority, overcoming prejudices born of misunderstanding and of systematic misrepresentation, and resulting ultimately in a higher form of civic organism that shall emancipate all classes and give to every son of earth an opportunity to develop the best that is within him.

He is too much a believer in the fundamental principles of democracy to want any triumph for his cause that is not backed up by the wish of the majority of his countrymen, and he is too sane and practical a statesman to believe that Socialism can be successful until the majority has become convinced that it is just, wise and right.

"Not to contract, but to expand," says Liebknecht, "ought to be our motto,—the circle of Socialism should widen more and more until we have converted most of our adversaries to being friends, or at least disarmed their opposition.

"And the indifferent mass, that in peaceful days has no weight in the political balance, but becomes the decisive force in times of agitation, ought to be so fully enlightened as to the aims and the essential ideas of our Party, that it will cease to fear us and can be no longer used as a weapon against us."

These extracts will be sufficient to indicate the aim, thought and method of the greatest living French Socialist, and we trust the quotations will sufficiently interest the general reader in the work to lead him to carefully peruse it; for though many may not agree with

the Socialist philosophy, or may hold that it will come only after a succession of victories in which the people will take over all public monopolies, and also perfect the method and machinery for the perpetuation of a purely

democratic government, no one can fail to be benefited by this clear, luminous and thoughtful outline of the great social system which to-day claims millions of intelligent advocates in the great civilized nations of the world.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

The Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colors. Special Number of *The International Studio*. Edited by Charles Holme. Illustrated by Forty Full-page Reproductions in Colors of Famous Paintings by Members of the Institute. Price, paper, \$2.50 net; cloth, \$3.50 net. New York: John Lane Company.

LOVERS of art will find this sumptuous work on *The Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colors* one of the most attractive of recent years. It is a work that cannot fail to appeal to all lovers of the beautiful, and especially will it be valued by friends of art who wish to see the art interests, culture and development of the New World wisely fostered.

It is not surprising that in the past our people have been too much concerned with the more utilitarian phases of life to devote the time or attention that should be given by a people to the promotion of the critical art spirit that is necessary to the creation of a great national art. In the early days we, as a nation, had our virgin land to subdue and our vast expanses to crudely develop and bring into close communication. It was absolutely necessary that the material wants be first provided for. Then in the very midst of our great utilitarian development came the terrible Civil war that for a time paralyzed and exhausted our national resources and laid waste a large proportion of our fair land. Moreover, the riveting of the eyes of the people on material acquisition and things utilitarian in character, which was necessary during the early stages of our history, later became a master or dominating ideal in business life. Thus the advance in art, music and literature has been even slower than the exigencies of the case demanded.

At length, however, we find a general awakening on the part of the more thoughtful, imaginative and idealistic of our people to the need and value of developing in a large and true way the art impulses of the New World. The crude popular taste is slowly becoming educated to discern what is fine and true in art, and such volumes as this work will assist in this vital education. Indeed, it is a work that should be found in all homes, as well as in libraries, in order that the fine reproductions of really excellent water-color paintings may assist in developing the art taste of the young while stimulating a love for the beautiful in youth during the plastic period of life.

The work contains, in addition to a brief but luminous history of the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colors, an informing chapter on the membership of the Institute and forty magnificent color-plates carrying admirable reproductions of notable paintings that have helped to make the Institute exhibitions famous. The pictures constitute in themselves a fine art portfolio worthy of any home of culture and refinement.

Triumphs of American Diplomacy. By Edwin Maxey, M.Dip., D.C.L., LL.D. Cloth. Pp. 120. New York: Brentano's.

THE READERS OF THE ARENA need no introduction to Professor Maxey, as for years he has been a valued contributor to this review, and as such is known to be a writer whose pleasing style is only equaled by his intellectual grasp of the subject in hand.

In the present volume we have a timely work of marked interest and value, as in it the author considers ten great diplomatic passages in our history which he considers to be of special interest and importance—mountain-peaks, so to speak, in our diplomatic annals. Here we find discussed with clearness and in a fascinating manner "Franklin's

* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

Conquest of France," "The Treaty of 1783," "The Purchase of Louisiana," "The Settlement of the Northeast and Northwest Boundary Dispute," "The Opening of Japan," "The Expulsion of the French from Mexico," "Masterly Strokes in Our Hawaiian Policy," "The Treaty of Washington," "Diplomatic Relations With and Concerning China," and "Our Diplomatic Policy in Relation to the Republic of Panama."

All of these subjects, it is needless to say, are chapters in our national history which should be familiar to all Americans. Yet, in the rush of present-day events and the multitudinous cares of life we are liable to forget them. Dr. Maxey has presented each subject so lucidly and entertainingly that they will henceforth become part of the intellectual possession of all readers. Though, for the most part, our author is very convincing, there are moments when, it seems to us, his partiality for our country and his great regard for certain American diplomatic leaders obscures his usually clear mental vision. This, in our judgment, is most apparent in his attempted justification of our course in relation to the Panama controversy. When reading this chapter, we could not fail to feel that some special pleading was being unconsciously indulged in and that if conditions were reversed—if, for example, our author had been as enthusiastic a Colombian as he is a champion of the United States—he would have found our contention quite as untenable as he now finds it justifiable; but, with this exception the volume is admirable and a valuable contribution to our all too scant literature of diplomacy.

Primary Facts in Religious Thought. By Alfred Wesley Wishart. Cloth. Pp. 122. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

THIS is a carefully written little volume containing seven chapters in which the author considers "What is Religion?" "Religion and Theology," "Religion and Morals," "Religion and the Church," "Religion and Social Progress," "Religion and Christ," and "Religion and the Bible." Dr. Wishart is a careful reasoner and the volume, on the whole, is an admirable work of the kind. As is so frequently the case in didactic theological works, however, the author, it seem to us, sometimes presumes too much, and therefore his premises are open to criticism. Moreover, we

doubt if such works as the present volume will exert much influence either on the mind of the masses or upon the thoughtful reformers who at the present time do not find in the church the inspiration to social righteousness, justice and moral advance that our author seems to think it possesses.

It seems to us that the world to-day demands from religious leaders the bold, fearless and aggressive morality, justice and humanitarianism that was displayed in so marked a way by Jesus when he arraigned the evil-doers of the Congregation or the Conventional Church of his time rather than didactic arguments on religion or defences of the church. We do not believe that the more thoughtful among reformers, or yet the great masses of the unchurched, can be influenced by such works as the present volume, for they do not meet the crying need of the hour. When the church and her leaders, from a thousand pulpits, and in one accord, display the superb courage and moral enthusiasm evidenced so strikingly by the infant primitive church,—by Luther, Zwingli and Melancthon, when they assailed the corrupt and criminal practices of the ambitious and over-rich church of their time and by the aggressive morality and spiritual enthusiasm which made the work of Wesley and Whitefield revolutionary in character,—then will the church find no lack of aid and support from great moral leaders who are to-day outside of her fold, nor will her pews be empty, for the poor will, as has ever been the case when the gospels of justice, righteousness and equity have been preached, gladly flock to hear the glad tidings from the fearless prophets of a living church and a living God. Our author, we think, in his defence of the church places far too high an estimation on the religious vitality and moral virility of the church at the present time. True, he says:

"We have no apology to offer for the mistakes of religious bodies. Dissensions, cruelty, and persecution have marked the history of the church. Creeds have tyrannized over life, and orthodoxy has been preferred to loving-kindness. The church has been regarded as an end in itself, instead of a means to promote righteousness and brotherhood. The church has hidden Christ as well as revealed him."

But, in spite of this reservation, Dr. Wishart assumes that the church "rightly viewed" is

"a training-school for righteousness." He holds that "the modern churches do promote the general welfare" and that "the masses need the churches." Therefore, he criticizes the attitude of indifference assumed by some moral men to these institutions so essential to religion. "Is it right," he exclaims, "to withhold the helping hand from struggling fellow-men?" Now, it is unquestionably true that at times in history the church has been a great aggressive moral factor and has leavened society with righteousness as has no other influence present in the social organism, and at all times there have been many good works promoted by the church, many noble apostles of righteousness in her ministry and a vast multitude of the highest and finest natures within her commonwealths; yet, it is also true that whenever the church has become rich and powerful, and whenever she has sought to ally herself with political powers or to court the favor of the rich, she has, as a body, retarded rather than furthered the cause of social justice, human rights and civic morality. The church in the days of Jesus furnishes an admirable case in point. And it was against this organization and its pillars that Jesus hurled his most scathing condemnation. When he drove the gamblers from the temple, he offended the Church and placed himself in the eyes of the great leaders of the religious organization in a position similar to that later occupied by William Lloyd Garrison when the Orthodox pulpits of Boston, and the country generally, denounced him and his crusade for the abolition of human slavery, and when religious leaders charged him with being an infidel.

Dr. Wishart is too much an historian not to know that the church at the time of the great Protestant reformation was a hindrance rather than a help to the cause of morality, justice and human advancement. He also will not, we think, question the fact that the Church of England had ceased to be a moral leader or a bulwark for justice and the upliftment of the masses when Wyclif and the Wesleys electrified the nation and aroused the moral and social consciousness of England. And no one knows better than our author how it was in the early days of the Anti-Slavery struggle in this country. The great orthodox communions, North as well as South, were almost a unit in the early stages of the conflict in opposition to William Lloyd Garrison and the small band of aggressive apostles of

social justice. Indeed, it was not until these prophets of God, standing without the orthodox fellowships compelled the church, as a body, to take cognizance of the cause, that the ministry began to take a stand in any considerable number in behalf of the emancipation of the black man.

So to-day, it is idle to claim that the church, which not only refuses to withdraw her fellowship from known law-violators and those who have acquired millions upon millions of dollars by indirection, but which reaches out greedy hands for the tainted gold of these same rich lawbreakers, can be an aggressive, social and moral leader in the great battle now being waged against the systematic lawbreakers—the criminal rich whose vast fortunes have been largely acquired by defiance of the laws of the land and by various indirect methods which have violated universally-recognized moral law, among which the corrupting of government in its various ramifications, to the end that the patent interests of society have been steadily sacrificed to the monetary interests of the privileged few, is one of the most apparent of these moral crimes.

The masses are always ready to hear a gospel of love, social righteousness and justice when the church and her ministry are aggressively just and righteous—when they are as quick to condemn lawlessness, criminality and injustice in the rich church-member as in the poor man. When the ministry has the courage of Nathan before David and of Jesus before the opulent church of his day, the poor will ever hear them gladly, and the secret of the empty pews, the indifference of the masses and the aloofness of many reformers lies just here. The church to-day cares more for Rockefeller's millions than for furthering the cause of social righteousness by imitating the great founder of Christianity when he denounced the rich Pharisee who ostentatiously gave alms and made long prayers while robbing the widow and the fatherless.

We venture the opinion that if Dr. Wishart had added a chapter to his work, unmasking the injustice and lawlessness of the great trusts and corporations and confining himself merely to the evidence established by legislative and special committees of investigation; if he had cited special cases and denounced the evils which have been time and again uncovered, and if he had followed this exposure by applying Jesus' own words adapted to the present cases, he would not have found

a publisher in the Chicago University Press. Certainly the work would not have been acceptable if he had been as frank and outspoken in his arraignment of the Standard Oil Company as was the Rev. George Frederick Pentecost in his three discourses, delivered in the Madison Avenue Baptist Church of New York, against the acceptance by the church of the tainted money of Mr. Rockefeller. These discourses, it will be remembered, though unanswerable in the facts and charges presented, and in perfect alignment with the aggressive morality of Jesus and the apostles, were so offensive to the rich congregation that, after their delivery, the fearless clergyman was no longer acceptable to the Mammon worshipping church.

No, we do not think that argumentative discussions like those in the present volume, though they be scholarly and as well-written as possible under the circumstances, will influence the reformers out of the church or the great masses of people who are no longer attracted to the church, because we believe the trouble lies in the church and her ministry rather than in the reformers and the people.

The Double Doctrine of the Church of Rome.

By Baroness Von Zedtwitz. Cloth. Pp. 63. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company.

WE HAVE recently received for review a small volume, which, both on account of the position which until recently was occupied by the author in the church she now arraigns, and also because of the grave character of the charges made, will doubtless occasion wide notice and awaken much discussion.

The author, the Baroness Von Zedtwitz, formerly Miss Lena Caldwell, is one of two sisters who have been among the most foremost women in the Catholic church of the New World. Their contributions, lavishly bestowed upon the Catholic University at Washington, won for them special favor from Rome, and they were taken into the inner circle, as it were, by representatives of the Vatican and leading church prelates who regarded them as such enthusiasts that it was entirely safe to confide to them the secret doctrine or the moral opportunism of the politico-religious hierarchy. Their princely donations appear to have secured for them a degree of favor and attention rarely accorded lay members by the church dignitaries at

Rome, and here it was that they came face to face with teachings and practices that disillusioned them so completely that they both have left the Roman fellowship, and now one of them, the Baroness Von Zedtwitz, states the reasons that forced her to renounce the church in which she had been reared.

"In childhood and early girlhood, without palliating the unchristian conduct of almost all the prelates with whom I came in contact, I never ceased to hope and believe that when womanhood had ripened my judgment, the apparent inconsistencies would be fully explained and the truth become evident to me. To this period of enlightenment I confidently looked forward. . . .

"But Church politics had other uses for my coöperation than in the futile searching for Christ's divine spirit within its body, and I was led imperceptibly to a deeper and truer knowledge of the essence of that Church which I had always believed 'Holy.' The loyal Roman Catholic had active work to accomplish on earth—viz., the propagating of Church influence—not simply practicing the supposed teaching. . . .

"What then was to become of the moral code, if ecclesiastical and moral duty clashed? The first is law, the second *habit*, was the reply. The moral habit is helpful doubtless to primitive simple folk, but it is dead and lifeless in itself, and often crushes the spirit. No great work was ever done by narrow moralists; for with that rule of life, we neither grow nor accomplish."

The author claims that her search for truth at the fountain-head of the church brought about the astounding revelation that the Church she loved and had throughout life revered, had a double set of morals—one for the world—a simple-minded little questioning multitude, the other for the militant and aggressive servants of the Church, the most prominent class of which are the Jesuits. She thus speaks of her quest for the truth:

"The separation of morals from religion seemed to me such a highly important indication in reaching the enlightenment I so much desired, that I followed it persistently and unremittingly, and it became therefore inevitable that I found myself at last an admitted member in Church politics, and at the source and heart of Esoteric Catholicism. God's glory and Christ's teachings were then but the arm-

our and shield to hide the real pretensions of the Vatican; and the Papacy, with all its promises, implies and tolerates, is the rallying word with which the faint-hearted Romanist is won back to service.

"But Romanism to be understood, must be traced to its source, and it is to the College of Cardinals in Rome, and the 'Propaganda,' one must look for the true confirmation of its spirit. As the system is found there, so it is in its real essence and nature, or else the name Roman Catholicism has no meaning. It is a known fact that after Luther had been to Rome, he ceased to believe in the religion he had never before truly known: and to-day it is generally admitted that an ecclesiastical student when he leaves Rome carries away with him little else than the Papal banner, and has laid his primitive moral code at the feet of the infallible successor of St. Peter."

In speaking of the two-fold system of morals, or the double code, Baroness Von Zedtwitz says:

"With the exoteric doctrines it finds means to defend itself against attack, and retreats always behind the bulwarks of Christian ethics. It proclaims charity, sincerity, justice, altruism, professes from the pulpits the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and thus deludes its adversaries, who fall back disheartened, and abandon a systematic attack.

"Members of the Roman communion who are the cause of recurring scandals are declared lamentable exceptions to the universal virtuous living of the priesthood; they are acknowledged as the stray sheep, whom the ever loving 'Mother Church' would fain recover.

"The curious searcher, however, who is desirous of reconciling the history of the Roman Church with its avowed doctrine, cannot be satisfied with such inconsistency, and it must, in time, become clear to him that only through the existence of an esoteric doctrine can such grave discrepancies be explained.

"Jesuitism is but esoteric Catholicism made tangible. It is the heart and spirit of the whole system; and whether or not there have been Popes and prelates who are covertly hostile to its necessary hegemony, they are aware that if Catholicism and papacy are to last, Jesuitism is absolutely indispensable for their justification; were it otherwise Rome, following the course she has always pursued

in denouncing unsound doctrines of a theological nature, would have been forced to call upon the Jesuits in Vatican Council to disown and repudiate the unsound moral teachings of a whole host of Jesuit authors; or failing to obey this order banish the Jesuits from the Church. Rome has never attempted either. The Jesuits are the bold cynics who meet with a sneer the faltering Christian doubtful of his power to reach salvation; they are the mockers of those seeking more light on intellectual doubts; they, the modern Pyrrhonists, emboldened by their Greek prototype, reply now, to the seeker of truth, as Pilate once replied to Christ: 'What is Truth?'

"The standard of veracity in the church of Rome differs seriously from that used by moralists in general. The principal and most influential guide upon questions of morals, in the Roman Catholic Church, is always Alphonsus de Liguori. . . . Here is what he lays down on the subject of speaking the truth: 'Every kind of equivocation or quibbling which just comes short of direct lying, but is intended to deceive the hearer, and does in fact deceive him, is always lawful for "a just cause."'"

The author dwells at length on what she regards as serious hindrances to the true unfoldment and normal growth of the individual and social organism by the selfish purposes of the Church which she has renounced. On this point she observes:

"Roman Catholicism, since it has outlived the environment to which it is adapted, has lost that vital spark which is essential to all true religion. . . . Its power represented by the Papacy is the product of medievalism; and it grew and strengthened under the influence of a type of mind which is contrary to the spirit of enlightenment and the thirst for knowledge characteristic of modern times. As men's minds have enlarged and widened in their effort to better grasp the truth of scientific discovery, Romanism with its unyielding iron-cast is the powerful brake within the state, holding men back from knowledge, and compressing their intellects to the mould which was once made for all Christianity. It no longer coöperates with the State or satisfies any of its needs. On the contrary, it has established within its limits a hostile camp, and opposes to it an unlawful supremacy. This is instanced in the torn and dis-

rupted state of France at present, the result of her desperate effort to rescue the State and save her future; and, again, in the persistent resistance of the 'Centre Party' in the German Reichstag to vote for any measure of a patriotic import, except in consideration of an adequate advantage for the Church of Rome. It refuses to fall into the line of modern thought and enterprise, and sullenly challenges any effort in that direction.

"Disaffection is already found even amongst the members of the hierarchy; men of learning, some of them sincere, zealous, earnest in the cause of humanity, are awakening from their delusions."

Pioneers of Progress. By T. A. Bland, M.D. Cloth. Pp. 254. Price, \$1.25. Chicago: T. A. Bland & Company, 231 Hoyne avenue.

THIS volume contains sketches or pen-pictures of thirty-two eminent persons whom Dr. Bland has personally known and each of whom has represented in a large way some distinct advance step or has been a positive factor in the great forward movements of nineteenth-century civilization. Here we have among other sketches, pen-pictures of Abraham Lincoln, Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Gerald Massey, Lucretia Mott, Julia Ward Howe, Lydia Maria Child, Horace Greeley, Henry Ward Beecher, Bishop Matthew Simpson, Lew Wallace, General Grant, General Butler, John Clark Ridpath, Susan B. Anthony, Henry George, Francis A. Walker, Robert G. Ingersoll, John Boyle O'Reilly, Alfred Russel Wallace, Peter Cooper, and Professor Richard T. Ely.

The sketches are brief and are rather of the nature of prose etchings than biographies. They abound in interesting anecdotes, usually introduced for the purpose of illuminating the characteristics of the subject in hand and always appropriate. The work is written in a simple, pleasing conversational style. The rich fund of stories and illustrative anecdotes gives peculiar interest to the pages—so much so that we doubt if one reader in a score who commences one of the sketches will lay the work down until he has finished it, and this is something that can be said of few similar works.

There are some slips in the volume that indicate hasty proof-reading, but otherwise the work is well gotten up and is a book that should be widely circulated. It is a volume

for fathers to place in the hands of their children, especially in a time like the present, when commercial ideals are so largely dominating the youthful imagination and little attention is being given to that moral idealism that marks the lives of the great men here described and which alone is the very soul of progress and civilization.

In order to give our readers an idea of Dr. Bland's style and his method of treating his subjects, we quote a few paragraphs from his sketch of Lincoln:

"I stood for four hours listening with deep interest to a debate between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, at Charleston, Illinois, in 1858. Those men were pitted against each other by their respective parties, Republican and Democratic, as champions of free soil and squatter sovereignty. That debate and six others held by those mental giants, was the prelude to the memorable campaign of 1860. In that opening skirmish Lincoln won his spurs and achieved a fame that eclipsed the prestige of the veteran leaders of the young anti-slavery party, which had been born in 1856. The prize nominally at stake was a seat in the United States Senate, which Douglas then occupied and which Lincoln was supposed to covet. If he had any higher ambition Lincoln kept it concealed. Some men afterward thought they discovered in the following incident a still loftier ambition in Lincoln. The Republican leaders, Joseph Medill, Leonard Swett, Richard Oglesby and others were in consultation with Lincoln on the political programme of the proposed debates. After his admirers had substantially agreed upon a policy to be pursued, Lincoln threw them into a panic by saying:

"Your proposed plan is too mild to suit me. I shall press the squatter sovereignty issue and compel Douglas to defend his hybrid child or disown and abandon it."

"Abe, if you do that Douglas will beat you for the United States Senate," said Medill, and Lincoln replied:

"I know that, Joe, as well as you do, but it will make it impossible for him to be President of the United States."

"But, Abe," replied his friendly adviser, 'you are not a candidate for President, but for the Senate.'

"I understand your position and appreciate your view of things," replied Lincoln, 'but I am after bigger game.'

"The sequel proved that both Medill and

Lincoln were right from their standpoints. It is highly improbable that Lincoln thought of himself as a possible candidate for President in 1860. His purpose, it is generally believed, was to sacrifice his possibility of a seat in the Senate upon his belief that to elect Douglas President would be to imperil the cause of liberty. In his reply to Douglas at Charleston he said:

"My friend, Judge Douglas, has decidedly the advantage of me; he is an avowed candidate for President; in his rotund and smiling face the politicians see possible cabinet positions, foreign appointments, postoffices, etc., etc., while in my homely old phiz they see no such possibilities."

"The manner of saying this, a manner peculiarly Lincolnish, gave it a pith and pungency I have never found in the speech of any other man. His arguments were strong, but their strength was not all in the logic, though he was a powerful logician. There was a quiet and peculiar humor in his illustrations and his manner of speech such as I have never observed in that of any other orator. To illustrate as best I may, I quote: 'The judge's argument is about as thin as homeopathic soup, made from the shadow of a pigeon that had starved to death.'

"Only those who heard Lincoln utter this can fully appreciate its force. The shout that went up from the listening thousands made the leaves of the trees tremble like the foliage of the aspen.

"On one occasion a soldier had been sentenced to be shot for the crime of cowardice shown on the field of battle. His mother appealed to the President for a pardon. The appeal touched the great sympathetic heart of Lincoln and he resolved to pardon that soldier. But official courtesy required that he refer the case to the Secretary of War. He gave the mother a letter to Secretary Stanton, in which he recommended favorable consideration of the case. The great war secretary read the President's letter and without a word he drew a line across it with a pen dipped in red ink and handed it back to the sorrow-stricken mother, who carried it to the President, with conflicting emotions of hope and fear. She did not understand the meaning of the red cross, till Lincoln told her that it meant that the secretary had refused to recommend a pardon. 'You see, madam, that I have very little influence with this adminis-

tration, but,' he added, 'in this case I shall act on my own judgment and pardon your son without the recommendation of the Secretary of War. The poor boy probably has a brave and patriotic heart and head, but a pair of cowardly legs which ran away with him.'

"The mother was so grateful for the pardon of her son that she could readily forgive the President's humorous reason for granting it."

One of the most charming characteristics of this work is the breadth, tolerance and hospitality of spirit evinced by the author. Many reformers who, like Dr. Bland, have battled for a life-time against soulless commercialism and slothful conventionalism, become narrow-visioned and acrimonious; their views grow limited and they are quite intolerant of men whose ideals are radically different from their own. Especially is this true when it comes to the domain of religion. Not so with our author, who is nothing if not broad and tolerant. Thus, for example, we find him giving fine and discriminating pen-pictures of men whose religious views represent extremes of thought. Here are Bishop Simpson, the Methodist; John Boyle O'Reilly, the Catholic; Robert G. Ingersoll and John Clark Ridpath, the Agnostics; Alfred Russel Wallace and Gerald Massey, the Spiritualists; Henry Ward Beecher, the Congregationalist; Lew Wallace, the Presbyterian, and Dr. H. W. Thomas, the Liberal, all presented in a discriminating yet appreciative manner.

Dr. Bland has himself been a pioneer of progress in the truest sense of the term, and his hosts of friends will thank Dr. H. W. Thomas for his discerning tribute to the author's life and work, which constitutes the introduction to the volume. In it the eminent divine says;

"In this world-process of larger and better becoming, there have been in all the long years the 'Pioneers of Progress.' Despotisms in government and religion, aristocracies of learning, wealth and the self-enforced authority of kings and ecclesiastics, have sought to enslave the millions. Even in Athens Socrates had to drink the poison; and two thousand years later Bruno was burned at the stake in Rome. The blood of martyrs has marked the slow, hard way of religious liberty through the long centuries; and countless millions have died in the battles of contending despots.

"But Galileo came with his telescope; the

old astronomy gave place to the new; the Reformation lifted up the rights of reason and conscience in religion; the infallibility of the Pope has been declared; but the temporal sovereignty is forever gone. Under Louis XIV. the authority of the church was supreme; and it owned one-third the wealth of France. The revolution wrought the secularization of the social order; and now that brilliant nation is a Republic; civil authority is supreme.

"With the ever changing order of progressive becoming is the vast commercialism of these great years, made possible by the mighty forces of machinery. With this have come the possibilities and dangers of new forms of the abuses of wealth and power. The trusts and the fabulous fortunes of the few are a growing menace to the rights and the liberties of the many. The old slavery of the colored race came to an end with the War of the Rebellion; a new form of white slavery is arising in the oppressive power of a moneyed aristocracy, that not only seeks to control labor and commerce, but to corrupt legislatures and courts of justice.

"The work of the 'Pioneers of Progress' is never done; some of the old questions of dispute may be settled, but with new conditions others arise. There are always the two parties—the Conservatives and the Radicals, the one balancing the other. Man is self-transcending; the limits of the subconscious and the superconscious powers of his own being have not yet been reached. Prof. James of Harvard says psychology is now only where science was before Galileo and Bacon. Sociology has just come into the foreground; the problems of wealth and poverty, of war and peace, and the equalities of justice are coming into the great world-court of the higher humanity. In the larger light of the universal, religion will be less a matter of intellectual differences and disputations, and more and more a glad trust and hope in the Infinite Goodness and a life of love to man and God. And, meantime, the work of discovery and invention will go forward in the world of material forces, and may far transcend the wonders of the present. The rays of the Sun may soon turn all the wheels of labor and commerce and light and warm the homes of the world."

Dr. Bland came of North Carolina Quaker stock. He was born in Indiana in 1830. He attended school till he reached the age of fifteen, after which he was compelled to assist

the family in their labors, but the taste for learning which he had acquired at school so whetted the boy's appetite that with his mother's aid he persistently pursued special studies and courses of general reading, so that by the time he reached maturity he was a man of far broader education than most of those with whom he was associated.

His married life has been peculiarly happy. Of it Dr. Bland himself observes:

"At the age of twenty-two I married a girl of eighteen, Miss Mary C. Davis, a native of Virginia. In 1902 we celebrated our Golden Wedding. As wife, comrade, and co-worker she has been my faithful companion for more than fifty years. To her wise suggestions and kindly criticisms in the many fields of labor, I am indebted for much of the success achieved. She has journeyed with me from the realm of youthful ignorance and false beliefs through the various stages of intellectual growth, and literary, scientific, and philosophical development, to a place in the ranks of progress and reform."

He studied medicine and supplemented the regular curriculum of the schools of the day with exhaustive investigations into physiology and also into phrenology.

"In 1864," says Dr. Thomas, "he accepted a commission from Governor Morton of Indiana, as special surgeon in the army. Returning from that work he was joined by his wife, who had been for nearly two years studying in Dr. Jackson's Health Institute, Dansville, New York, and they established, at Indianapolis, a literary journal, *The Home Visitor*. At the end of a successful year this was sold and the *Northwestern*, now *Indiana Farmer*, was founded. In 1868 they established the *Ladies' Own Magazine*, of which Mrs. Bland was Editor-in-Chief. In 1870 Dr. Bland published his first book, *Farming as a Profession*, which had a large sale. Having sold the *Farmer*, they removed the magazine to Chicago in the spring of 1872, and in 1874 they removed it to New York City, where a year later it was sold and Mrs. Bland entered a medical college, completed her course, and took her degree as a Doctor of Medicine.

"In April, 1878, the Drs. Bland located in Washington City, where for eighteen years the wife had a successful career both as a physician and a lecturer on health and related

subjects, the husband on occasion assisting as counsel. But his time was fully occupied with his literary work and as Corresponding Secretary of the National Arbitration League and also of the Indian Defence Association and as President of the Eclectic Medical Society of the District of Columbia. During his residence in Washington Dr. Bland edited for ten years the *Council Fire*; for one year the *True Commonwealth*. In 1879 Dr. Bland's *Life of General Buller* was issued by Lee & Shepard of Boston. In 1880 appeared his *Reign of Monopoly*; in 1881 *How to Grow Rich*, an anti-monopoly brochure; in 1882 the *Life of A. B. Meacham*; in 1892 *Esau*, a political novel, and in 1894 his medical work was issued.

"As a reformer the work of Dr. Bland has been large, wise and helpful. Large, in that it has not been limited to any specialty; his wide vision has looked upon the whole field of the needs and sufferings of a world. Wise, because his judgment has been that of a well-balanced mind. Helpful, because his sym-

pathies have been with the sufferers; he has not stood apart from one of them, and talked at them, but has been as one with them who has known hard work; what it is to sweat in the field, and live in a cabin, and all his life to be comparatively poor.

"Looking at this life we can but be impressed with its noble and heroic qualities; its Quaker-like simplicity, purity and integrity; and its moral heroism. And it is beautiful, divine, to see this husband and wife, who have so long been one in thought and work, growing old in a love that is deeper, diviner, than was possible in the long ago, when together they essayed the task and journey of earth and time; beautiful as they so joyfully toil on in the brighter hope of the blessed forever."

We can heartily recommend this work for general readers and especially for young people. It is so interesting that any child will enjoy it, while it cannot fail to prove a powerful moral stimulant, giving an upward impulse to life's dreams and ideals.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

MAYNARD BUTLER'S IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION: This month THE ARENA presents the first of a series of papers from the pen of MAYNARD BUTLER, an exceptionally gifted writer, who has for years been a resident of Berlin and has enjoyed exceptional advantages for obtaining an absolutely accurate knowledge of subjects relating to the educational, political and economic conditions in the German Empire. This writer is a contributor to *The Contemporary Review*, *The Fortnightly Review*, *The Windsor Magazine*, *The St. James Gazette* of London and other leading English periodicals, and has also written for a number of leading American journals, serving as special correspondent for *The Outlook* in Moscow at the coronation of the present Czar of Russia in 1896, and serving in the same capacity for the same paper during the ceremonies in London of the Anniversary of the Sixtieth Year of the Reign of Queen Victoria in 1897. Two scholarly books have been published from the pen of this writer, for one of which the Master of Trinity, Cambridge University, England, wrote the introduction. This volume is entitled *The First Year of Responsibility* and has passed into its third edition. In this opening paper our readers will find a brilliant and illuminating pen-picture of educational conditions in the German Empire at the present time.

The Costliness of War: No abler or more convincing essay has appeared in years in answer to the shallow, superficial and sophistical claim that war is other than demoralizing and degenerating

to the individual and state, as well as exhausting to national resources, than this masterly and unanswerable presentation of *The Costliness of War*, in which the author shows, first, the vast and staggering cost from a purely material view-point, found in the direct expenditures, indirect expenditures such as destruction and depreciation of property, labor value wasted, damage to trade, displacement of capital; and subsequent expenses, such as compensation for property destroyed, pensions and relief of distressed and interest on debt incurred; secondly, the deterioration of population; and thirdly, the moral damage and effects on the vanquished.

An Object-Lesson in the Solution of Race Problems: The author of this paper has spent much time in Jamaica, making an intimate study of the race problem under the British flag and under conditions where the black man constitutes the principal population. His sketch of Jamaica and the political, economic and social conditions that obtain there is extremely interesting and helpfully suggestive.

The Resumption of Mr. Mills' Papers: We are glad to be able this month to resume the invaluable series of powerful historical contributions written by the Hon. J. WARNER MILLS on *The Economic Struggle in Colorado*. In this paper Mr. MILLS deals with the Eight-Hour Struggle and Preliminary Strikes. The contribution is a valuable addition to the economic historical literature of the hour and is the ablest survey of the struggle that has been presented by one in sympathy with the people

and who is great enough to be just to the toilers in their battle with the great corporations that have for years dominated and corrupted the government of Colorado.

Heresy in the Episcopal Church: In this issue of THE ARENA a prominent scholar in the Episcopal Church, writing under a *nom de plume*, discusses the present renaissance of the old-time dogmatic spirit, which has darkened history in the past and which has proved one of the most paralyzing influences to true religion which has dogged the slow advance of man. This paper complements admirably the thoughtful contribution of KATRINA TRASK, which was a feature of our August issue. We expect shortly to publish some views on the other side of the case, so as to give our readers a full-orbed view of the present warfare between a rational liberal theology and adherents to the demands of the letter.

The Anglo-Saxon Crime: We have received many strong words of praise for the position taken by THE ARENA in regard to arrogant usurpation of extra-constitutional power on the part of the courts in the interests of the feudalism of wealth—a usurpation strikingly analogous to that exercised by the judiciary under the STUARTS and which is defended by arguments similar to those which were used in justification of the unjust and despotic rulings which played so large a part in driving the people into rebellion during the reign of CHARLES I. and which later led to the overthrow of JAMES II. The only way the court can be kept pure and worthy of the respect and reverence of the people is to subject any manifestly unjust or despotic act of men, who from time to time have unfortunately reached the bench, to intelligent, discriminating and fearless criticism. To discredit honest or just criticism would be to encourage the return of the tyranny and despotism of the Star Chamber and to foster the spirit of JEFFREYS.

One correspondent writes: "Nothing that President ROOSEVELT has said or done so merits the praise of thoughtful citizens as his fearless criticism of Judge HUMPHREY, the protector of the criminal Beef-Trust."

In this issue of THE ARENA the able legal authority and lawyer, the Hon. THOMAS SPEED MOSBY, Pardon Attorney of Missouri, presents a deeply thoughtful paper on the unjust and dangerous power arrogated by the judiciary. Every thoughtful American should carefully peruse this suggestive contribution.

Professor Noa's Pen-Picture of Another South American Civilization Way-Shower: This month we continue the valuable series of thoughtful papers on great historical characters of South America, prepared expressly for this magazine by Professor FREDERIC M. NOA. SARMIENTO was one of the civilization way-showers who gave a wonderful upward impulse to the national and individual life of his people. This paper will be followed by a finely illustrated contribution dealing with Mr. WILLIAM WHEELWRIGHT, the Massachusetts boy, who more than any other single individual developed the commercial and business activities of South America.

Individualism Through Socialism: A Reply to the Hon. William J. Bryan: The paper, by THOMAS ELMER WILL, A.M., in this issue of THE ARENA

will doubtless attract general attention. It is written in the broad and fine spirit that characterizes the high-minded philosophical thinker. It is the best discussion of the questions raised and argued by Mr. BRYAN in his book and also in *The Century* article, which we have seen. Professor WILL is a Harvard man, holding the degree of Master of Arts from that institution. He is one of the broad-minded, social thinkers of our land and day. For years he held chairs in well-known colleges. He also was for sometime President of the State Agricultural College of Kansas, serving with conspicuous ability. At present he is engaged in important government work in the Department of Agriculture at Washington.

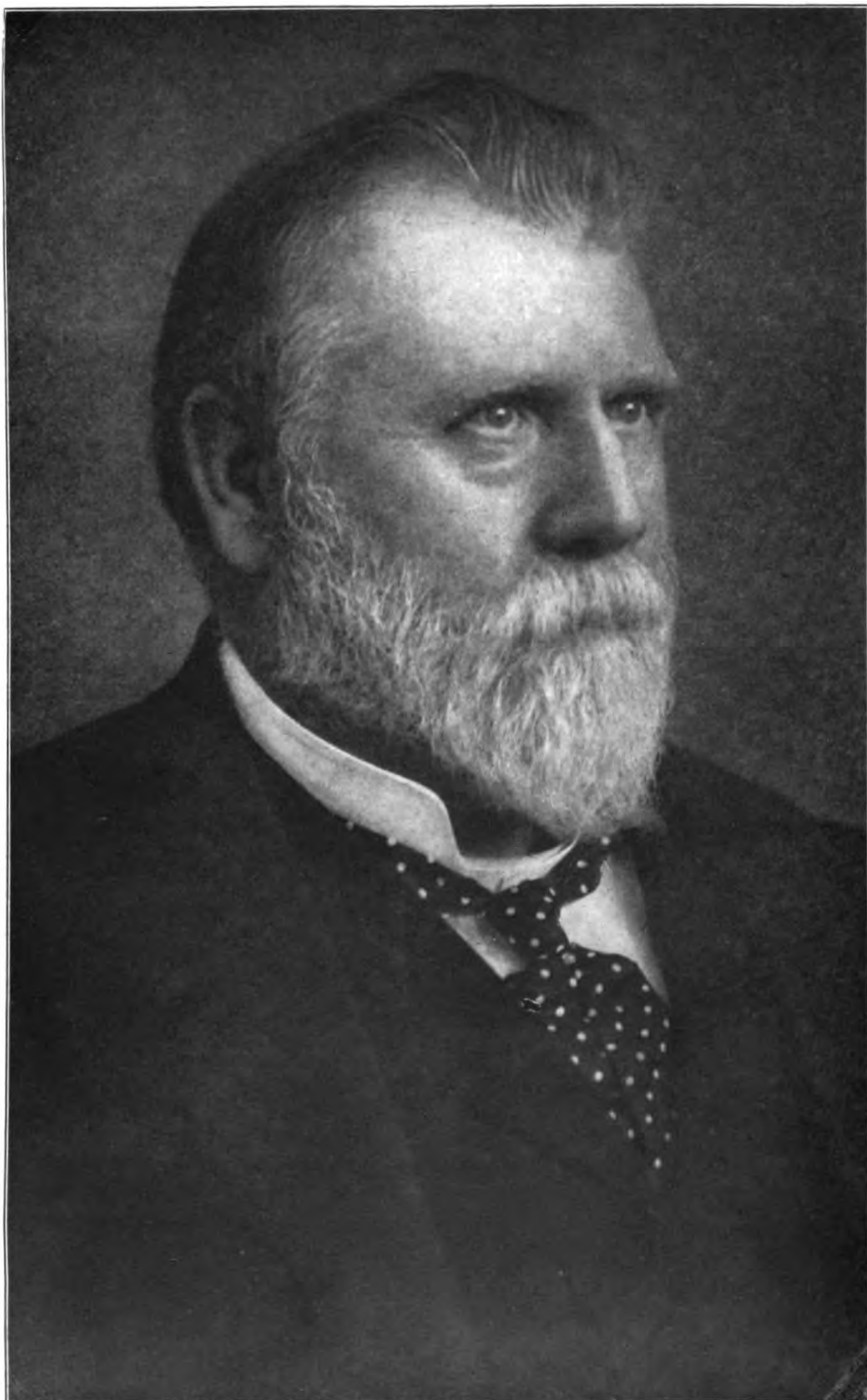
Jean Jaures' Vision of the Social State: Our book-study, or extended review, this month is devoted to the exposition of Socialism as recently given to the world in book form by the greatest living opportunist Socialist, JEAN JAURES, a statesman of the first order, who is at once the leading orator of France and one of the greatest practical idealists of modern political life.

Socialism and the Liquor Traffic: In this issue we publish the third paper in our series of contributions on the liquor problem. Mr. HENDRICKSON, the State Committeeman for the Prohibition Party of Maryland, has discussed the question from the view-point of the Prohibitionists; Mr. RAFFAPORT has presented the claims of the advocates of high license; while Mr. WATTS this month thoughtfully outlines the methods by which Socialism would deal with the question.

A King and a Fool: Our readers will derive great pleasure from the exceptionally happy and suggestive story which we publish this month from the pen of Mr. CHARLES TOWNSEND, entitled *A King and a Fool*. The author explains that he has no particular parties in mind, but no one can read the story without being impressed with the importance of the lessons which are conveyed in this allegorical form and which are peculiarly impressive at the present time.

Dr. Petersen's Paper: We very much regret that the length of Mr. MILLS' able paper on the Colorado situation renders it necessary for us to carry over Dr. PETERSEN's scholarly contribution entitled *Unrecognized Insanity: A Public and Individual Danger*.

Allan L. Benson in THE ARENA: Among the most incisive, interesting and fundamentally sound magazine essayists and daily journalistic writers in this country is ALLAN L. BENSON, whose strong leaders in the Detroit *Daily Times* are making that paper a power in Michigan. Mr. BENSON is a valued contributor to THE ARENA, *Appleton's Magazine*, and other leading original magazines and reviews of opinion; and it is with pleasure that we announce that we have made arrangements by which Mr. BENSON will contribute regularly signed editorials to our "Mirror of the Present" department. His writings will be an important feature of THE ARENA for the ensuing year, a real aid to the people's case in the great battle for fundamental justice and democratic advance which THE ARENA is aggressively waging against the criminal rich or the trinity of the pit—the corrupt corporations, the political boss and the money-controlled machine.



Herrmann, Wellington, N. Z.

FROM THE LAST PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN OF THE LATE

RICHARD JOHN SEDDON

PREMIER OF NEW ZEALAND FROM 1893 TO 1906

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.*

The Arena

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RICHARD SEDDON: DEMOCRATIC STATESMAN AND MASTER-BUILDER OF A LIBERAL COMMONWEALTH.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

I. MORAL IDEALISM THE SOUL OF CIVILIZATION.

AS THE years pass and civilization rises to nobler altitudes, the world comes more and more to cherish, revere and honor the men who have yielded to the compulsion of moral idealism, daring to do great things for the happiness, development and elevation of others and the exaltation of society. Even now, in the perspective of history, we see paralleling the steady sinking to oblivion of the great egoists who once held a large place on the stage of life but who were dominated by selfish impulses, a corresponding rise of the idealists to the peerage of earth's immortals. Do you question this? Then sweep the vista of history, separating the men who lived for self, who placed ambition or avarice, the lust for power, the lust for glory, the lust of the flesh or the lust for gold above interest in and consideration for the rights of others, from those who were faithful to the higher vision, who yielded to the compulsion of truth, of duty, of justice and of right—men, in a word, who, reck-

less of self, consecrated life's richest gifts to noble ends, and you will see that only in proportion as men lived for others and were willing to sink self before the larger demands of humanity have they remained potent forces in the world and dwelt in the heart and the affection of the ages.

Athens was thronged with men of wealth, position and power when Socrates was forced to drink the hemlock; yet while Socrates' thought, life, death and the influence he wielded over the brains of Plato and other of his disciples have proved a perpetual wellspring of moral life and inspiration for twenty-five hundred years, his judges, the civic leaders and men of wealth, power and station of his age, have long since been forgotten, or if remembered they exert no influence on men or nations.

The high priest and the arrogant members of the Sanhedrim, before whom the influential men of Judea bowed with deepest reverence while drawing their mantles closer around them when Jesus and His motley band of fishermen and peasants passed, are forgotten, or only remembered by virtue of the evil part they

played in the tragedy that marked the martyrdom of the supreme representative of moral idealism of that age.

Nero represented egoism at its apogee; Epictetus, the Stoic-philosopher, moral idealism in ascendancy. Nero is only remembered to be loathed; Epictetus' life and teachings have for almost two thousand years been as a well in a desert waste, yielding spiritual refreshment to the travel-worn humanity of the hurrying generations.

And so through all the historic past we find this great law holds true. Egoism is a meteor light that flashes on the vision and goes out in darkness; while altruism or moral idealism is as a glowing sun that warms, lights and revivifies as the ages sweep into the eternity of the past.

In recent times the eye of the world has become more and more clear-seeing, until to-day the apostles of justice, freedom and moral greatness are frequently recognized for what they are, even by their own generation. Some years before the breaking out of the American Revolution a young Virginian penned a brilliant paper entitled "A Summary View of the Rights of America," in which he so clearly set forth the rights of man as to strike a foundation-shaking blow at the "divine right of kings" idea. It was a courageous thing to do. It made the author a marked man and at the same time stamped him a moral hero who for a people's rights placed his own life in hazard. His paper crossed the sea and was circulated in England, whereupon his name, it is said, was placed upon a list of proscribed drawn up by King George III. and his councillors. But in the rush of events the day soon arrived when the courageous Virginian was delegated to draw up a Declaration of Independence for the American Colonies, and later he was chosen to preside as chief over the infant Republic, after which he became, so long as life lasted, the master-spirit of a great party; and since he passed from the scenes of life's activities, his life, example and lofty ideals and teach-

ings have proved one of the most positive and compelling forces for justice, freedom and fraternity in the great Republic and a beacon of moral idealism to the oppressed of the whole world. The power, splendor and sway of the stubborn and arrogant king have long since passed away, but the influence of Thomas Jefferson was never more helpfully potent than to-day.

Recently another of the great apostles of high ideals has passed from the stage of life where he had exerted a civilization-wide influence as a way-shower of economic progress for the nations of the earth that have long wandered in the twilight of short-sighted opportunism when not dominated by a vicious selfishness that spelt injustice for the millions,—a man who became a master-builder in a commonwealth that has become a moral leader in the family of civilized peoples, such as was our own government more than a century ago. The life-story of this great man, like the record of every person dominated by the nobler ethical verities, cannot prove other than an upward-impelling inspiration to young men and women of character and conviction.

II. THE STANDARD-BEARER OF DEMOCRACY UNDER THE SOUTHERN CROSS.

Richard Seddon was one of the greatest, if, indeed, not the greatest constructive statesman of the last half of the nineteenth century. Not that he was the originator of all, or even of most, of the daring social and political innovations born of common-sense, enlightened reason and broad and intelligent humanitarianism, that have lifted New Zealand to a foremost place as a political and economic leader and a positive moral force among the nations of the world, but because, seeing the reasonableness and essential justice of the liberal programme and having faith in the eternal moral principles only equaled by his faith in a humanity under the reign of justice, he made each vital proposition his special

charge and with a determination that brooked no thought of possible failure, with rare intelligence and untiring perseverance, he proceeded step by step toward a practical realization of the rational and just revolutionary programme of progress that New Zealand's liberal statesmen, under Grey and Ballance, had inaugurated. A man of less faith, less force of character, less clarity of intellectual vision, and less of the superb courage that never yields a noble cause, would have failed. He succeeded in carrying to unqualified success a revolutionary programme of social and economic progress that proved the fallacy of age-long, learned and plausible theories built up to bulwark privilege and pelf, to shackle the millions that the few might enjoy the lion's share of the social wealth created by the people, and to make invincible, under the cloak of popular government, classes and castes that owed their existence to monopoly, privilege and special legislation.

Richard John Seddon was before all else a constructive statesman, a way-shower of civilization, and as such he deserves and will hold a high place in the hall of earth's immortals who have consecrated life to the elevation and happiness of the people.

III. THE YOUTH AND EARLY MANHOOD OF RICHARD SEDDON.

Mr. Seddon was born in an old ivy-covered cottage, built in 1684, just outside the limits of the little hamlet of St. Helens, in Lancashire, England, on June 22, 1845. His father was for a quarter of a century head-master of the Eccleston Grammar School. His mother before her marriage had been the head of a rival school, while the families of both his parents had for generations been chiefly engaged in agriculture.

Richard was a sturdy youth, plentifully endowed with physical strength and vitality and with a strong taste for outdoor life and for physical exercise. His

father strove to make him the model boy of the school, but the child rebelled, and the friction that ensued was not calculated to increase the boy's love for scholastic pursuits. Still, he received a good sound common-school education, and the story, so generally circulated, that he was illiterate, had no true foundation, though one thing tended to confirm its verity, and that was the proneness of Mr. Seddon when he entered the Parliament of New Zealand to mix up his H's in a manner appalling to his scholastic associates of the liberal party. This was, however, due to the fact that when he left school he found work on a farm; later he was apprenticed to learn the trade of an engineer and iron-founder; and still later, in the mining diggings of Australia and New Zealand, he was chiefly associated with people who continually mixed their H's after the manner of the unlettered Britisher, and naturally enough the boy, being away from the refined atmosphere of his home, dropped into the speech of his associates.

In only one study did young Seddon especially excel, and that was mechanical drawing. After leaving school he worked for a time for his grandfather on a farm. Then he was apprenticed to a firm of engineers and iron-founders at St. Helens. Next we find him following his trade of engineer in Liverpool. But though he performed his work in a highly satisfactory manner, the young man had other dreams than that of spending his life as a mechanic amid the sordid surroundings that environed the artisans of England half a century ago. He was by nature daring and unafraid. He was a born leader, possessing the innovating and pioneer spirit in a marked degree. It is not strange, therefore, that when there came to his ears the wonder-stories of the gold-fields of Australia, his blood was fired. To remain at his trade in Liverpool meant a life of drudgery, which he would not have shrunk from if it had promised adequate compensation for the striving, for no man was less afraid of

hard and incessant work than Richard Seddon, but he saw before him no prize worth the winning at his trade. All around him were scores of aged toilers who had grown prematurely old at their work. They had lived frugally and wrought faithfully, and yet if sickness overtook them, there was but a narrow margin of savings between them and the poorhouse. Australia offered a chance, a great chance, to better his condition. It was said to be a land of opportunity. True, he might not find the golden sands or nuggets he hoped for, but he had his trade, and that would stand him in good stead if he failed in his quest. Thus he reasoned, and reasoning so determined to fare forth to the new world in the antipodes.

He sailed for Australia in 1863, arriving at his destination with no worldly wealth. All his capital was a brave and honest heart, willing hands, a superb physical constitution, and a Board of Trade Engineer's Certificate. He repaired at once to the gold-fields, only to meet with continued disappointments, until stern necessity forced him to return to Melbourne to earn a livelihood by his trade. He secured work and soon began to save money. Then in 1865 came news of wonderful gold findings on the west coast of New Zealand, and Seddon, only waiting to receive full confirmation of the report, determined to again seek fortune as a gold-hunter. Accordingly he sailed for New Zealand, arriving in 1866.

IV. A STRONG FIGURE DURING THE DAYS OF GOLD IN NEW ZEALAND.

Few parts of the world in the sixties of the last century presented a busier aspect than the west coast of New Zealand, and probably nowhere in peace-kissed lands was life so strenuous as here. The seamen on the sailing-craft skirting the west side of the islands, who had long been accustomed during the beautiful southern nights to gaze upon the somber coast-line shrouded in gloom and touched

by mystery, now beheld, from West Wanganui on the north to Martin's Bay on the south, the uneven ribbon of black studded and spangled with fairy-like lights. Almost a Milky Way of stars transformed the darkened coast into a jewel-set crown rising from the solemn deep. These were the camps of the army of gold-hunters, and around each gathered men in whose hearts the light of hope burned brightly. Here were men from California, who told thrilling tales of the stirring days of '49, and they were matched by hair-raising stories by the miners of Australia and other free-lances who had wandered far and near,—pioneers and soldiers of fortune.

Into this great hive of workers one day came Richard Seddon, just twenty-one years of age, strong of body and buoyant of spirit. Soon he joined some kindred spirits in developing a claim that they found and staked. Here the young Englishman's knowledge of engineering and mechanics proved very valuable to him and his companions. They were among the first to introduce hydraulic sluicing on a large scale on the West Coast. The results of the experiment were so pronounced that Seddon and his friends were soon among the truly prosperous miners; and though never a niggard and always ready with open hand to succor a miner in need, Richard Seddon refused to throw away his money in gambling and wanton rioting, as did so many miners who seemed to think the golden harvest could never end. "Digger Dick," as he was familiarly called, worked late and early and saved a goodly part of his gold. Soon he opened a store, which proved an additional source of revenue from the start. He also took great interest in the development of the country and soon became a young man of influence and importance in the mining community of the West Coast. He enjoyed the free life of the camp; its hardships only gave relish to its pleasures, and ever afterward its spell lingered over his imagination.

While the young man was rising in

the estimation of his associates and increasing his worldly possessions, his mind was occupied with another subject,—one that had nerved his arm and afforded unfailing stimulation in all hours of trial. When, some years before, he was working at his trade in Australia, he had become acquainted with a young lady of pleasing address and of rare judgment and force of character, by the name of Louisa Spotswood. Her father, Captain Spotswood, though having no objection to young Seddon, discouraged any serious attachment until the young man should have better prospects in life than those that were offered by his precarious and poorly remunerated position. The young people, however, did not despair, and we can well imagine the joy and growing pride felt by the young woman at news of the success of her lover. As his financial prospects grew steadily brighter the wedding day was finally set, and in 1869 Richard Seddon set out for Australia to secure his bride. The wife who accompanied him back to New Zealand became a tower of strength to the husband in all life's changing vicissitudes. She was ever his companion, councillor and friend, and a large part of his great success, it is claimed by those who intimately knew the couple, was due to this exceptional lady.

He now entered politics and served in various responsible capacities in the local government of the West Coast, until in 1879 he was elected to the Parliament of New Zealand. From that date Richard Seddon was a constantly growing force in shaping public opinion without, and in making liberal laws within, Parliament; and at all times and in all places he was loyal to what he believed to be the best interests of the people.

V. NEW ZEALAND TAKES THE LEAD IN THE MARCH OF DEMOCRACY.

To understand the real significance of the victories won for humanity and the cause of democracy the world over, by

the Liberal statesmen of New Zealand, of whom Mr. Seddon was one of the master-spirits, it will be necessary to call to mind a fact that cannot be too frequently impressed on the minds of Americans. When the great democratic epoch was ushered in the master-thought dominating the liberal statesmen of the age was the overthrow of privilege and the inauguration of the rule of the people. But the forms of privilege that were oppressing the masses and which always appeared before the mental retina when the irrepressible conflict was the subject of thought or action, were monarchy, the hereditary aristocracy and the autocratic or extra-religious power arrogated by religious hierarchies. Most of the statesmen of the New and Old World in that morning-time of democratic advance failed to see that unless the rights of man, the interest of each unit, were safely and securely bulwarked, privilege in other forms would soon become as autocratic and oppressive as it had been where the throne, the hierarchy and the aristocracy had become the dominant or master-influences in government. Few saw that property, if not subordinated to the rights and interests of manhood in the scale of governmental concern, would soon become an oppressive and corrupting influence, obstructing progress, thwarting justice, defeating the development, happiness and prosperity of all the people, and reintroducing the evils that had long prevailed under other forms of tyranny. Thomas Jefferson, the ablest and clearest-visioned statesman of our early days, clearly saw this all-important fact and fought with all the power of his splendid intellect to place man above money; while Alexander Hamilton, in spite of the great service he rendered to the nation, was a baleful influence in its history, because he distrusted the people and strove to place the control of the government in the hands of a propertied class rather than in the hands of the people, and to centralize government and lodge powers in the hands of the privileged few

which in the nature of the case would soon have resulted in the formation in the New World of a government very similar to that which he regarded as almost an ideal government—the constitutional monarchy of Great Britain.

This distrust of the people and the attempt to make property a preponderating influence in government was the most fatal mistake made by democracy and has defeated its ends, in so far as they have failed.

In Europe the various privileged classes were quick to make alliance with the property-holding *bourgeoisie* in securing legislation that would limit the power of the people; and not only were property qualifications in many nations required, but property was given votes. Thus the more wealth a man had, the more votes he was entitled to cast; and in countries like our own, where one man one vote was the rule, the Hamiltonian idea of the superior sanctity of property over manhood, the giving of special privileges to classes, and the fostering of material acquisitions rather than the making of manhood the first consideration of government have proved the greatest handicap to free institutions. The evils of our government to-day—its corruption and the masterful and insolent arrogance of privileged interests that dominate public servants and the money-controlled machine—are due, not to democracy, but to departure from the fundamental ideals of democracy.

Now at the time when Richard Seddon entered Parliament, and for the next decade, New Zealand was under the thrall of property domination in government. At the elections the men of property were the controlling influence, one man frequently being able to cast forty ballots, because of the extent of his wealth. Nor was this the only evil. Land monopoly—the fountain-head of industrial slavery—was here found in its most aggravated form. As late as 1890, when the Liberals came into power, four-fifths of the land owned by the whole people was in the

hands of great land companies or in enormous estates owned by individuals. A large proportion of the land-holding class lived abroad, and the land had in most instances been acquired for almost nothing. Thus the people were debarred from the land and the propertied class was the ruler of the commonwealth.

Against this undemocratic order Sir George Grey, the Nestor of Liberalism or progressive democracy in New Zealand, raised his voice, demanding the land for the people and “one man one vote,” and under his leadership Richard Seddon enlisted with heart and soul. For ten years the battle was waged against almost overwhelming odds. All the so-called “safe and sane” element fought Sir George Grey and denounced Ballance, Seddon and the Liberal leaders as demagogues, agitators, socialists and dangerous characters. A large proportion of the propertied class and the reactionary Conservatives exhausted all the well-known wiles of selfish moneyed interests in attempts to keep the farmers and the artisans at war with each other, while seeking to arouse the fears of the people by persistent predictions of grave disasters should the Liberals come into power. And so powerful was the opposition that before 1890 only two Liberal ministries had come into power, and so small was the Liberal majority that each was soon defeated.

But the Liberals had justice, humanity and the principles of democracy on their side. They were brave, unselfish, determined and, for the most part, wise leaders; while the evils of class domination and special privileges had in New Zealand, as in other lands where privilege in any form usurps the throne of human rights, of justice and equity, produced the Dead Sea fruit of ashes,—a harvest of tears and despair, of misery and ever-spreading poverty.

With property domination assured by the vicious voting system, and with the land held from cultivation by speculators, conditions now went from bad to worse.

In the latter 'eighties no colony under the British flag was in a more pitiable condition than was New Zealand. The streets of her cities were thronged with men vainly begging for a chance to work. Public soup-kitchens and shelter-sheds had been established to prevent the wretched families of the out-of-works from perishing through exposure and starvation. Able-bodied workers were crowding every out-going ship who would gladly have remained and helped develop the island but for inequality of opportunities that rendered it impossible to obtain land or secure work. No better indication can be found of the conditions prevalent in the commonwealth under the "safe and sane" Conservative *régime* which had so long held sway, than the spectacle of 20,000 sturdy workmen being practically driven from the land in five years by inability to earn a livelihood under the conditions that existed.

Such was New Zealand with plutocracy-breeding privilege in the ascendancy. Such was New Zealand when Grey, Ballance, Seddon, Reeves, Ward, Tregear, Stout, McKenzie, and a few other lofty spirits pressed home the new evangel of economic righteousness and democratic demands.

From north to south rang the slogan-cries of the Liberals: the land for the people; one man one vote; equality of opportunities and of rights; and man above the dollar. These were the key-notes struck by the new fathers of free government. The Liberal leaders insisted that the State must first consider the just and necessary rights of the workers, to the end that they should be enabled to develop the best that was in them. As a recent writer expresses it, one of the cardinal principles of the New Democracy of New Zealand was that "The welfare of the worker is of more importance than the profits of the employer."

With a whole commonwealth suffering from the fruits of privilege and property rule; with men flying from her borders

as from a plague; with business stagnation on every hand, even those who had long short-sightedly refused the path of justice and wisdom opened up by Grey, turned now with willing ears to the advocates of a revolutionary programme of progress. "Things cannot be worse," they argued. "Let us give the Liberals a chance."

Soon the moral enthusiasm of the apostles of democracy reached the people. The alarmist cries of the "safe and sane," who had long frightened the multitude, ceased to influence them, and at the election of 1890 the Liberals won a sweeping victory. Then John Ballance, one of the wisest and clearest-visioned statesmen of our time, was called to form a ministry, as Sir George Grey, who was well into the eighties, had withdrawn from public life. Mr. Ballance selected wisely a strong and able cabinet composed of men dominated by moral idealism and practical wisdom. In the cabinet, next to Ballance, the most forceful character and the man who could carry forward a measure better than any other statesman, was Richard Seddon.

Immediately the Liberals began the work of social and economic reform that was often revolutionary in character but always based on justice and a due regard for the rights of man. In the midst of his splendid labors John Ballance was stricken down. He had striven to carry forward more work than his constitution could bear.

VI. MR. SEDDON BECOMES PRIME-MINISTER.

Then it was that Richard Seddon was tendered the high position of Prime-Minister. But for once the sturdy miner hesitated. He knew the fierce opposition that would await him; he knew his educational limitations and the peril of rivalry and warring factions within the Liberal ranks. Naturally enough, at this crisis the aged father of New Zealand Liberalism was profoundly interested in

the election of a Premier who should be able to carry forward the great work that Ballance had laid down. Sir George Grey was a man who read men as others read books. Long years before he had been impressed with the power, sincerity and potential greatness of Richard Seddon. Behind the crudity of the young Parliamentarian's speeches there was thought, and behind the thought a man of heart and conviction. And now it was that Grey sent messages to young Seddon that amounted to commands from a superior officer. Years afterward Mr. Seddon published these notes, which in the crucial moment of his life determined him to accept the grave trust that came to him.

"You have," wrote Grey, "fairly gained the chance. Form a Ministry if you can, but good; if not good, have nothing to do with it. Five are enough to start. If there is any difficulty, others will soon join you. You will have an opportunity of greatly serving your fellowmen. Do it. You have the capacity, do not shrink. All you have to do now is to say you will try to form a Ministry, and I believe you can."

Noting the strange hesitancy on the part of the young statesman, the aged Liberal leader sent him a second and a more urgent note, in which he said:

"You are acting in a great crisis, such as makes a hero. Act with your Maker for the good of His creatures. What anyone else may say or do is nothing to you. The millions of your fellowmen and their Maker—let these be your thoughts. Be brave, unselfish, gentle, but resolute for good. Reflect well before acting; gain time for thought. The good will soon gather round you."

Mr. Seddon hesitated no longer. He took up the work which Ballance had laid down, pressing forward to the successful accomplishment of the greatest series of political, social and economic innovations that any nation has attempted since the dawn of the democratic era—innovations

that were all directed to one end—the securing of the independence, the happiness and the prosperity of all the people through justice and the exercise of that spirit of fraternity in government that is the very heart of the Golden Rule. With one accord the Liberal party moved forward, animated by the loftiest convictions and with clear purpose ever in view. They waged ceaseless war on privilege and avarice whenever and wherever they sought to enslave or place others at a disadvantage. On the other hand, they were tireless in furthering provisions for helping those unfortunately situated to help themselves, and thus become able, independent and in time strong pillars of a growing state.

For sixteen years the Liberal or progressive democrats have been in complete control of the government of New Zealand, and during thirteen of these years Mr. Seddon was not only Prime-Minister, but the masterful chief who by force of reason and persistent appeals to the conscience side of life succeeded in carrying forward, step by step, the progressive programme. From victory to victory he moved with tireless energy. He was far more than Prime-Minister; he was the greatest Parliamentary leader of the period,—a man who knew no such word as surrender. Something of his activity as a leader in the debates may be gained from the fact, mentioned by Professor Parsons in his admirable *Story of New Zealand*, that during "1901 he took part in the proceedings on the floor of the House 400 times." He was the powerful leader of a party that had within its ranks many strong-minded men of differing views. Stout was a prohibitionist; Seddon held to local option. The disciples of Ballance opposed borrowing, even when the work to be done was on railroads and other internal improvements which would in the nature of the case soon greatly exceed as assets the outlay demanded; Seddon held that wise borrowing, which would increase the national wealth and the independence and prosperity of the citizens, was the part of true

wisdom and economy. But in spite of differing views and of a Conservative opposition that beheld with growing alarm the practical success of every great measure placed upon the statute-books by the aggressive Premier, the popularity of Mr. Seddon and his government grew steadily and rapidly. And what a splendid record of victory won for humanity; what a noble new standard set for civilization by the Ballance-Seddon progressive Democratic party of New Zealand during its triumphant march of sixteen years!

The victory for one man one vote was supplemented by full suffrage for women. Wise land legislation placed the source of the people's sustenance and wealth in the hands of the people; and then the government supplemented this by aiding the people to build homes and become free and independent citizens. The land legislation and the acts that have promoted home-building, which have become accomplished facts under the Liberal régime, would alone crown with fadeless glory the statesmanship of any generation; but this division of the reform programme is but one achievement in a series of successive progressive steps taken for the advancement, the happiness, the prosperity and the development of the people and the nation.

The famous arbitration of conciliation act; old-age pensions; the measures providing for a graduated income and a graduated land tax; the complementing of governmental ownership and operation of public utilities by such important offices as that of the public trustee; the establishment of postal savings-banks; government insurance; the promotion of exports through governmental aid; the popular instruction given to the people in dairying and other productive pursuits; the prevention of the evils of monopoly by the government entering into competition with the would-be exploiters of the people, as in the case of the coal mines, which the government acquired and operated in such a way as to bring down the price of coal and save the peo-

ple millions of dollars that would otherwise have been extorted from the people, as they are being extorted from the coal users of America by the coal roads and trusts which control our government to such an extent that the robbery continues; the protection of the people from usury or the extortion of the money-lenders by the government becoming a general money-lender to the home-builders, providing them money at a reasonable rate of interest and under favorable conditions, and by which alone, it is estimated the government has already saved to the mortgagors of New Zealand more than \$40,000,000,—these are but a few of the things already accomplished by the Liberal government which transformed New Zealand from a social hell of want and misery into the most prosperous, peaceful and contented commonwealth in the world.

But space prevents our dwelling longer upon the social, economic and political victories won by Mr. Seddon and his party for New Zealand and for liberalism throughout the world.

As we have before stated, Mr. Seddon was not the originator of many of these enlightened measures and acts, but in all instances he was the fighting chief whose work greatly aided and usually was necessary to the success of the measures advanced. His loyalty to the Liberal programme from the first was as whole-hearted as his services were invaluable, and in later years, especially during the thirteen years of his Premiership, his power steadily increased, until in the end, so thoroughly did the people trust their chief and his party under his guidance, any measure that he fathered was almost certain to become a law.

His one master-passion was the prosperity, happiness and full-orbed development of all the people under the soul-expanding influence of free government. No man in public life ever championed the cause of the public-schools or free education more enthusiastically or effectively than did Richard Seddon. In

his address to the electors, issued just before the last election, he said:

"The school succeeds the cradle, and the education of the young is in importance second only to their physical well-being. During the term the present Government have been in office, our educational system has been extended and reorganized. Our system is now free, from the primary schools to the University, to every child of promise, and a toll of fees is no longer levied on his high road of learning. Teachers' salaries have been increased £100,000 a year, and their incomes no longer unfairly follow a falling-off or rise in our school attendance. The last Conservative Government increased the school age, reduced capitation allowance, abolished training schools, instituted the strict as against the general average, and then boasted they had saved £36,000 a year. To save this coin they sacrificed our children; and economy at that price is dearly bought. I must admit that during my term of office the cost of education in New Zealand has increased nearly a quarter of a million, but I glory in an expenditure which has given, and is giving, our children an educational equipment as good as can be found in any part of the world. Our technical schools are flourishing and increasing, and the harvest is rich, while the number of students matriculating at our universities place us, in proportion to our population, first among countries loving higher education. I believe in the American maxim that every man in a democracy should be equipped to pull his own weight, and education is the surest aid to this. Equality of opportunity involves equality of educational advantages, and where you have this equality, the privileged and social castes give place to personal worth and merit. I would extend our school system still, and teach even in the schools of our agricultural districts the technical, scientific knowledge which will enable our farmers to win the very best results from nature."

His ideal of the functions of government was lofty and in accord with the spirit of enlightened twentieth-century democracy, as may be seen from the following extract from the address to which we have just alluded:

"I believe that the cardinal aim of government is to provide the conditions which will reduce want and permit the very largest possible number of its people to be healthy, happy human beings. The life, the health, the intelligence, and the morals of a nation count for more than riches, and I would rather have this country free from want and squalor and unemployed than the home of multimillionaires. The extremes of poverty and wealth crush the self-respect of the poor, and produce the arrogance of the idle rich. This engenders class bitterness. I have tried to provide such social and economic conditions in this colony as will prevent that helpless subjection of one class to another, so widespread in the older lands. A spirit of self-respecting independence already marks our people, and I would have the title 'New Zealander' imply, the world over, a type of manhood, strenuous, independent and humane. The practical reformer must often be content with small profits and slow returns; he must proceed piecemeal, and by short and steady stages, removing obstructions to and providing facilities for a higher development of the people as a whole. I understand this to be modern humanitarian legislation, and I claim that this spirit pervades all the progressive laws and State experiments that my Administration has tried during the last fifteen years."

Mr. Seddon loved best of all to be called a "humanist." While in Australia, a few days before his death, he said: "All legislation which I have brought to bear upon the human side of life is the legislation that counts most with me. I am a 'humanist.' I desire to improve the condition of the people, to inspire

them with hope, to provide for their comfort, and to improve them socially, morally and politically."

In his last speech, delivered at a dinner given by the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party of Australia, at Melbourne, he insisted that "the greatest curse of our day was the sacrifice of principle to expediency," and declared that: "He believed in a virile national life. But he also believed in putting humanity before theory, and in subordinating property to the interests and welfare of mankind. National life, high ideals, generous aspirations, were necessary, if a people were to become great or a nation to become respected abroad. But where is your national life if misery stalks through your land, if poverty paralyzes your masses, and conditions of degradation prevail in their homes? You must try to better their material conditions. You must see, first of all, that bread and butter are placed within the reach of all. You must not allow to be reproduced here the conditions which unfortunately prevail in the Old Land—conditions which he had no hesitation in describing as scandalous—whereby, according to an undoubted authority, 12,000,000 of our own flesh and blood were reduced to starvation. That reproach should be removed from the Old Land, and never be permitted in the New. Just fancy one-third of the artisan class over 65 years of age being a charge on public or private charity! We must take this as an object-lesson, and shape our labors so as to avert from our children this heritage of degradation and misery."

It has been impossible within the limits of this article to even briefly mention all the great constructive measures that marked the statesmanship of Mr. Seddon and which will give him a permanent place among the great commonwealth builders. We have also had to entirely omit dwelling on his visits to other lands and his labors in behalf of the federation of the British Empire. With some of his imperialistic views we are not in accord;

but for his labors for his own people and his courageous course in carrying forward a programme of enlightenment and progress, which placed man above the dollar and has thus given to democracy its true meaning while exalting New Zealand to the forefront of the moral leaders among enlightened nations, we have only the most profound admiration and gratitude.

VII. THE PASSING OF RICHARD SEDDON.

The untimely death of the great Liberal Premier, which occurred on the 10th of June, was undoubtedly due to overwork. He had visited Australia and had greatly encouraged the people with his counsel and advice. To the statesmen who were at a loss to know how to manage the labor problems that were pressing, Mr. Seddon offered to loan Mr. Edward Tregear, New Zealand's brilliant statesman and Secretary for Labor. He explained that he was the man who had done so much for the Department of Labor in his own commonwealth that he felt sure he would prove invaluable to the statesmen of the sister commonwealth.

His visit had been one continual ovation, and with the proud consciousness that his trip had been helpful to Australia, he turned his face to the land which he was wont to call the paradise of the British Empire, saying, "I am going to God's own country." Two hours after sailing from Australia he died of heart disease, and New Zealand was thrown into profound woe over her great loss. No crowned head or military hero within a hundred years has received from his people so splendid or universal a tribute of love, confidence and respect as was paid to the remains of Richard Seddon by the commonwealth of New Zealand. His funeral and the memorial services held throughout the islands reminded one of the universal grief felt throughout America when George Washington passed from the stage of life; while from every English-speaking state came messages

breathing forth the profound grief of friends of liberal government at the cutting off of the great Premier in the summertime of his usefulness.

VIII. THE GRIEF OF THE MAORIS.

The Maoris had learned to love the great Premier and to look on him as a father, and when the news spread from north to south throughout the native settlements, that the great chief had suddenly fallen in death, great and genuine was the sorrow of this primitive people. Their chiefs and leading representatives begged the privilege of holding a funeral service over the dead at Wellington, similar to that which for generations they had held over the dead bodies of their greatest warriors and chieftains. Their request was granted, and a time was appointed for the Maoris to lament after their custom. Between three and four hundred of the leading men and women of the various tribes in the north and south islands assembled, fully fifty of whom were prominent women among the Maoris.

The obsequies conducted in the capitol at Wellington were thrillingly weird. Never before had such funeral honors been accorded a Christian statesman. So strange and memorable was this ceremony that came from the heart of a wonderful primitive people, so redolent of the wild, free, aboriginal life, and so highly poetic were many of the utterances, that we are tempted to quote somewhat at length from the chieftains' laments and the chants of the Maoris, which at times remind one strongly of the poems of Ossian and make it easy to understand how the gifted author of that unique creation imposed upon the literary world.

IX. THE STRANGEST FUNERAL LAMENTATIONS EVER HEARD OVER A CIVILIZED STATESMAN'S BIER.

The morning of the funeral of the Premier was dark, stormy and forbidding. The lowering and overcast skies and the

moaning winds appealed to the vivid imagination of the natives as strangely fitting.

"The skies are *pouri* (sorrowful) and lowering. It is fitting, for we also are *pouri* and dark at heart," said the mourners one to another. And when the remains of Mr. Seddon were brought into the House of Parliament, the thrilling and mournful ceremony by the natives was opened by this admonition, chanted by the mourners:

"*Haere atu e koro, haere ra! Haere ra!*" meaning, "Go, O friend! Farewell!!—a long farewell!!!"

And then, in a direct manner, as has been their wont for hundreds of years when in the presence of the mighty dead, the mourners chanted this invocation to the spirit of the great one:

"Farewell!! Go ye by the great pathway of the countless dead;
"T is the last road that all must tread."

The ceremonies were as weird as they were impressive, as one by one the leaders of the different tribes uttered their mournful plaint, which was taken up by the rest of the band of the tribe in a sad but musical chanting refrain. Here are some extracts from their lamentations and funeral chants as given by the *New Zealand Graphic*:

"Then tribe after tribe rose to pay tribute to the dead. Chief after chief stood up to deliver his '*poroporoiki*,' his salute to the spirit of Te Hetana. Up rose Hori Te Huki, a gray old chief of Ngatikahungunu, '*Haere ate e koro*'; 'farewell, old man,' he cried, 'go thou to that last dwelling place to salute thy honored ancestors, to greet the spirits of the mighty dead.'

"Then Te Huki broke out into a plaintive lament, in which all his people quickly joined him in a resounding chant. It was an ancient lament by a widow for her departed husband. 'Restless I lie within my lonely house, for the loved one of my life has passed away.' The singers, their voices rising and falling in wild eadence, went on to compare the vanished

chieftain to an uprooted tree: 'My shelter from the blustering wind, alas, 'tis now laid low.' Then the poet developed another beautiful piece of imagery: 'Behold yon glittering star so bright, perhaps 'tis my beloved friend returned to me again. O sire, return and tread with me again by old loved paths.' Changing the metaphor yet again, the mourners chanted all together: 'O thou that art gone, thou wert as a great canoe decked with the snowy down of the lordly albatross.' In another dirge introducing many mythological allusions, the poet said, 'Thou 'rt borne away in the canoe Rewarewa, snatched from us by the gods Raukatauri and Ruatangata. Dip deep the paddles all together to bear thee far away.'

"A Ngaitahu dirge now came:

"Keen blows the nor'-west wind from the mountain land, bringing sad thoughts of thee. Where, oh, hetana, art thou gone? Perhaps in the council hall thou 'rt laid to await thy people's coming. Yes, there lies thy mortal shell, resting at last from its many, from its innumerable travels, from its ceaseless going to and fro. Yes, thou art returned to thy people round yonder mountain cape, back to thy dwelling place. Rest from thy travels, O well beloved. One sharp pang darts through my soul, O lordly totara tree, the pride of Tane's woods. Thou 'rt lowly laid, as was the canoe of Rata, the son of Tane, launched for vengeance on the slayer Matuku, who soon himself was slain. 'T was thou alone that death didst pluck from the midst of loving men, and now thou standst alone like the bright star of morning. For us, naught but sad memories. Sleep soundly, friend.'

"The veteran Wi Pere, ex-M.H.R. for the Eastern Maori electorate, was the next in the order of 'Whaikoreo.' 'Farewell,' he cried, 'farewell, O friend of mine! Depart to the great night, Te Po, that opens wide for you.' When he began his tribal funeral chant, 'Haere ra e

Koro,' he was joined by his people of Te Aitanga-a-mahaki, Te Rongowhakata, and Ngatiporou in the stentorian song:

"Farewell, O Friend!

Depart to thine ancestral company.

Thou 'rt plucked from us as the flax shoot is plucked from the bush and held aloft among the mourners.

Thou that wert our boast, our pride, whose name has soared high,

Thy people now art lone and desolate.

Indeed, thou 'rt gone, O friend!

Thou 'rt vanished like our ocean fleet of old,

The famed canoes Atamira, Hotutaihirangi, Taiopuapua,

Te Rarotuaamahenia, Te Araiteuru, and Nukutiamemeha,

The canoe that drew up from the sea this solid land.'

"The allusion in this poem to the shoot of the flaxbush (*Te Rite Harakeke*) requires a little explanation. It refers to one of the old-time methods of divination practiced by the tohungas prior to a war-party setting out on the enemy's trail. The omen reader would pluck up the 'ite' or middle shoot of a flax plant. If the end broke off evenly and straight it was a good sign, presaging an easy victory. If it was jagged and gapped or torn, that was a 'Tohu kino,' or evil omen, a warning that a leading chief of the war-party would be slain.

"The ancient canoes enumerated were some of those which brought the ancestors of the East Coast tribes to this country from the islands of Polynesia. The Araiteuru is the sailing canoe which was wrecked on the beach near Moeraki, South Canterbury, six centuries ago. Nukutiamemeha is one of the mythological names of the canoe from which in the days of remote antiquity the great *maui* 'fished up' this North Island of New Zealand.

"A moment's breathing space, and Wi began again, and all his people chanted with him their lament beginning, 'Marumaru, Rawa mai Te whake Ki Poneke':

"Affliction's deepest gloom enfolds this house,

For in it Seddon lies,

Whose death eats out our hearts.

'T was he to whom we closest clung,

In days gone by.

O whispering north-west breeze,

Flow far for me,
 Waft me to Poneke, and take me to the friend I
 loved
 In days gone by.
 O people and all tribes,
 Raise the loud cry of grief,
 For the ships of Fate have passed Port Jackson's
 distant cape,
 And on the all-destroying sea our great one died."

Another touching incident connected with the Maori's part at the funeral of the Prime-Minister was the presenting to the family of Mr. Seddon of a memorial drawn up in the Maori and translated into English, expressing the grief of the natives and their sense of loss at the death of their great friend and chieftain. The message was engrossed on a scroll and was read by Mr. Carroll, the Maori member of the Cabinet, after which it was presented to the family of the late Premier. As this message is somewhat unique in literature, we present the English translation in full:

"To Mrs. Seddon, in memory of Richard John Seddon, Premier of New Zealand, from the Maori tribes of Ao-tea-roa (North Island) and Te Wai-pounamu (South Island). Remain, O mother, with thy children and thy children's children. Tarry ye a while in the house of mourning, in the Chamber of Death. Clasp but the cold form of him who was to thee husband beloved. He is now from thee parted, gone into the dark night, into that long, long sleep. God be with thee in thine hour of trial. Here he lies in the calm majesty of death. Rest, oh father. The tribes have assembled to mourn their loss. The canoe is cast from its moorings, its energy and guide are no more. The red-lued bird, the kakakura, the ornament of Ao-tea-roa, the proud boast of the Wai-pounamu, the mighty heart of the land, the moving spirit of the people, fare thee well, a long farewell. Pass on, O noble one, across the long sands of Haumu, beyond the barrier of Paerau, going before to join the illustrious dead. Woe unto us that are left desolate in the Valley of Sorrow. In life thou wert great. Across the great

ocean of kiwa, beset by the turbulent waves of faction, mid the jerserve minds of opinion, thou didst essay forth that thy peoples should reap of the benefits, that these islands and thy mother race should see and do their duty in the broader spheres of Empire and humanity. Fate relentless seized thee in the mid-ocean of effort, and compelled thee into the still waters of death, of rest. Sleep thou, O father, resting on great deeds, sure that to generations unborn they will be as beacons along the highways of history. Though thou art gone, may thy spirit, which so long moved the heart of things, inspire us to greater and nobler ends. Stay not your lamentations, O ye peoples, for ye have indeed lost a father. Verily our path of refuge is razed to the 'ground. The breastwork of defence for great and small is taken; torn up by the roots is the overshadowing rata tree. As the fall of the towering totara in the deep forest of Tane (*Te Waonui a tane*), so is the death of the mighty man. Earth quakes to the rending crash. Our shelter is gone, who will temper the wind? What of thy Maori people hereafter, unless thou canst from thy distant bourne help and inspire the age to kindlier impulse and action? So bide ye in your grief, bereaved ones. Though small our tribute, our hearts have spoken. Our feet have trod the sacred precincts of the courtyard of death (*Te marae o aitua*), our hearts will be his grave. Love will keep his memory green through the long weary years. *Hei Konei ra. Farewell.*"

The life of Richard John Seddon cannot fail to prove an inspiration to every young man and woman of conscience, courage and conviction. The child who was born in the little ivy-covered cottage outside the hamlet of St. Helens, who became an engineer and later a penniless miner, through long perseverance, hard work and a lofty ambition ever guided by moral idealism and the spirit of freedom and fraternity, became ere-long one of the world's greatest positive moral

forces in legislation; a man who played a major part in leading his commonwealth to the very van of advanced, progressive, wise and humane civilization; the most illustrious apostle of free institutions of the past fifty years; and a man whose ideals and deeds to-day shine as a beacon throughout the world of reaction-

ary thought, pointing to the justice-kissed heights of pure democracy, where man counts more than money, where the solidarity of the race is recognized, and where the principles of the Golden Rule become the practical ideal of the State.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

N. O. NELSON, PRACTICAL COÖPERATOR, AND THE GREAT WORK HE IS ACCOMPLISHING FOR HUMAN UPLIFTMENT.

BY GEORGE W. EADS.

TO MAKE business serve the real purposes of rational living; to throw around the man who toils the highest and most inspiring social, educational and industrial environments; to harmonize the differences between capital and labor by an equitable distribution of profits, and to make the world a better and more beautiful place in which to live, are the four-fold objects of N. O. Nelson, the picturesque Western philanthropist, whose coöperative colony at Leclaire, Illinois, is a marvelous study in simplicity and humanitarianism, and a very near approach to human perfection.

The problem of common-sense living, in the philosophy of Mr. Nelson, embraces six primary factors—work, education, recreation, beauty, homes, and freedom. These obligations which the individual owes to society cannot be satisfactorily fulfilled, nor these rights and privileges which society owes him cannot be enjoyed, under the best conditions, Mr. Nelson believes, until there has been a thorough reconstruction of twentieth-century business ideals. The system which encourages the building up of colossal fortunes at the sacrifice of personal honor upon the altar of greed—which condones trickery and bargain-driving as commercial shrewdness, and makes the under-employed the instru-

ments for grinding out dividends, without regard to their social or physical welfare—in the estimation of this business reformer, is entirely wrong. During a business career of forty years Mr. Nelson has witnessed the continued growth of capital at such an accelerated rate that it has become top-heavy, placing in the hands of the extremely wealthy, a tremendous power that has greatly complicated our mode of living. Business has been made the chief aim and object of life, instead of an incident in the problem of right living. The millionaire surrounds himself with luxury in his palace in an exclusive residence neighborhood—his employes exist in the germ-charged atmosphere of the crowded slums. Life for the one is a train of complex indulgences—for the other a miserable poverty that robs him of opportunity and all but the necessities of a bare existence. Rational living is impossible for the one because he has too much—for the other because he has too little. There is no common ground upon which they may mutualize their interests. It is to get back to right principles—to a common-sense, simple system of living that Mr. Nelson has instituted and carried to a successful conclusion a radical departure in social and business customs.

Wealthy himself, and the master-genius

of a great manufacturing business, Mr. Nelson lives in the sphere of simple democracy. He is carrying out his own ideas of philanthropy and business reform. He stands uniquely alone as the one man in the country still actively engaged in business who takes not a dollar of profit for his own use. For twenty years he has been sharing the profits of his business with the employes in his factories, salesrooms and offices. Recently he made another step. He admitted his customers to partnership in his company. His share of profits from the business, amounting last year to \$108,000, was distributed among his employes, customers and the public. He has built Leclaire, a thriving, model city for himself and his employes to live in. He has established a consumptive colony in the Indio desert of Southern California, where the victims of the great white plague who find themselves stranded in a strange country, may regain their health and strength. He is building homes for the employes of his factories in Bessemer, Alabama, and kindergartens for their children. He gives large sums for philanthropy; little for charity. If there were more philanthropy, he believes, there would be no need for charity. If business were made to serve the purposes of sensible living there would be little necessity for almshouses, or jails, or penitentiaries.

Ideas are one thing; their execution another. Mr. Nelson has the ideas, and the ability, means and determination to execute them. He has put into practice what looks beautiful in theory. The real, practical philanthropy, as Mr. Nelson has interpreted it through his work and the institutions he has founded, has a far-reaching influence in the elevation of the race to a higher and nobler plane of living.

Choosing the rock of common-sense benevolence as a substantial foundation Mr. Nelson proceeded to work his ideas into tangible things. Thirty years ago he began to take an unusual interest in

labor troubles. Though an employer, he sympathized with the men under him who were struggling for a foothold. There is no particular event in his life that can be regarded as the turning-point toward a career of philanthropy. His first work of any consequence in the direction of a public charity was in 1879 when he organized a fresh-air mission in St. Louis which has annually given free summer excursions on the Mississippi river for the benefit of the mothers and children of the tenements. A few years later he built a number of bath-houses on the river-front, which were free to everybody. About twenty years ago he was appointed a member of a citizens' committee to wait on H. M. Hoxie, manager of the Gould system, to devise means of settling the great railroad strike that was paralyzing the industries of the country. The committee went to New York, but was denied an audience with the railroad official. This caused Mr. Nelson to delve deeper into the labor question. His conclusion, after much investigation, was that there could be no industrial peace until the conflicting elements between capital and labor had been harmonized. It was his opinion that capital was receiving more than its just proportion of wages, and that labor was underpaid. Several large European manufacturers were experimenting with profit-sharing. Mr. Nelson liked the idea. He decided to put it into use. Since 1886 every employe of the Nelson industries has received in dividend-bearing stock a share of the profits of the company.

Four years later Leclaire rose like a magic city upon the gently undulating Illinois prairie, near the little town of Edwardsville, twenty miles from St. Louis. That was the real beginning of Mr. Nelson's broader and more effective philanthropic work. He has continued with such splendid success that it is no more than simple justice to rank him among the greatest benefactors to his race that America has produced. Admirable as Mr. Nelson's work is, he has

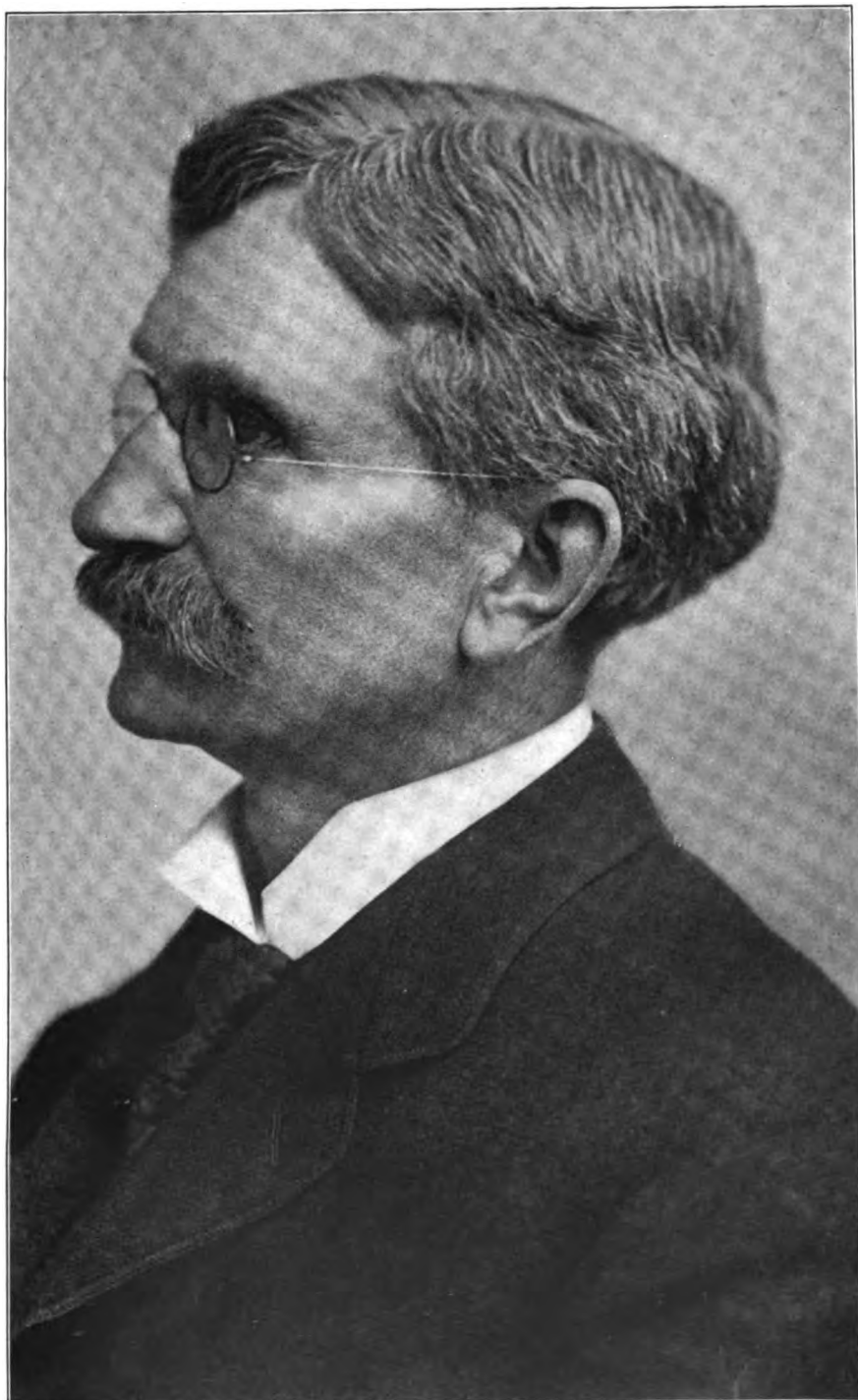


Photo. by Murillo.

N. O. NELSON



Photo. by Fitzpatrick, Bessemer, Ala.

NEGRO KINDERGARTEN AT BESSEMER, ALABAMA.

created nothing more remarkable than himself. Thirty years ago he was a stern business man. He was successful as the world measures success and was soon rated a millionaire. But the processes of self-directed evolution have transformed the serious man of commercial affairs into the light-hearted philanthropist whose efforts have lifted a considerable portion of the race into a loftier social and moral atmosphere. Rising out of a business community whose richest men laid the foundation of their fortunes by purchasing public officials as if they had been so many cattle offered at auction in the pens, Mr. Nelson stands among his fellows uniquely alone—a powerful exponent of the simple life and business reform. When Folk lifted the curtain on municipal corruption in St. Louis ten leading millionaire business men were found to be involved. How many escaped exposure because a three years' statute of limitations threw around them a screen of secrecy will never be known, but only recently Governor Folk

told me that he seldom entered a café in St. Louis, boarded a train, or walked half a dozen blocks on the streets that he did not come in contact with some man of great wealth who had poisoned the very functions of state or municipal government by the bribery of public officials. The recent exposures have given the people of the country a pretty accurate idea of existing business and financial methods and their relation to government affairs. It is only necessary to say here that if the plan of Mr. Nelson had been generally adopted the standard of business ethics of the country would be high; people would have faith to invest their earnings in various enterprises without fear of being robbed by dishonest officials, and there would not be the specter of a Homestead massacre or the tyrannical hand of a trust magnate lurking in the shadow of our so-called great philanthropies.

Mr. Nelson is a native of Norway. He came to America with his father when he was two years old, and grew to manhood

on a farm near St. Joseph, Missouri. Starting out for himself as a young man he secured employment as a book-keeper in a St. Louis plumbing-supply house. In a year he acquired an interest in the business, in two years was its manager, and at the end of five years withdrew and established the present N. O. Nelson Manufacturing Company, with general offices and salesrooms in St. Louis, and factories at Leclaire, Illinois, and Bessemer, Alabama. He now has three-quarters of a million dollars invested in the business, and the annual sales of the company amount to \$3,000,000. Mr. Nelson's share of the profits last year was \$108,000, of which \$53,000 in dividend-paying stock went to his customers; \$38,000 to his employes, and \$17,000 in cash to the public.

Let us now, with this introduction, turn from the general to the specific, and form a more intimate acquaintance with Mr. Nelson and his work, and by examining his ideas of business and philanthropy, as we find them exemplified at Leclaire and in the affairs of the company of which he is president, determine whether he is promoting rational living—whether he has been successful in his effort to solve the great problem of life along the most humanitarian lines.

First profit-sharing, and then Leclaire. The latter was the natural consequence of the former, for when Mr. Nelson's interest in the financial welfare of his employes became deep-rooted enough to influence him to share his profits with them, it was but another step when he began building homes for them and throwing around them an environment that would give them a powerful social and intellectual uplift.

Sixteen years ago Mr. Nelson purchased one hundred and twenty-five acres of land adjoining the city of Edwardsville, Illinois, twenty miles east of St. Louis. Here he founded Leclaire. The principal factories of the company were removed from St. Louis to the new town to provide work for its inhabitants.

Mr. Nelson closed his magnificent mansion in St. Louis and went to Leclaire to live in a modest two-story frame house which he had erected for his own home. In the beginning a dozen comfortable six-room houses on lots one hundred by one hundred and forty feet were built for the employes. The village was laid out on the park plan, the long avenues and driveways meandering gracefully through it. Leclaire was a success from the beginning, and now it is a wonderful community of five hundred persons.

It has no mayor, no aldermen, no municipal government, no rules, no do n'ts. There is absolute individual freedom. The dweller in Leclaire is not compelled to do anything. He may work for the Nelson company or elsewhere as he prefers. Freedom is one of the cornerstones of Leclaire. It was Mr. Nelson's idea that his people shall be untrammelled. He believed that with proper surroundings laws would not be needed to hold them in restraint. He never gives an order—never speaks a cross word. And yet Leclaire, with its lack of conventionality, has a well-defined plan, the central purpose of which is to make life worth living. The plan, as set forth at the beginning of this story, has six distinct features, all separate in themselves, yet dove-tailing so nicely that there is not the slightest discord. The subdivisions which might be called the foundation principles, in the plan of Leclaire, are in their relative importance: Work, Education, Recreation, Beauty, Homes and Freedom. Manifestly the most important consideration in the building of a city to promote right living is work. Employment is provided by the large factories that are in operation throughout the year. Not a man who is able to work is idle. There is something for everybody to do. The regular union wage scales are paid in the factories at Leclaire. Wages are no higher nor lower than elsewhere for the same kind of work. Living expenses are reduced to the minimum, and as the employes derive stated



Photo. by Brimmer, St. Louis.

HOME OF N. O. NELSON, LECLAIRE.

profits each year from the stock they own in the company, they are able to get along far better than the average workman whose employer's interest in him ceases when he is handed his pay envelope at the end of the week. Work being essential in the scheme of life, and necessary to its fullest enjoyment, Mr. Nelson believes that the conditions under which men labor ought to be made as pleasant and agreeable as possible. The factories at Leclaire are well ventilated. The windows are large, admitting the maximum of light. Mr. Nelson is a great believer in fresh air. That was one of the principal reasons for building Leclaire, because it took his employes from the crowded districts of St. Louis and sat them down upon the broad, rolling prairie over which sweeps air as pure as ever flowed from nature's fountain. While every man employed in the Nelson

factories is expected to attend to his duties there are no bosses to continually prod them. Being profit-sharers in the business they are interested in its success and work with a will, needing no boss. It is an inspiration to visit the factories and see every man working as if he enjoyed it. In the summer time the windows and doors are wide open and floods of light and air pour into the workshops, giving the employes practically all of the advantages of out-door work, with none of its inconveniences.

The men are members of the union or not as they choose. Mr. Nelson believes in labor unionism, properly directed, and encourages his employes to join the unions. But that is a matter wholly of their own choice. There has never been any serious labor trouble at Leclaire. In the sixteen years of its existence there have been two sympathetic strikes, neither of which

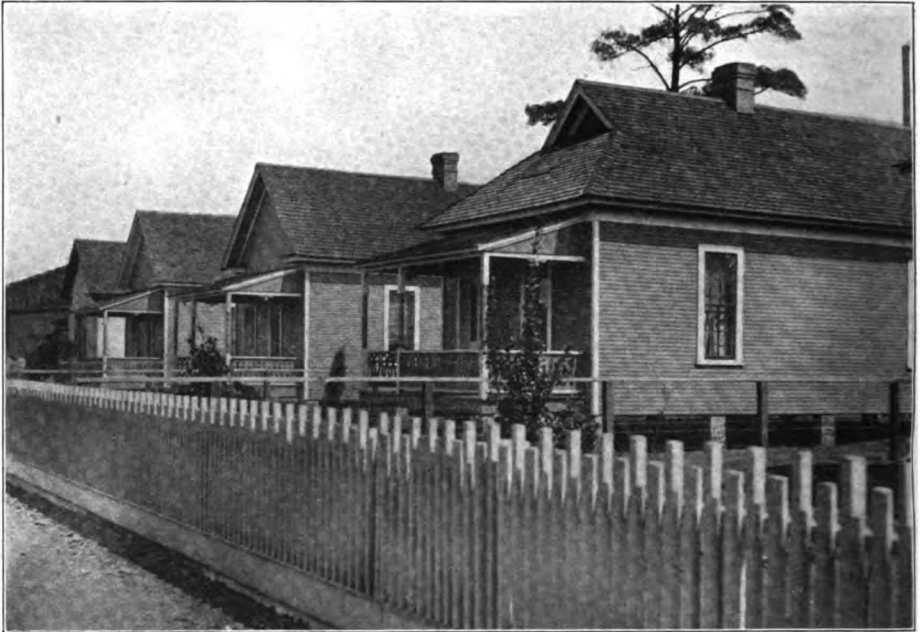


Photo. by Fitzpatrick, Bessemer, Ala.

COTTAGES AT BESSEMER, ALABAMA.

originated from any trouble in the Nelson factories. The strikes were of short duration. There has been such entire harmony between Mr. Nelson and his employés that it may be truthfully said that he has solved the labor question. Panics or financial stringencies have no effect on Leclaire. During the financial crisis of 1893 every factory in Leclaire was operated at its full capacity and there was not an idle man in the town. As a precautionary measure the men were asked to accept a ten per cent. reduction in wages, but at the end of the business year it was found that the reduction was not necessary and the loss in wages sustained by each employé was restored to him, together with his share of the dividends. Next in importance to work, in the plan of Leclaire, is education. The smaller children in Leclaire attend the kindergarten equipped and maintained by Mr. Nelson and then pass on to the public-schools of Edwardsville. Illinois has a compulsory education law which requires that all children between the

ages of six and fourteen years shall attend school during the entire term. Mr. Nelson is planning to establish a free industrial school in connection with Leclaire. Students will be given an opportunity to work their way through the school. The school will be strictly non-sectarian and open to all young men and women who are anxious to educate themselves. They will be given employment in the shops and fields, and any ambitious and industrious boy or girl can easily get an education through the medium of this school. There will be a manual training department in which instruction in the trades will be given. For the maintenance of the kindergarten, which has been in existence ever since Leclaire was founded, there has been set aside an endowment fund of \$10,000, which is being increased as the occasion demands. The greater part of the expense, however, is borne directly by Mr. Nelson, who provides an excellent corps of teachers.

There is a well-stocked library con-



VIEW OF MR. NELSON'S INDIO CONSUMPTIVE VILLAGE FROM RESERVATION.

taining thousands of volumes. The daily newspapers and current magazines are always found on the tables of the reading-rooms. Lectures are given during the winter season, some of the most noted platform orators of the country having deemed it a pleasure to visit Leclaire and address its people. A debating society holds regular meetings and many entertainments of an educational nature are given. The people of Leclaire have developed habits of study. It is doubtful if there is any like number of people in the world who are so generally well informed on all subjects. Mr. Nelson is a great reader and a thorough student, especially of political economy. He believes that an education is as essential to the factory laborer as to the lawyer, doctor or merchant. Therefore he has made it possible to begin aright the education of every child in Leclaire. His industrial school, when completed, will every year place a good education within easy reach of at least three hundred boys and girls.

There is an axiomatic truth that all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy.

There is ample time for play in Leclaire. Mr. Nelson considers recreation one of the essential features of rational living. Hence there are bowling alleys, baseball grounds, billiard rooms, dancing halls and a large lake for rowing and swimming in the summer and skating in the winter. There are swings on the common lawns for the children, and hay-rides and other innocent amusements are given regularly during the summer season for the young people of the community. Mr. Nelson participates in the sports. There is seldom a baseball game played in which he is not the umpire. He is thoroughly familiar with the rules of the great national game and handles the indicator with skill. When he feels the need of a little vigorous exercise he gets into the game. He can lay down a pretty bunt or drive out a sharp single as the occasion demands, run bases and catch flies with the agility of a youth. He has such a wonderful physique that at the age of sixty-two years he is as active as a school-boy. He can play a good game of billiards, run up a creditable score in a gam-

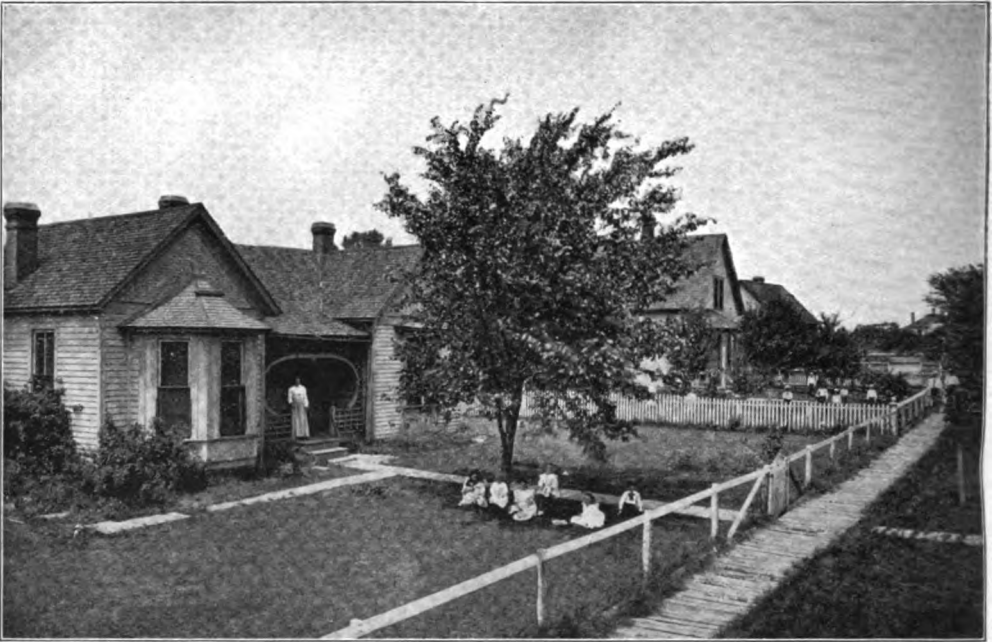


Photo. by Brimmer, St. Louis.

WORKMEN'S HOMES AT LECLAIRE.

of top hats or cocked hat, or dance the Highland fling with the grace and sprightliness of a youth of twenty. It is no uncommon sight to see Mr. Nelson on the lawn at evening surrounded by a bevy of merry children. He often participates in their games, and the little fellows think it a great treat when they can induce him to play marbles with them or take a spin around the block on roller-skates.

From early spring until late fall Leclaire is a flower garden of wondrous beauty. The atmosphere is sweet with the fragrance of the flowers. The landscape presents a perfect picture of harmony and beauty to the eye. The skill of the landscape gardener has beautified the entire surroundings. The driveways are banked with brilliant-hued flowers, and the public lawns rival in beauty the finest parks in the country. There is a good sized lawn in front of each house. Every lawn is a flower garden, and there is a good natured rivalry among the people to see who can create the most beauty around his home. Mr. Nelson's home

stands in the center of a block. The advent of the first spring after the founding of Leclaire saw Mr. Nelson making flower-beds on his lawn. He planted his flowers and cultivated them with his own hands. It was not necessary for him to tell others what to do. They saw that it was his purpose to make Leclaire a beautiful place in which to live and they went to work to make their surroundings attractive. Few of the men whom Mr. Nelson took to Leclaire knew anything about the planting and cultivation of flowers. Their lives had been spent in the cities. They had never lived close to nature. If one of them was careless and took no interest in beautifying his lawn, the public gardener was sent to mow the grass, or perhaps, Mr. Nelson went with hoe and spade and prepared flower-beds and planted seeds in his yard. Never a word was spoken to the householder, but it was seldom necessary to send the gardener a second time. The shade trees which were planted when the village was laid out are now large and

thrifty. The trees were planted in rows along the avenues and around the houses. The lake, which lies a little distance from the town, is skirted by a natural forest which gives Leclaire a background setting of great beauty.

A hedge fence separates the factories of Leclaire from the homes. It is the dividing line between work and play. The flower gardens, however, are not confined to the residence side of the fence. Even the harsh surroundings of the factories have been transformed into marvelously beautiful floral pictures that are a delight to the eye and a gratification to the esthetic sense of man. Ornamental vines leap up the side of the factory walls and cling to the eaves. The outward appearances are all attractive and even as the men pursue their daily tasks the zephyrs waft the sweet fragrance of the flowers through the shop-windows.

All this beauty is not for Leclaire alone. From the time the earliest flowers bloom in the spring until the frosts have withered the hardy plants in the fall, Mr. Nelson may be seen leaving his home every morning with his arms filled with bouquets. He takes an early train to St. Louis, and reaches the general offices of the company while the morning air is still cool and refreshing. After going through his mail, and attending to the most urgent business matters, he takes a bundle of flowers and leaves the office. The great tenement quarter of St. Louis lies a few blocks north. Many thousands of the city's poor live in this neighborhood. Along the crowded streets Mr. Nelson walks briskly, stopping here and there to pass out a handful of flowers to a pale-faced child or a sicklied mother. The children of the tenements know him. They flock at his heels, chatting with him and babbling his praise in their native tongues. He is known as a good angel among them and they recognize his very footfalls. When his flowers are all gone he walks back to his office and resumes his work. The hour or so thus spent is a recreation for the philanthropist and his daily walks

through the congested districts of the city carry happiness to many hearts. It was to remove his employes from just such surroundings as these that Mr. Nelson took them to Leclaire and built them homes, and surrounded them with flowers, shrubbery and artistic landscape. It has cost a great deal of money to make Leclaire beautiful, but the dividends have been amply returned in the better citizenship which the environments of the community have produced.

Mr. Nelson has made it possible for every employé living in Leclaire to own his home. When the cornerstone was laid the town-site was divided into lots, having each a frontage of one hundred feet and a depth of one hundred and forty feet. The construction of a dozen houses was begun. They were substantial frame structures, setting well back from the streets and containing from six to ten rooms. Electric lights and running water were placed in each house. As soon as the houses were completed they were sold or rented to the employes of the Nelson factories. Those who wanted to own their homes were given an opportunity to buy them on monthly payments, about equal to what they would have paid in rent for much inferior accommodations in the city. A comfortable six-room house, with a large lot, could be purchased for \$1,400 or \$1,500 and paid for at the rate of \$15 or \$20 a month, according to the ability of the buyer to pay. Good houses rented as low as six dollars a month, including light and water service. Mr. Nelson encouraged his employes to buy their homes, and gave them every opportunity to pay for them. Many poor men who have made an effort to buy homes in the cities on the instalment plan have lost everything when misfortune befell them and they were unable to keep up their payments. Mr. Nelson did not build the homes in Leclaire for profit, but because he believed that the homeowner was a better citizen than the renter. He did not lay down any hard and fast rules governing the payments on the

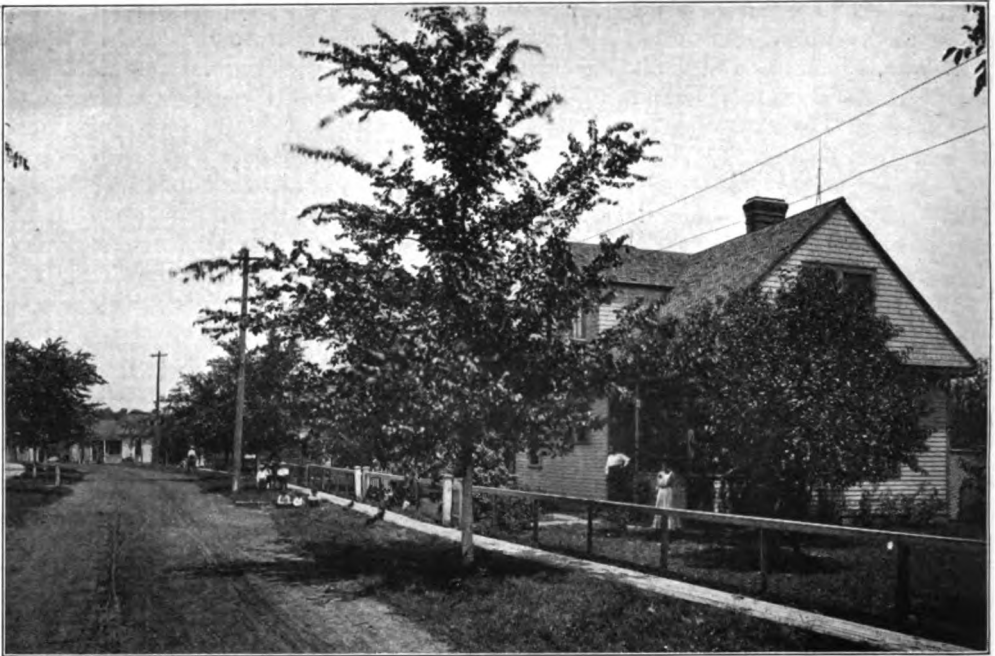


Photo. by Brimmer, St. Louis.

WORKMAN'S HOME, LECLAIRE.

houses. If a man falls sick the payments on his house cease until he is able to resume work. No unfair advantage is taken of him, and there are no forfeits to pay. One man was incapacitated by sickness for two years. He had bought his home on the instalment plan and started to pay for it. During his sickness he drew a stated allowance from the sick-benefit fund—not his full salary, but enough for himself and his family to live comfortably upon—and the payments on his house were allowed to lapse. When he regained his health and resumed work he renewed his payments just where he would have been if he had kept them up during the two years. This may not be good business, but it is what Mr. Nelson calls good philanthropy. It is doing good where it needs to be done. The same rule applies to all employés who are paying for their homes on the instalment system. Most of the residents of Leclaire now own their homes. The laboring man or mechanic in the city who

owns his home is the exception. Very few men of that class have the ambition to become home-owners. They are satisfied to pay rent all their lives—to live at the mercy of the landlords. The homes in Leclaire are not common property. They were all built originally by Mr. Nelson and sold to the individual employés. The homes in Leclaire are on the cottage plan, with the exception of Mr. Nelson's. For his own use he erected a plain, two-story house, in the center of a block of ground. He takes care of the large lawn himself, planting the flowers and gardens and cultivating them with his own hands.

Very few persons who attempted to buy homes in Leclaire failed. Those who, for any reason, desired to move away after starting to pay for their homes, were charged a reasonable rental for the use of the house and the difference between that sum and the entire amount paid in was returned to them. The standard of civic pride in Leclaire is high.

Being a community comprised principally of home-owners the people take great pride in making their surroundings attractive. There is not a carelessly-kept lawn in the village. Six years is all the time required to pay for a home in Leclaire, and the monthly instalments need not exceed twenty dollars—no more than the average laboring man pays for three or four small rooms in the crowded districts of the cities.

The sixth primary principle in the plan of Leclaire is freedom. It was Mr. Nelson's design to take his employés away from the cities and give them an opportunity to establish their own industrial and social freedom—to enjoy the best there is in life without restriction or restraint. He desired to get them out of the atmosphere of sixteen-story buildings—away from wholly commercial influences—away from the money-changing centers—and demonstrate to them that the real purpose of life is rational living. When they went to Leclaire he did not trammel them with hard and fast rules, nor require them to live up to certain regulations. He did not set up a municipal government and formulate laws for anybody to obey. The town is outside of the municipal limits of Edwardsville and is governed only by the laws of the state. Leclaire has no saloons. It has no law against drinking, but it has no tipplers. There are no churches. The people are free to worship where they choose. There are no religious requirements. There is no long list of do n'ts posted conspicuously for the guidance of the people. They do as they please—but they please to do right. Mr. Nelson has demonstrated to his own satisfaction that laws are not needed to restrain people from wrong-doing when their environments are in harmony with the ideals of right living. His people bow to the will of no boss. Naturally Mr. Nelson is the dominant power in the direction of the affairs of the community, but it is doubtful if he realizes it. He does not arrogate one iota of authority to himself. He is simply

one of the people among whom he is living, enjoying the freedom that he established for others. He has but one voice in the affairs of the colony, and he does not hold himself to be any better than the humblest of his employés. With the liberties granted the people, and with every restraint thrown off, there has never been need for a peace officer in the community. The deportment of everybody has been excellent. Neighbors love each other in accordance with the biblical injunction and the children, imbued with the spirit of Leclaire's founder, play together like brothers and sisters.

It was upon the broad principles of work at good wages for every able-bodied man; of recreation to divert the mind from business cares and recuperate the tired body; of beauty to appeal to the gentler and finer sensibilities of the man; of comfortable homes for everybody to live in, and of complete freedom for every man, woman and child, that Leclaire was founded and has grown to be the most successful semi-coöperative colony in the country. There are other features subsidiary to these. Leclaire has a coöperative store, owned in common by its people. Each person is allowed the ownership of one share of stock, which he pays for as he is able. The store has been in existence for several years and the experiment has been highly successful. The store buys for cash and sells for cash. It has returned annual dividends of ten to twenty per cent. to its stockholders.

Last summer a large house in Leclaire was vacant. Mr. Nelson instructed one of his young women employés to take charge of it and place it at the disposal of the working-girls of the city. During the few months the house was open 130 girls from St. Louis—stenographers, shop-girls, and factory employés—visited Leclaire and spent their vacations there. They were furnished comfortable quarters free of charge, their only expense being about two dollars a week for board. They had the free use of the library, the



Photo. by Brimmer, St. Louis.

ENTRANCE TO LECLAIRE.—SCHOOL-HOUSE IN THE DISTANCE.

campus, the lake and boats, and the club-rooms. The house has again been thrown open this summer and it is probable that a much larger number of girls will spend their vacations in this delightful village.

Leclaire is a Mecca for children from the St. Louis tenements during the heated term. Frequent excursions are run between St. Louis and Leclaire and thousands of little fellows are taken from the streets and hovels into the pure atmosphere and beautiful surroundings of the village to spend the day romping about the campus, swimming in the lake and playing hide-and-seek in the woods.

The portion of the one hundred and twenty-five acre tract not occupied by the factories, village and lake is under cultivation. The farm supplies the community with fresh vegetables during the summer season.

Such is Leclaire—the Utopia where the capitalist and the working-man dwell in peace and perfect harmony—the fairyland where all of the essential things in the problem of right living have been

generously provided by a master-genius in the art common-sense philanthropy.

Leclaire was designed to be the cap-sheaf of Mr. Nelson's philanthropies, but it is by no means his only benevolent work. Profit-sharing has long been a hobby with Mr. Nelson. We have already seen why he adopted the system twenty years ago. Mr. Nelson has all the money he wants. He cares nothing for profits and dividends for his own use. He thinks so well of the idea of profit-sharing that last year when he decided to quit taking profits he concluded that the customer, being as essential to the success of a business as the employé, was entitled to share in the distribution of dividends. The profits of a business are derived from the labor of the employés and the patronage of the customers. Large profits are made by paying labor inadequate wages, or charging customers too much for the finished product. Mr. Nelson has endeavored to adjust the scale of business by returning to the employés and the customers everything in

excess of the reasonable earnings of capital. For many years he has estimated that six per cent. on the capital invested was sufficient wages for capital to earn, and that all in excess of that rightfully belonged to the employés. Upon carrying profit-sharing to what he considers its logical conclusion he decided to take in the customers last Christmas in the distribution of the earnings of the company. His share of the profits from the year's business amounted to \$108,000, of which \$58,000 was distributed among his customers, \$43,000 among his employés, and \$17,000 to the public through his various benefactions. One customer and one employé were elected directors in the company. Some of the employés who have been accumulating stock for a long time drew as much as \$1,500 in dividends last year. The employés and customers not only participate in the division of profits, but receive dividends on the stock they own. Mr. Nelson has not made any provision to retain personal control of the business he has established by the work of a lifetime. He has confidence enough in the men whom he has admitted as stockholders in the company to believe that they will keep in office a management that will safeguard its interests. The employés of the company received an average of \$86 out of the profits distributed last year in addition to the dividends on their shares of stock.

Mr. Nelson has not confined his philanthropies to St. Louis and Leclaire, although they have been the centers of his extensive benevolent work. While spending the winter of 1902 in Southern California he came in contact with many stranded consumptives who had no means of getting home or supporting themselves in a strange country. The heavy fogs and chilly atmosphere that prevail on the Pacific coast in midwinter prove harmful to persons afflicted with pulmonary troubles instead of beneficial. Thousands of persons go to Los Angeles under the apprehension that the climate will cure consumption, when the reverse

is quite true. Mr. Nelson saw the emaciated sufferers practically helpless, many of them in a dying condition. They hoped that a change of climate would hold the dread disease in check and that they could pay their way by light work. The hotels and boarding-houses would not accept the patronage of consumptives, and the sanitariums charged them from \$12 to \$25 a week. Mr. Nelson saw an opportunity to do a work that needed doing. He went into the Indio desert, where the climate is ideal for the treatment of consumption, and purchased a tract of one hundred and forty acres. It lies near the town of Indio, on the Southern Pacific railroad. He laid out a tent-city, drilled artesian wells to supply water for irrigation, paved the streets of his novel village with cinders, and then extended a general invitation to consumptives throughout the country to come to Indio and get well.

He purchased a herd of cows and a lot of chickens to supply fresh milk and eggs for the invalids. He prepared flower-beds and cultivated the flowers. In a few months an artificial oasis in the desert had sprung up, and a magical white city had risen upon the barren sand-wastes. Consumptives came from everywhere. Those who were able to pay were charged a small sum to defray actual expenses. The poor were permitted to enjoy the benefits of the consumptive camp free. Employment was provided for those strong enough to work. Mr. Nelson is a philosopher as well as a philanthropist. He believed that light work would prove beneficial to the invalids by diverting their minds from their disease. Fresh milk and eggs, congenial employment, and living almost entirely out-of-doors soon worked a wonderful change in the dwellers of the desert city. The hectic flush was succeeded by the rose-tint of returning health. The hacking cough disappeared as the light, pure air healed the fissures in the lungs. Mr. Nelson did not want the consumptives to brood over their condition and thus aggravate the

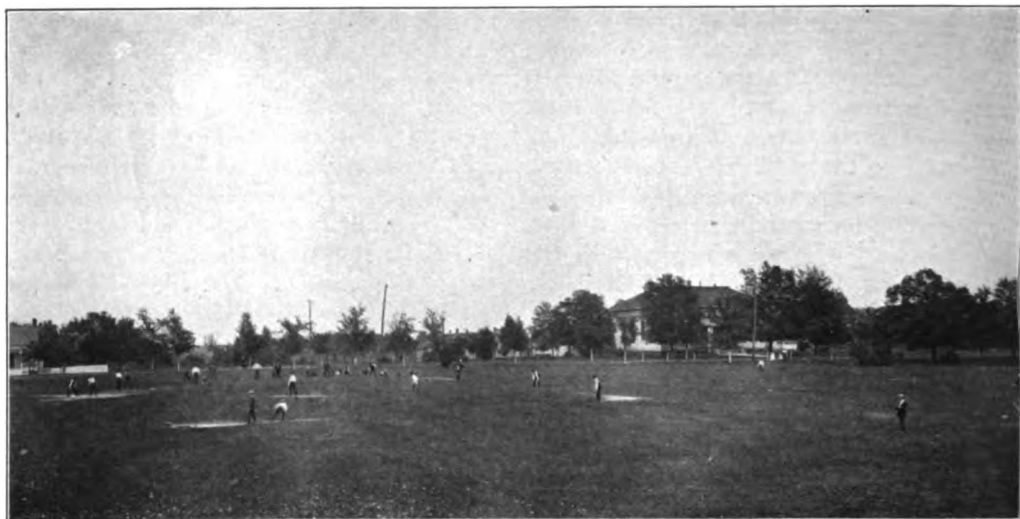


Photo. by Brimmer, St. Louis.

CAMPUS AT LECLAIRE.—MR. NELSON UMPIRING A GAME OF BASEBALL.

disease. With a view of keeping their minds employed during every waking hour he erected a large dancing pavilion. Every evening there is dancing and merriment. Medicine bottles are not allowed in the Indio health-camp. They are not needed. A large majority of the invalids who go there and work and laugh, eat the nourishing fare provided, and sleep almost out of doors, get well and strong. Some dare not go home under penalty of a return of the disease. Others prefer to live in the desert. Consumption makes its greatest ravages among the poor, and many who went to Indio had barely enough money to pay their railroad fare to that point. To meet the situation Mr. Nelson cut up his tract of land in two and five-acre lots, and arranged to lease or sell them to convalescents on any kind of terms. With the perfect system of irrigation a few acres of land, rightly cultivated, will yield a good living. The Indio health-camp is the nearest approach to a charitable enterprise of any of Mr. Nelson's work. He desired to strip it of its aspect of charity as much as possible and make it purely a philanthropy—a place where the consumptive can go and get well without being dependent upon

others. The Indio camp has passed through the experimental stage. It is now a permanent, thriving institution, and will stand as a monument to the common-sense and generosity of one man who seems to have the knack of doing many needful things right. With one stroke of his hand he has transformed the sand dunes into a health-giving oasis, whose healing waters cool the hectic's flaming brow and conquer the monster plague of the race.

Mr. Nelson is beginning to do, on a smaller scale, at Bessemer, Alabama, what he has already done at Leclaire. His company has a large soil-pipe factory at Bessemer. Iron manufacturing is the principal industry of the town, and the surroundings are intensely harsh. The inhabitants are largely employes of the numerous factories. They have little innate love of the beautiful and their condition in life is such that they cannot be expected to possess any great degree of civic pride. Mr. Nelson is gradually changing these conditions so far as his own employes are concerned. He permits them to share in the profits of the company, is building homes for them to live in, and maintains schools for the ed-

ucation of their children. White and colored employés are treated alike. One of the interesting features of his educational work in Bessemer is a kindergarten for the children of his negro employés. Mr. Nelson has secured the services of one of the most competent teachers in Alabama and placed her in charge of the colored kindergarten. Lack of room, the Nelson factories being in the heart of the city, will somewhat limit the philanthropist's work in Bessemer. A dozen substantial houses have been completed and rented or sold to the employés on easy terms. Flowers grow in profusion around the factories, and Mr. Nelson has encouraged his employés to beautify their homes. He is instilling into them that spirit of civic pride that has made Leclaire an ideal city. In time he hopes to have homes for all of his employés in Bessemer, and to create in the iron-producing district of Alabama, a community that will compare favorably in every respect with Leclaire.

Mr. Nelson is a volcano of ideas, and possesses the rare virtue of putting his theories into practice. His principal purpose in life during the past twenty years has been to make men rather than money—an unusual, but altogether pleasant, diversion for a man who has been successful in the commercial world. We have seen how, in the working out of his idea that business should be made to promote rational living, he has taken five hundred people from the crowded city and given them homes in a community where there is no poverty, no crime, little sickness, an abundance of beauty and fresh air, and where the profits of industry, above a modest six per cent. on the capital invested, are made to serve the common good of all. He is the shepherd of peace and plenty, and his flock knows no trouble, no want.

Mr. Nelson recently startled business men and financiers by asking the pertinent question: "Can any man 'earn' a million dollars?" He answered his own question in the negative, advancing the

argument that the greatest fortunes are made, not by reason of service, but by cunning, and that more than one half of the million-dollar fortunes are the result of trickery or luck. Most of the other great fortunes have been made, he contended, by hired ability and not by the individual's own efforts. A million, he said, stands for power, luxury, prominence—elements that have caused the troubles and disasters of mankind. He pointed to the fact that Washington served his country without pay; that Lincoln was not a money-maker; that General Lee refused the presidency of an insurance company with little work and large pay to become the president of a university with much work and little pay, and that Grant's reputation survived his Wall-street speculations because he lost instead of won. He decried business as a pitiful thing if it is business and nothing more—if the players at this fascinating game devote all their energies and talents to the accumulation of dollars and none to the elevation of the race to a higher standard of living. The making of men, he asserted, was a far more interesting work than the making of money.

The great final object of all of Mr. Nelson's work is the making of men. In the development of men out of the raw material which nature supplies opportunity is everything. Mr. Nelson's purpose is to supply the opportunity, or in other words to provide the foothold from which the individual may lift himself up. Too many business men are selfish. They want the lion's share for themselves, and care nothing for the welfare of the men who work for them. Their sole object is to make business grind out dividends—the more the better. Excessive dividends are made either by paying labor too little or charging the customer too much for the goods. The idea of the average captain of industry is to get along by paying labor the minimum of wages and selling goods to the consumer at the maximum price. Mr. Nelson contends that there is a happy medium, and that

a reasonable dividend on the capital invested ought to satisfy every business man's desire for gain.

This unselfish captain of industry, who put business and philanthropy into the crucible and compounded a remedy for all of the industrial and social ills of the present age, has a most interesting personality. He is a small, thin, wiry man. He does not weigh more than one hundred and thirty pounds. In matters of dress he is inclined to be careless. At the age of sixty-two he is in vigorous manhood—robust, athletic, buoyant. There are few streaks of white in his thick, sandy hair. The symmetry of his features is not marred by the crow's feet of time. He works eighteen hours a day—sleeps six. He is busy every waking moment of his life. When he leaves his office he forgets business. The remainder of his time is spent in the cultivation of flowers, recreation, reading, writing essays and lectures and planning for the enlargement of his philanthropies. He espouses no religious creed—subscribes to the doctrines of no political party. He is independent in everything. He lectures in churches of all denominations. He believes in the single-tax theory, but did not inherit his ideas from Henry George. He was an investigator in that field of political science before *Progress and Poverty* was written. He believes in coöperation to a limited extent, such as we see it practiced in his business, but does not accept the socialist theory of common ownership of all property. He is always democratic—in business and in the every-day walks of life. He will shake the hand of a tramp as heartily as that of a business associate. He knows every child in Leclaire—and there is no race suicide there—and thousands of children in the St. Louis Ghetto know him as their friend and benefactor.

Business, as it is now conducted, is a game of profit and little else. The question of whether it is right to tax the traffic all it will bear is seldom asked. In the wild scramble for gain everything else is

overlooked. It was developed by Attorney-General Hadley of Missouri, during the Standard Oil inquiry, that some branches of that trust pay annual dividends of six hundred per cent. Competition has been stifled, and then the trade is taxed all it will stand to grind out dividends—to help build up great fortunes. Crushing out a competitor by fair means or foul is considered the acme of business shrewdness. One business man gloats over another's misfortune when he can force his rival into bankruptcy. Labor is paid the lowest possible wages and the customer charged the highest price to increase the earning capacity of the capital invested. The average business man worships but one idol—money. Perhaps it never entered his mind that business can be made the instrument for the development of better men and women. Having risen himself possibly from obscurity and poverty to prominence and riches, he cares little for the welfare of those he out-distanced in the race for fortune. He does not consider that he owes them even a remote obligation. Get money is the slogan of the twentieth-century business world—get it honestly if you can, but dishonestly if you must, but by all means, get money. It means power and prominence. Bribe public officials, loot insurance funds belonging to people who have stinted themselves to pay for the protection of widows and orphans, poison the functions of government with corruption and endanger the very existence of our free institutions—all that is good business if it pays big dividends. Four years ago an enterprising newspaper reporter placed in the hands of an honest prosecutor the proof that millionaire business men had bribed a score of public officials to secure valuable franchises. That was the starting-point of the greatest wave of political reform the country has ever witnessed. While the men who were actually caught in the nefarious bribery transaction in St. Louis were being tried for their crimes two millionaire Sunday-school superin-

tendents, who were high officials in a company that had profited enormously by the purchase of corrupt franchises, engineered a deal that invalidated millions in judgments the courts had rendered against the public-service corporation. Depriving thousands of maimed men, women and children of what they were legally and rightfully entitled to was called a stroke of business genius. It made millions for the Sunday-school superintendents. But was it right? Is n't there something radically wrong with the public conscience when business transactions that take the bread and butter out of the mouths of hungry widows and orphans are sanctioned? Is n't it about time for business reform? Was not Mr. Nelson right when he said that our business methods need to undergo a regeneration? The stigma of everlasting disgrace rests upon the brow of every man who has been caught giving or taking bribes. Is cheating or robbing an individual in a business deal any different in principle from plundering the public? It has not been the small-salaried state and municipal assemblymen who were mainly responsible for the political corruption that shocked the nation. The worst offenders were rich business men. They took the initiative. They were the Satans who took the Savior into the mountains and offered him kingdoms for his vote. What they did when they bribed public officials they are doing every day in business in a little different manner. Six hundred per cent. dividends have made billionaires. But do the owners of these great fortunes, made by questionable business methods, know anything of unalloyed happiness which six per cent., simple life and honest dealing have given Mr. Nelson?

Mr. Nelson is a good business man. He is a wise philanthropist. He has found that business and philanthropy mix well. He has made a success of both. Would not the general standard of our citizenship be improved if every business man practiced the principles

so clearly laid down by Mr. Nelson? There is just enough coöperation in his plan to provide plenty for all, and not enough to deprive the individual of the ambition to do great things. Sixteen years' test has proven the Nelson plan sane and safe.

Would it not be interesting if a thousand of our richest citizens turned their attention, as Mr. Nelson has done, to making men instead of piling up money they do not need? Unfortunately the few very rich men who have given large sums of money to the public are not above suspicion of being prompted by selfish motives. So far as I have been able to determine from long observation of Mr. Nelson and his work he is entirely unselfish. He is sincere in his demand for business reform. His controlling motive is to do good and make people happy. He has demonstrated that business can be made serve the purposes of rational living.

The "muck-rakers" have kept us busy reading their exposures of the evils that have crept into business and politics. The cry for reform has spread like a mighty tidal wave over the entire country. Our political reformers have accomplished much in the last few years to clear up the corruption that has hung like a pall over our public institutions, but no one has even suggested a feasible plan of business reform. The nearest approach to a scheme for changing existing conditions was made by President Roosevelt, who, taking cognizance of the baneful influence of enormous fortunes, declared that the time will come when we shall have to consider a progressive tax to prohibit the owner of great sums of money from handing more than a certain amount of it to any one individual. The President's plan would dissolve the great fortune only after it had been piled up; Mr. Nelson's system of sharing profits would prevent the accumulation of unwieldy and dangerous fortunes, thereby preventing the train of evils that follow in their path. Mr. Nelson has

pointed out the way for business reform. He has succeeded so admirably in his undertaking; he has worked along the lines of such genuine humanity, and extended his helping hand so far, that when the impartial historian comes to write the beautiful story of a nation's philanthropy, he will rank the broad-minded,

sympathetic Norwegian as one of the greatest—if not the greatest—practical philanthropists of his time. This apostle of freedom, right-living, sound business methods, and simple, every-day honesty between man and man, deserves a niche high up among the benefactors of the race.

St. Louis, Mo. GEORGE W. EADS.

THE ZEIT-GEIST AND THE MIRACULOUS CONCEPTION.

BY REV. WILLIAM R. BUSHBY, LL.M.

A WIDESPREAD unsettlement exists regarding the basic facts, the cardinal truths of the Christian religion, and as Dr. van Dyke says (*Age of Doubt*, p. 7), "this unsettlement takes the form of uncertainty rather than of denial, of unbelief rather than of disbelief, of general skepticism rather than of specific infidelity."

There is an effort to explain by terms of the finite the acts of the Infinite; to account for all manifestations of the supernatural by means of the limitations which we profess to understand of natural causes and their effects; to put strange constructions upon words; to pervert old established doctrine; to make scripture a matter of private interpretation; and especially to despise the authority of the Church.

"Religion," according to certain objectors, "dwells in a realm of unreality. All the propositions, theories, doctrines, to be found among all religions belong to the house of dreams, imagination, emotions, desires, none of which set foot upon the hard crust of solid earth, and which therefore can yield no solid basis of fact. The whole realm," it is said, "lies outside the range of scientific inquiry, and therefore in such a realm no fact capable of leading to any trustworthy or testable truth can be reached."

But we cannot deny that there are

phenomena which are just as true and real as any which are capable of demonstration through our five senses. We may not be able, as has been said, to weigh these phenomena as gold and silver are weighed, or to measure them by the ordinary instruments of precision, but they exist nevertheless, and the man or woman who would deny their existence is as much "a dogmatist as the most exclusive theologian," and as much of an "obscurantist as the greatest ecclesiastical infallibilist."

There is probably not a thinking man or woman who has not met in his or her experience with certain facts which were closely allied to the mysterious and which could not be accounted for or explained by any known hypothesis. It is true that such facts present a difficulty—the drawing of a distinct and well-defined line between what is understood and what is mysterious—but because we cannot thoroughly explain such facts or measure them according to some known physical standard we should not put them aside as unreal and visionary, and therefore impossible.

It is said that the "scientific spirit of the present day demands higher evidence for religious truth than has been wont to satisfy the men of past times, and subjects all evidence to a more rigorous scrutiny than ever before."

It is not part of the plan at this time to discuss the kind of evidence demanded, but there is a vague insistence upon something which can be demonstrated. Do we realize that neither moral nor historical truth admits of demonstration?

It is not with any intention to exhaustively handle the subject, because that has been ably done by others, nor do we lay claim to any originality in this presentation of the case, but we feel very much like the common soldier who hears the flag of his country abused. He cannot refrain from protesting, and although he may not be of very much account in the great army of which he is so small a part, yet he has the satisfaction of knowing that *he* did what he was able in defense of what he considered as dear to him as life itself.

Every believer in Christ should have the courage of his convictions and be able to give a reason for his faith, not lukewarmly, but positively. We are apt to fall down before we are hit. We hoist the white flag before the first attack is made upon us. Let us take courage. God still lives, and notwithstanding the rationalists and agnostics to the contrary, Jesus Christ is on the throne of the universe and things cannot go very far wrong.

But there is abroad an unrest, an agitation, a searching for something of which we must take cognizance.

As indicating one phase of the agitation, a French professor, M. Amant Joseph Fabre, who, if he is reported correctly, has recently stated that "he believes in a Christianity that is neither Catholic nor Protestant, which is free from ecclesiasticism and superstition." He cherishes the hope that "coming generations will arrive at a Christianity eminently progressive, at all points in accord with science and the human conscience, and equaling the highest points of teaching and inspiration which have been reached by the great religions on which humanity has hitherto relied for safe guidance." Now we may ask, what does all this mean? What are the great re-

ligions on which humanity has hitherto relied for safe guidance? He would get back to the practices of the Primitive Church, so he says, which means, we may interpret, that he strives for a New Testament Churchmanship, but if he does he will still find that dogmas and definitions and practices and institutions and sacraments are an essential part of that Apostolic Brotherhood.

This cry of "Back to Christ" is sounded in various tones. It comes to us from those who see in the many divisions into which Christianity is divided a cause for alarm; it comes to us from those whose desire is to break with the traditional faith and to find something novel; it comes to us from those who would restore the so-called true spirit of brotherhood for which they claim Christ stood; it comes to us from those who use it to bolster up some cherished man-made "ism."

The fact that there still exists to-day among us that religion which Christ instituted is due under God's direction to the fostering care of the Holy Church founded by the Great Teacher, and there are many to-day of those who profess and call themselves Christians who are fully imbued with the spirit of that Primitive Church, and find full soul satisfaction in its doctrine, discipline and worship.

As the basis for our faith we turn to those scriptures which contain the teachings of the Founder and the leaders of the Primitive Church.

In the Gospels we have the record of the very founder of Christianity, Jesus Christ Himself. These Gospels were written by human authors and they set before us a Person of great dignity and wisdom, "absolutely free from fault and possessing all human and divine virtues," and to present Him in this manner by a succession of scenes and actions covering the entire range of human life so that His life from the Manger to the Cross should be one consistent harmonious whole is a work so stupendous that no writer had ever before been found to attempt it in

any writing of which we have any knowledge. But that *four* such writers should undertake to present to our view the same Person and to depict His character by the self-same method by setting out his very words and acts and to delineate the scenes and actions in orderly sequence with such marvelous success that we behold the same consistent and harmonious character in each description is certainly outside the limits of human ingenuity, and as it has been most truly said, "it is easier to believe the one original to have existed as the common source of the likeness than that the likeness should exist without the original." That Christ, the unquestionable founder of the Christian religion, was really just such a person as the records describe Him may be concluded from the records themselves by whomsoever written. It is the evidence presented in these records we are asked to believe, and unless we demand a greater degree of evidence than is sufficient to satisfy all *legal* requirements in matters of everyday life we cannot impeach the testimony presented in the sacred narrative.

Faith is not simply blind credulity, but it is a process of reasoning which reaches a conclusion through natural induction from what seem to the believer to be well-attested facts.

In this matter of belief in the Gospel narrative we do not think that anything has been taken for granted. We have considered the Gospel story with what has been offered as a substitute and we have staked our highest welfare, present and future, temporal and eternal, upon these issues of faith, after carefully weighing them in the balance of Reason.

Christianity exists—that is evident; and to account for Christianity apart from the personality of Jesus Christ is to conceive of a machine without a maker; of a house without a builder; a foundation without a founder; and we can have no conception of this maker, this builder, this founder outside of the sacred narrative in which we find Jesus Christ, the God-man, portrayed. Christianity leads

to the Book, and the Book points to Christ, not a mere "teacher from God," but God in man made manifest. The Christ of the Gospels is neither, as has been said, a "Greek myth," nor yet by others a "Hebrew legend," but He is a real personality, the true revelation of God, yea "Very God of Very God."

Quite a considerable amount of so-called independent investigation has taken place, but unfortunately such investigations are not impartial; there is always a "bias on one side or another." When a person sets out to make an original investigation, he is likely to carry to his work certain prejudices against that which is old. These independent investigators are influenced by a great many things—the love of novelty, the love of singularity, the hankering after the merit of originality the ambition to be considered an independent thinker, the desire for notoriety, the notion that in diverging from common ways of thinking, a claim to intellectual superiority to other people is thereby established. Motives of this kind operate to produce a very powerful disturbing effect and to exert an influence adverse to the old, and favorable to all kinds of divergencies from it. Like the Athenians of old they spend their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing. In the consideration of any subject we are led away many times by the thoughts of others; we become in a great measure merely echoes; a chance acquaintance, a stray book, a magazine article, and then—why, the old faith is cast overboard; the chart is lost; and we drift with the current, we know not where and we do not seem to care.

But must we necessarily slip our moorings and drift? Is there no standard of truth in matters of such vital importance?

We think there is. There has been a pivotal fact in the history of the world from which all events seem to radiate. What is that great fact? The universal answer is the birth of Jesus Christ, and the foundation of His Church.

When the "fullness of the time" had

come there came into this world of ours a being Who was to exert a great effect upon the affairs of men. This is not a religious dogma, but an historical fact in which to-day all reasonable men acquiesce. The country in which Jesus was born was not great; the age in which He lived was not—outside of His own birth—particularly noted; there were no special circumstances attending His birth which would indicate that the Babe of Bethlehem would develop in wisdom and stature more than any other children; and yet He caused a great change to take place in the manners and customs of the world, and His teaching is still far in advance of the greatest thoughts, the greatest wisdom, the greatest culture of this present twentieth century. These are facts and they must be accounted for. There must have been something in the little Babe of Bethlehem profoundly different from others to have produced in the world such an effect, an effect which is not a matter of faith, but of sight.

And the Creeds of Christendom alone account for the great change which the birth of Jesus produced.

We say that the Creeds of Christendom *alone* account for all of this. We mean that to no other facts than those set forth in the Creeds can we attribute the changes which have taken place in the moral, social and political world as it existed 1,900 years ago and as that world exists to-day.

"Creeds do not precede Faith. They presuppose it." The Creeds, therefore, simply mark out the great truths which the Church believes are taught in the Holy Scriptures, and these Creeds as we have them to-day have stood the test of time and criticism, and embody the results of the great doctrinal controversies which were settled by the Councils of Nicæa (325), Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431), Chalcedon (451), hundreds of years ago, and it is to these statements of the whole body of the Church we turn for enlightenment on all matters of doctrine.

It is in these Creeds we learn that

Christ was both God and man in one single personality. "*Qui conceptus est de Spiritu sancto, Natus ex Maria Virgine.*" And indeed it is clear that were it otherwise His sufferings and death would not avail for our redemption. A merely human person could not suffice to make the atonement of any value, and on the other hand a human nature was needed in order that physical suffering and physical death might be possible.

What Jesus of Nazareth was as a person and as a teacher has ever been considered a standing proof that He was indeed the "Sent of God." He was the manifestation of Divine love.

It is true that there are those who would account for the life and character of Jesus as presented to us in the New Testament as "due to the imagination of the Evangelists under whose hands a variety of floating legends and myths respecting a person claiming to be the Messiah grew and took form as the Gospels." But such a thing is a physical impossibility, as we have shown. There are others who claim that "while the Gospels present Christ's life and teaching to a considerable extent as they really were, yet He was formed to that life and teaching simply by His own natural character and the influences of His social condition." The absurdity of this is self-apparent.

It is only necessary to carefully survey the circumstances in which Christ appeared, and to open our minds fully to all that He was and taught in order to see how insufficient are such methods of accounting for a character and a life so unique.

The life of Jesus shines out from the pages of the Gospel and any one can tell by simply looking at that story that it is genuine and not an invention. We might as well say that the sun was invented and set blazing in the firmament by four men who knew nothing about light and heat as to say that Matthew, Mark, Luke and John invented that life of Jesus Christ and set it up for the whole world to gaze

upon. No, the life of Jesus Christ as given us in the Gospels stands forth clearly and vividly with all the transparency of truth, in every word which describes that life from Bethlehem to Calvary.

"Christianity has always rested and will rest always upon the historic facts of Scripture—above all upon the life of Christ." Now the Creeds have simply embodied in their teaching the words of Scripture, and when we say that Jesus Christ was "conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary" we say no more, no less, than Scripture sets forth, and we cannot doubt the Virgin Birth as taught in the Creeds without doubting the Scripture account of that birth, and thereby setting aside the whole record.

"The Incarnation of the Son of God, the conjunction of the Divine and the Human, is the mystery or mysteries, the wonder of heaven and earth, each alike astonished at the union of both, the one everlasting miracle of divine power and love."

The Incarnation is the basis of all Christian dogma, and the Virgin Birth cannot be separated from that fact without doing violence to the sacred narrative and to the teaching of the early Fathers of the Church respecting this great doctrine. They stand or fall together, and upon whether they stand or fall depends the stability of the Christian religion.

"Truth is mighty and must prevail," and that the religion of the Nazarene stands to-day is because its rock-bed foundation was *Truth*.

The Incarnation while it is as stated a great mystery, yet to a certain extent it was only the logical outcome of the fiat of God when He said: "Let us make man in our own image." Man came and for years struggled and waited for a more perfect revelation of the image. Man realized that at his best he was far from being such a creature as God intended he should be, there was a yearning after a pattern which would present the perfect ideal of personality and that came

to pass when God became Incarnate, when the Word was made Flesh.

The believer has this satisfaction, that above the Babel of doubt and confusion he can see the need of the Incarnation and he can place absolute confidence in the historical reality of the Virgin Birth, for in faith in these facts he finds the only true solution of the problems of life.

We recognize that we are truly treading upon Holy Ground when we attempt even most reverently to give expression to our belief in that much of the mystery which God has been pleased to reveal to us. What does the Gospel tell us?

St. Matthew says (R. V., I., 22, 23, 24, 25): "Now all this is come to pass that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet, saying, Behold the virgin shall be with child and shall bring forth a son and they shall call his name Immanuel which is, being interpreted, God with us. And Joseph arose from his sleep and did as the angel of the Lord commanded him and took unto him his wife: *And knew her not* till she had brought forth a son; and he called his name Jesus."

The passage quoted by St. Matthew is found, as is well known, in Isaiah (VII., 14) and there had been a partial fulfillment of the prophecy near the time when it was uttered. The wicked king Ahaz alarmed at a threatened invasion of Judea was about to apply to the Assyrians for assistance. Isaiah was sent to him by the Lord to command him to put his trust in God alone for deliverance and to ask of God a sign. Ahaz refused and God volunteered a sign by the prophet Isaiah, namely, that the young wife of Isaiah should bear a son and that before the child should know to refuse the evil and choose the good, *i. e.*, before he should come to years of discretion, the hostile kings whom Ahaz feared should both perish. But the prophecy of Isaiah was couched in language the literal fulfillment of which could and did happen only in the Incarnation of the Eternal Son of God.

The Son of God was not incarnate simply that Isaiah should be made a true prophet, but that by the prophecy, which had been made 740 years before agreeing with the event, men should believe that Jesus was sent from God.

It is true that the Hebrew word "Almah" which means "Virgin" has other meanings besides that of an unmarried woman who has preserved the purity of her body, but in the record of our Lord's birth it can only mean that a "maiden should without the natural agency of any human father whatever become the mother of One who was at once the Babe of her bosom and the God of her immortality." (Macleary, III., 99.)

Bishop Satterlee (*New Testament Churchmanship*, p. 40) says, "during the period of His youth and early manhood, our Lord has set an example of filial duty to every child of human parents. Indeed all through the years that followed His visit to Jerusalem when He was twelve years of age we read that He went down to Nazareth and was subject unto them, and even up to the time when at the age of thirty He began His public ministry He appears to have been an inmate of that home at Nazareth; but where in the whole Gospels do we find Him revealing, by a single word, the ordinary human consciousness of being the son of a human parent?"

After the narrative given us in the Gospels of the Nativity there is nothing more said regarding the miraculous birth of Jesus; there was evidently no reason why it should be reiterated. The Church has firmly held from the beginning of its existence to the belief that Jesus Christ was conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary as set forth in these same Scriptures, which belief has been embodied in the Creeds which have become the symbols of the Faith of Christendom.

Keim in his *Jesus of Nazara* (II., p. 41), referring to the genealogies, says "they could only have been devised by their original authors in the belief that

Jesus was Joseph's son," and from this fact he attempts to discredit the story of the Miraculous Conception; but this argument is well answered by E. Griffith Jones in his *The Ascent Through Christ*, (pp. 256 *et seq.*), where also the relation between the doctrine of the Incarnation and the fact of the Virgin Birth is treated most thoroughly and convincingly to show that the birth of Christ should have taken place in the way the Scriptures record it and in no other.

As soon as we deny the physical fact of the Virgin Birth we nullify the truth for which it stands, or else we try to devise a garbled theory of the Incarnation which is far from satisfying the demands of either our minds or our hearts, whereas, on the other hand, as soon as we accept the fact of the Miraculous Conception the Incarnation has its full meaning—the "Word became Flesh and dwelt among us and we beheld His glory—the glory of the only-begotten of the Father full of grace and truth."

Why, let us ask, should there be such a strong desire to put a strange and unusual construction upon the very words of the Scripture? If Jesus, the Son of Mary, was simply of the seed of Abraham through Joseph, the Husband of Mary, why was the Apostle particular in stating that Joseph as soon as he perceived Mary's condition was minded to put her away privily and not to make a public example of her. This fact is stated by St. Matthew with careful directness, and the words must be taken as meaning what they imply, and nothing else.

Joseph knew his espoused wife, the Blessed Virgin, to be a pious and pure maiden, and was perplexed. She had been absent on a visit to her cousin Elizabeth for three months and it was not until her return that Joseph noticed her condition and was minded to divorce her privately. But in the midst of his thought he has a dream in which the angel of the Lord appeared unto him and he is told to "Fear not to take Mary unto him as wife, for," said the angel, "that which is

conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost." This is certainly not an ambiguous statement.

If we suggest then that the Blessed Virgin Mary was physically with child through coition with Joseph her espoused husband, and that the only miracle was the entrance of God by means of the Holy Spirit into the "cup of clay," we ignore the positive statements of the Evangelists; we discredit the sincerity of Joseph's thoughts and actions; and we cast a doubt, not only upon the whole story of the Nativity, but upon the Atonement as well.

Some people say: "How much simpler your Christianity would be if you were to leave all miracles out of your Creed." These persons are willing to admit that Jesus was a good man. They even go further and say He was the best Man that ever lived, the pattern and example of humanity for all time. "But," they say, "do n't ask us to believe that He was God—that He was born of a Virgin through the intervention of a so-called Holy Spirit."

But stop! If Jesus was only a man then He could not be called a good man, because He claimed to be that which He was not.

As Dr. George P. Fisher says, "the supernatural claims of Jesus are identified with the excellence of His character. Both stand or fall together." We are justified in putting our trust in Him on account of His goodness which surpasses all that we could conceive. We know that one whose character was so irreproachable could not be deceived, and His testimony concerning Himself is worthy of all credence. "To this end," He said, "was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. He that is of the truth heareth my voice." This is His testimony respecting Himself. He was the Truth. It was for it He lived, and for it He suffered and died, and that falsehood had any share whatever in His Character would be contrary to all that is reasonable in law or in morals.

Whenever these matters are discussed we are met with the question: "Is not this a progressive age, are not the times peculiar, are not certain modifications of your Creeds needed in order to keep abreast of advancing civilization, the advanced thought and the progressive culture of the times?" We may make bold to answer that this is assuredly a progressive age and we glory in its advanced thought and culture and in everything which the age has produced for the betterment of the race and for the promotion of man's highest welfare.

But there is a limit to this epidemic of change. Some things remain unchanged. Human nature is still the same to-day as it ever has been. The heart of man is still selfish and sinful—it is still at enmity against God, and this same human nature can be satisfied to-day in no other way than by the old Gospel which the Apostles and the early Fathers of the Church preached.

That the enemies of the Christian faith should misrepresent and pervert its teachings and attempt to discredit the fundamental truths upon which that faith is based and to undermine its influence in every conceivable manner is not strange, and if this open hostility were all it would be reason for congratulation, but unfortunately there are traitors in the very household, and the faith has been attacked many times by those who were its professed friends and pledged to its defense. These friends (?) under the plea of liberality and broadmindedness have tried to rob the faith of all that is dear to the hearts of the believers. They hold out for our acceptance a stone instead of bread, a corpse instead of life, a mess of pottage for a birthright; and when we consider what they would offer us for the "faith once delivered to the Saints," we are fain to cry out as did Mary at the Sepulcher, "They have taken away my Lord."

If we are to have a religion worth anything at all we must not take from it one jot or one tittle of all that is supernatural

or miraculous in its origin and its development, because religion is the tie which binds men to God, and it must therefore present to men something to show its divine origin—there must necessarily be in it elements above and beyond the limitations of earth.

But why speak of the natural and supernatural in regard to a matter in which we believe that God has given to man a positive revelation? Even without this revelation can the most learned explain for us the distinction between the natural and the supernatural? We may be able to find an academic definition of the two words, but these definitions are again limited by our meager knowledge.

Let us cease trying to measure eternal things with a yard-stick.

Let us cease trying to deceive ourselves into thinking that we can live on husks. Let us be as honest in these spiritual matters as we are or try to be in the temporal affairs of life. Let not the barriers of our spiritual life and de-

velopment be of our own making. As rational beings we cannot help but believe in God, and if we believe in God let us also believe in Jesus Christ; and if we believe in Jesus Christ, let us believe in the record of His condescension in becoming man for us and for our salvation. All Holy Scripture has been written for our learning and there is only one thing open to us—that is to accept the record of this life of God on earth as given us by God's grace in the Gospels, and like Thomas, the Doubter, to appropriate this same Jesus as our Lord and our God. Then we need no alternatives, no compromises, but with belief in the Virgin Birth will go belief in the Virgin life, and in the calm possession of a faith which has been handed down to us from the days of the Apostles we may feel secure, not only in our present life, but in that life to come when we shall see not through a glass darkly, but face to face.

WILLIAM R. BUSHBY.

Washington, D. C.

CONCERNING THOSE WHO WORK.

BY MAYNARD BUTLER,

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ONE OF the most interesting compilations to the student of political economy in its broadest sense and most liberal application, is the collection issued by the German Department of Labor, of the replies of forty-six of the most populous, and, industrially, the most important cities in the Empire, as to the ways and means taken by them to provide work in the winter months for the unemployed workingmen and—in a few cases—women.

This collection, which grew out of the realization of the increasing pressure of the socialistic problems involved in the spectacle of so and so many thousands of respectable men thrown out of work

every year through no fault of their own was systematically begun in 1903.

It was obtained by addressing a series of tabulated questions to the Mayors and Councillors of fifty-seven cities of the Empire, and by the detailed replies of the said forty-six of that number; the remaining eleven having either never yet undertaken "Necessity-Employment," as it is called in the German language, or having, like the town of Solingen, long since done away with the need of it by the sensible and generous administration of the managers of its important steel works.

Among the forty-six cities are Aix-la-Chapelle, Barmen, Breslau, Charlotten-

burg, Frankfort, Cologne, Darmstadt, Dresden, Hamburg, Leipzig, Munich, Nuremberg, Strassbourg, and Worms, which represent either specific industries, as Barmen and Cologne; or various industries characteristic of and in a measure confined to their part of Germany, as Leipzig and Breslau; or commercial enterprises of different kinds, as Frankfort, the banking and brokerage center, and Hamburg, the shipping center.

The formula submitted to the fifty-seven Mayors was as follows:

1. In what year did you last organize "Necessity-Employment"?

2. Of what nature was the employment? (*i. e.*, whether masonry in public buildings, digging in public grounds, office-work, etc., etc.)

3. What were the conditions under which you admitted workmen to the "Necessity-Employment"?

(a) Did you admit *only* married men and women, or those who had others to support?

(b) From what age upward?

(c) Did you stipulate that they must be citizens of your town, or at least resident there?

(d) Did you admit persons who were already receiving a measure of support from the poor fund?

4. Did you pay for the work by the day, or did you also pay by the piece?

5. How many hours per day did you call a day's work?

6. Did the city provide the food for the workers, wholly or partially? If partially, was it breakfast and luncheon? And was either, or were both entirely free, or did the workmen pay a trifle?

7. What were the entire expenses of the city during the year named?

To these questions the answers were, in the main, alike; but in the particulars in which they differed, the difference was very marked.

Aix-la-Chapelle, replying for the winter of 1902-1903, stipulates that, as a rule, only men who have lived in the town for

two years shall be employed; a stipulation that would appear to defeat the very end and aim of "Necessity-Employment," since just the men who have lived the shortest time in a town are the men most likely to be in sudden need of work. Aix furthermore adds to its severity by decreeing that the payment of the wages take place only once a week. That is, a man begins, say, on Wednesday morning, and the wages are paid Saturday afternoon. In the meantime what are his starving family, what is he, himself, to do for food until Saturday night? Aix also precludes the young workman—which is, perhaps, not a bad idea—unless he lives with his parents: that is, a young man under twenty, who contributes to the support of the family, may be employed, but a boy of sixteen, save under very exceptional circumstances, may not apply for work. The preference is given to the old and enfeebled workmen, who are already in receipt of a measure of assistance from the public funds.

The work itself consisted in that winter, 1902-1903, of sawing, splitting and piling wood in the city's wood-yards.

The city of Cologne differs from Aix-la-Chapelle in the kind of labor offered, which is stone-breaking, and in the fact that only members of the *German Empire*, and only *subscribers to Cologne's Old-Age-Pension-Society* shall be received as applicants for "Necessity-Employment"! Stipulations which excite one's risibles, but which are not quite so absurd as they at first appear, since almost every German town has its Old-Age-Pension-Society, which is a kind of Savings Bank for the Poor. But Cologne is evidently bent upon making it as difficult as possible for a man to obtain the work, and all the conditions accompanying it are marked by a spirit of pettiness and grudging hardness not flattering to the rich, Rhine-swept town. After supporters of families, who come first, and after men who have no homes and no relations, who come next, if superfluous work remains, young persons who have

"completed their sixteenth year" may have it given them to do, if they have lived "at least one year in Cologne"! As just the young man or boy who had come from a distance would be the workman most likely to be in need,—the farmer's boy who had come from the province, the young clerk who had not yet secured a position—the stipulation amounts to a prohibition.

But Cologne goes further: it prescribes that even the "supporter of a family" who applies for work shall be able to show, first, a paper testifying to the fact that he is a workman; secondly, the receipt for his subscription to the just-mentioned Old-Age-Pension-Society; thirdly, a paper setting forth the date of his dismissal by his former employer; fourthly, a certificate—distinct from the other!—testifying to the exact date on which he paid the last subscription to the said Old-Age-Pension-Society!

These eminently German, and in the connection eminently ridiculous pedantries, show better than volumes of explanation could how far, how very far, behind in the refinements of education, in the *humane instincts*, is the middle-class German citizen; how impervious to appreciation of the complexities of modern civilization, which constantly cause distress and bitter need to thousands of men and women every winter of their lives. These human brothers and sisters of the stout wine-and-beer-drinking, well-fed, selfish, material shop-keepers and hotel-keepers of the Cologne *bourgeoisie*, who may never have had ten pfennig over their daily needs in all their lives; to whom a "karte" in the Old-Age-Pension-Society, with all its abundant initial expenses and annual dues, would be as unattainable as a banking-account. How rarely would a man who had all such financial details and all the appurtenances of a life of comfort, in such extreme apple-pie order, be in desperate need of work! And "Necessity" work is just for those who have *not* all those pedantries vouched for.

Cologne furthermore stipulates that a man, having gone through all the just-mentioned preliminaries in order merely to be enrolled as seeking work—and fancy a hungry, heart-sick, middle-aged, self-respecting mechanic being tortured with such details—must then, in case the noble city of Cologne *permits* him to work, spend *three days* in so-called "lessons" in the art of breaking stones! A stonemason, let us say, through misfortune and illness, or through any other of the hundred accidents that may throw such a man out of employment, after tramping about, unable to pay carfare and refused by one insolent, domineering petty-official after another, finally is forced to apply at the "Necessity-Labor-Bureau," and having satisfied those equally domineering and more insolent petty-officials in all the aforesaid ramifications, is set down to "lessons in stone-breaking"!

Is it a wonder that Germany, from north to south, is one seething hot-bed of ultra-Socialism; that the heart of the German workman burns to assert its manhood, its part in the land, the air and the fruits of the earth?

But, as if to make the humiliation more galling, no "notice" of dismissal from the work is allowed; that is, the munificent city of Cologne reserves to itself the right to cast a man out, without a reason given, without appeal, and without a penny of pay over the day, or portion of a day, when, perchance, a brutal overseer chooses to make it impossible for him to remain. Also, lest an intelligent, quick or skilful man should get a little "ahead," Cologne stipulates that no workman *may* earn more than 87½ cents a day. In other words, in Cologne the workman in the "Necessity-Employment" department *may not* earn as much as he *can*.

The labor is called day-labor, and—in rare cases—piece-work; but the pay, as before mentioned, is doled out once a week, with the express stipulation that "no advance" of any portion of the weekly wage will, under any circumstances, be made—"Vorschuss wird nicht gewährt."

A glance at the regulations in the city of Darmstadt reveals the general drift of the conditions to be the same as in Cologne, but the kind of work offered embraces a larger number of occupations. These are chiefly digging canals, laying walls for city buildings, and again stone-breaking. The wages vary from the highest, about $5\frac{1}{2}$ cents, to the lowest, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents, per hour. That is, a man in Darmstadt, if he works eight full hours a day, can earn, at the utmost, 46 cents a day. Multiply this by six days, and he earns about \$2.76 per week. On this sum a family of four, sometimes, in prolific Germany, of six, must exist during the months of November, December, January, February and March. It is horrible.

Darmstadt also requires the stone-breaking workers to pay for the "*Schutz-Brillen*," or spectacles for the protection of the eyes, at the rate of about 11 cents per pair; so, if a man earns, say the largest of the above-mentioned sums per hour, he has to work nearly two hours the first day for nothing. The city of Darmstadt therefore "makes" out of every stone-breaker in the "Necessity-Employment" two hours of his and his family's body and soul hunger, during the bitter winter months.

Darmstadt, also, like Cologne, pays the wages weekly.

The only city, so far as careful scrutiny of this Report of the Statistical Bureau of the German Empire shows, which appears to recognize the possibility of humane consideration in the treatment of applicants for "Necessity-Employment," is Frankfort. In that great commercial center the Mayor and his Councillors during many sessions and many discussions, evidently, honestly and honorably endeavored to prepare a valuable opportunity for the laborer, and to do so in a manner consistent with Frankfort's enormous prosperity. It pays daily; it offers him real work,—not only the convict's stone-breaking, or the school-boy's wood-sawing; he is to plant trees in the public

parks, help in the laying of the walls of public buildings, and even office-work is under consideration. Also, if a man by transgressing a rule or neglecting a regulation, should be dismissed, he is given another chance in that he is allowed to work in the Alms-Houses.

Frankfort especially recommends separation of the "Necessity-Laborer" from the alms-receiver, and suggests that the method should be accentuated in every city.

Thirty-nine cities give employment in road-making, tree-planting, canal-digging, water-pipe-laying, gravel-hauling and strewing, and snow-shovelling; twenty-five, in stone-breaking; one, in street-paving; five, in masonry; eleven, in street-sweeping and ice-breaking; two, in forestry work,—that is, tree-planting and watering, in public grounds; three, in wood-sawing and splitting; one, in braiding mats; and one, in office-work.

The city which has tried office-work—Stuttgart—expresses itself as pleased with the experiment, and points out that it has the double merit of giving many a deserving young man a chance to tide over a hard time, and of costing the city nothing in materials or tools.

One or two facts in regard to the variation in wages are incidentally mentioned in the Report, namely, that in Berlin, during the ten years of 1885 to 1895, the average wage of a stone-mason moved from 20 pfennig, or about $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents, to 25 pfennig, or about $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents, per hour; but, unhappily, the higher wage applies to 1885, so that the average in Berlin has sunk during those ten years. The highest wage ever paid was 96 pfennig, or not quite 25 cents, per hour.

Another work, interesting to the student of methods for the welfare of the working classes, is a pamphlet recently published by the Commissioners acting in the name of the Organization for the Benefit of Laborers, called *An Investigation into the System of Wages in the Iron Industry of the German Portions of South-West Luxembourg*; which the author

divides into the Iron-Mining Works of Lorraine, and the Machine-Works and Small-Iron-Manufactories of Alsatia. In his introduction, which sounds something like a warning, the author, Herr Otto Bossmann, quoting from Professor Schmoller, reminds Germans of the political-economic axiom, that production is based upon need, and need upon national and international intercourse; and that the last hour of Germany's prosperity in the iron industries would have sounded the moment her demand for arms, engines for commercial and war-ships, motors and the innumerable tools and forms of apparatus in daily and yearly use, ceased or diminished in perceptible degree. He institutes a comparison, in the need of iron in some form or other, of the inhabitants of Germany, per head, which shows the following rapid increase in the use of that ore since 1881, and the sudden and significant stoppage in the year 1901.

From 1861 to 1864 the consumption was at the rate of 25.2 kilo. to every individual German; in 1871 it was 33 kilo.; in 1890, 81.7 kilo.; in 1895, 105.1 kilo.; in 1900, 131.7 kilo.; but in 1901 it fell to 90.3 kilo.; and in 1902, to 76.6 kilo.; while in 1903 it rose again to 98.1 kilo. per head.

The cause of this amazing stoppage in the use of iron in the German Empire, and the complexities and uncertainties which, the author considers, are likely to beset it henceforth, have in the nature of the case altered the conditions of the miner and workman in manufactories; altered the demands which he feels himself entitled to make; altered the measure of independent action into which he finds himself forced by his own enlarged sphere of responsibility, and by the invitations which he receives to join the Socialistic unions growing up with amazing rapidity in every portion of the Empire.

Herr Bossmann lays strong emphasis on the fact, too often lost sight of by employés, that the price for which a manufacture is sold, and its value in exchange,

is *not* fixed by the *cost of producing it*, but by the *quantity in which it has to be produced*. In other words, the value of manufactures does not depend upon the length of time or the amount of labor expended upon them, but on the *proper distribution of the labor*.

The whole pamphlet, which is one of three compiled under the supervision of Professor Schmoller, Professor Francke, and other men of note, is full of striking comments and is eminently enlightening as to the iron industry of Alsace and Lorraine.

It has been said that no science, if it may as yet be called a science, is so contradictory as Political Economy; and certainly it would appear as if the deeper one dives into the problems of our modern civilization, the less clear one becomes as to the relations of causes to effects. This bewilderment was felt by more than one visitor to the exhibition of *Home-Industries*, held in Berlin, in the building of the Old Academy of Sciences. Among the innumerable articles made at home, which are badly, alas! how badly paid, were several which are normally, and in two or three cases, well paid; but these are not always articles of higher value, either to middleman or to shop-keeper, nor yet such as require skilled labor. For instance, for the manufacture of cheap silk ribbons in the neighborhood of Crefeld, workmen and workwomen receive from 36 to 40 pfennig per hour; while for fine silk stuffs, by the yard, they are paid in Crefeld itself only 17 to 19 pfennig per hour. Why?

Again, the coarser qualities of under-clothing pay the workers better than the finer qualities; and the same apparent discrepancy appears in the manufacture of shoes.

In the fabrication of beautiful articles in leather, the most complicated of which require delicate skill, acquired by years of practice, men are paid, in Offenbach, the center of that industry, at the rate of 23 pfennig, or not quite 6 cents an hour.

In Saxony women and girls weave

straw hats for not quite 2½ cents per hour; for fine pearl hat-passementeries, and for hats composed entirely of chiffon, they receive not quite 3½ cents per hour.

In the manufacture of toys, however, "grinding the face of the poor" attains its height. For *twelve dozen* doll's wardrobes *the workman is paid 12 pfennig*; and it takes *one family of three to four persons, four hours and a half* to produce

one dozen. That is, for twelve of these pretty little pieces of doll's furniture from *three to four people work more than half a day, for 2½ cents!*

Is it not time that the world awoke to the miseries of civilization and ceased to drain the blood of its brothers in cruelties such as these?

MAYNARD BUTLER.

Berlin, Prussia

POLYGAMY AND THE CONSTITUTION.

BY THEODORE SCHROEDER.

AS AN accompaniment to each of the half dozen or more attempts to secure statehood for Utah, there has been some discussion upon the desirability of so amending the Federal Constitution as to give Congress power to legislate upon the subject of polygamy and kindred offenses. Owing to a conviction in the minds of many that the Mormon leaders have broken their pledges concerning the cessation of polygamy and unlawful cohabitation, which pledges were made to secure Statehood and a return of the escheated church property, such an agitation has been revived.

The legislatures of New York and Iowa, one branch of the legislature of New Jersey, Democratic state conventions in Idaho, several general assemblies of the Presbyterian Church, the Interdenominational Council of Women, the National Congress of Mothers, and the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, have each demanded that the Constitution of the United States be so amended as to give Congress power to suppress polygamy. Thousands of petitions have been sent to Washington making the same demand, and resolutions to that end have been introduced in Congress, and numerous members have proclaimed their support.

Surely such an array of public sentiment

demand a careful investigation of the question raised.

Unfortunately the Mormons, who might naturally be expected to oppose such actions, are apparently forced into acquiescence with the demands of their enemies by the fear that their opposition will be construed as an admission of bad faith when they claim to have repudiated polygamy. Furthermore, their opposition would be taken by the country as an evidence of the necessity for the Constitutional Amendment. The final disposition of the case of Senator Smoot, of course, will not solve the Mormon problem. The immediate result will only be to intensify Mormon zealots, and to convince the anti-Mormon agitators that something more is needed, and in their distress, no doubt, they will redouble their efforts to secure a constitutional amendment as the only means of avenging the wrong to their disappointed reformatory intentions.

It is time therefore that the public be given some accurate information as to the past and present extent of Mormon polygamy. Such information will disillusionize many who believe that all Mormons are polygamists, as well as those who believe that Mormon polygamic families are a matter of purely ancient history.

In order that our perspective may be made a little more perfect, it is desirable that we indulge in a little retrospection concerning Mormon polygamy. The revelation authorizing and justifying it, as the same is now published, together with further esoteric doctrines upon the same subject, was by God delivered to Joseph Smith (so it is alleged) as early as 1831. Almost immediately after, the conduct of the "Saints" became such that their neighbors accused them of having their wives in common. Later, though the revelation had not yet been made public, the charge was changed to polygamy, and was one among many causes which led to the forcible expulsions of Mormons from both Missouri and Illinois. It is now admitted that the leaders generally began secretly to practice polygamy in 1841, though the revelation was not reduced to writing until 1843, nor made public until 1852. In spite of these facts, now admitted, the Mormon leaders persistently and deliberately lied about the existence of such a doctrine or practice during all the years from 1831 until 1852, and afterwards justified their falsehoods by putting the responsibility therefor upon God. This fact casts doubt upon the sincerity of their present professions.

Polygamy never had expressed legal sanction in Utah. The practice so far as statute law was concerned was permissive only through the absence of prohibitory criminal legislation. A Territorial statute against adultery was promptly repealed by a Mormon legislature when Gentile Territorial judges, appointed by the President, construed it to cover sexual relation between men and their polygamous wives. As a matter of religion polygamy was in one sense possible to all, though it was always a necessary pre-requisite to secure the permission of proper church authorities, whose consent could be had only if the applicant's church-standing was unquestioned, as evidenced by his obedience to "counsel" and a balanced tithing account. In this

aspect polygamy was an indulgence bought by tithes and servility. To the elect few it was a matter of duty to enter polygamy, without doing which they would lose their ecclesiastical preferments here, and part of their possible spiritual exaltation in the hereafter. Thus it came to be said that at least three wives were necessary to social respectability in Utah.

Under these conditions polygamy, as an institution, enjoyed years of unmolested growth both as to numbers and influence. The first anti-polygamy law passed by Congress became operative July, 1862, but remained a dead letter upon the statute-books. The first effective anti-polygamy legislation was the Edmunds-Tucker Act of March, 1882. Under it, between 1882 and 1890, about 2,200 convictions for unlawful cohabitation were secured in the Territorial courts. Polygamy (the ceremony by which added wives were acquired) was a different offense, and owing to Mormon perjury could seldom be proven. Only a half dozen convictions were ever secured on a charge of polygamy. Unlawful cohabitation consisted of living in the habit and repute of marriage with more than one woman. This charge was more easy of proof, hence most prosecutions were under that part of the act.

The Mormon population of Utah in 1866 was estimated at 60,000. In that population the proportion of plural marriages was believed from evidence taken in that year by a committee of Congress to have been "not less" than one-third of the whole number of married males. Senator Dubois of Idaho, then delegate from that Territory, asserted in 1889 before the Committee on Territories of the House of Representatives, that in his opinion one third of the adult Mormons of Idaho were living in polygamous relation. None of the Mormon representatives present at that hearing took issue with this conclusion, notwithstanding which fact, the latter estimate, at this remoteness, seems a little extravagant for 1889.

The Edmunds-Tucker act went into effect March, 1882, and for the first time made effective the anti-polygamy legislation of Congress. Under this act all persons living in polygamy were disfranchised, and eminent gentlemen from outside the Territory were appointed commissioners to conduct elections in Utah. According to their report of November 17, 1882, the effect of the disfranchisement of polygamists was to exclude from the registration list about 12,000 voters, men and women. This, however, did not represent the total number actually living in polygamy. The naturalized voters of Utah at that time were a third more numerous than the native-born, according to the statistics of the Utah Commission. With so large a foreign population there must of necessity have been thousands of unnaturalized foreigners residing there, most of whom would be Mormons, and many living in polygamous relations. These, of course, would not appear as disfranchised by the new law, and therefore would not be shown as having their names dropped from the registration list. This is true also of a considerable number of minors living in polygamy. The Mormons have always been strong advocates of early marriage. During the worst days of Utah, it was not uncommon to find some ecclesiastically exalted Mormon priest with a girl-child fourteen or fifteen years of age as one of his polygamous wives. Gentile agitation had somewhat improved this condition by 1882, notwithstanding which there would still be many polygamous wives too young to vote, under the woman's suffrage provision of Territorial laws. The report of the Commission takes no account of a third class. Elections in Utah were very one-sided in those days. The church-party had everything its own way. Of the votes cast in the election of August, 1882, even after the disfranchisement of polygamists, the Mormon candidate for delegate to Congress received 79 per cent. Under these circumstances we can readily understand

that very many Mormons, and among them the usual percentage of polygamists, would not be registered at all, and, therefore, would not be excluded from the registration lists and would not be included in the 12,000 polygamists spoken of by the commission.

These three classes of polygamists not included in the 12,000, who were dropped from the registration list, probably would bring the total of persons living in polygamous relations up to 15,000 in 1882. There is no public record from which we can judge the average number of wives to each man polygamist. Some, of course, had but two. It used to be said that one must have three to be wholly acceptable in respectable society, and the biography of apostle Heber C. Kimball credits him with forty-five wives, whom he lovingly designated as "cows."

It is the consensus of observers that four wives for each polygamous household would be nearly an average in 1880, perhaps a fraction too high for later dates. Some people very well-informed have estimated the average as low as three. With 15,000 men and women in the status of polygamy, and averaging between three and four wives to each family, would make the number of polygamous families in Utah range between 3,000 and 3,700.

Early in the sixties, a Congressional Committee, after extended investigation, estimated the total number of polygamous families at 3,500. In the seventies, Mormon authorities estimated the number at 3,000 families. The margin of variance between these estimates, made by different persons, by different methods, and accompanied by different motives, is so small as to leave little room for doubt that in 1880 and the years immediately following the number of polygamous Mormon families in Utah was very near three thousand five hundred. In June, 1880, the white population of Utah was 142,381. Election returns then and since warrant the conclusion that 80 per cent., or 113,904, of that population were Mor-

mon. According to the best information obtainable, we conclude that in 1880 there were in Utah Territory 3,500 men living with 11,500 women in polygamous relation. The total population of Utah was 143,907. Total white population, 142,381. Total male population, 74,471. Total female population, 69,436.

At the present writing there are two sources of information as to the number of polygamous families in recent years. Just prior to the late unpleasantness which resulted in the exclusion of the polygamous Congressman B. H. Roberts of Utah, the clergy of the Christian churches made as careful a canvass as they could, with the resulting conclusion that there were 2,000 polygamous families in Utah "living their religion." A little later the Mormon church organ denied the accuracy of that canvass, but admitted the existence of 1,600 such families. Here we may assume an average of the hostile and the friendly estimate to be quite close to the real truth.

The net product of all this, that while the Mormons of Utah have, since 1866, probably increased three-fold, the number of polygamous families has decreased from about 3,500 to about 1,800. What is true of Mormons in Utah is equally true of those in the adjoining states. Senator Smoot of Utah recently stated that in 1902 the number of polygamous families had diminished to 897, and in 1903 to 647, and no one has disputed his figures.

The same decline is found in the maximum number of wives per family. "The Prophet" Joseph Smith is estimated to have had eighty wives sealed to him by Mormon rites and with whom he maintained marital relations. The late "Apostle" Heber C. Kimball modestly admitted to having forty-five. Between 1850 and 1880, scores of men could claim "exaltation" through from ten to twenty living wives. In recent years no one, so far as the author knows, has been even suspected of having ten living wives. The size of polygamous families, therefore,

discloses almost as great a decline as is found in the number of such families.

If these were all the facts involved in determining upon the necessity for an anti-polygamy amendment to the Federal Constitution, the matter would quickly be decided against such an amendment, because it would seem that the institution of polygamy was fast becoming extinct.

The additional facts involved are those inferred from the violation by Mormon leaders of their sacred honor, pledged not only to cease consummating new marriages, but also to discountenance and discontinue polygamous marital relations already entered into. When, in 1890, the Mormon church adopted its "manifesto" "suspending" polygamy, most people thought the problem solved. The Mormons, through their delegate to Congress, through their representatives before Congressional Committees, through their "apostles" petitioned for a general amnesty from the President, through their legislative resolutions and enactments, and through sworn interpretations of the manifesto of 1890 made by the very "mouthpieces of God," gave specific, unequivocal and most solemn assurance that neither polygamy or unlawful cohabitation would be countenanced by the church or its leaders, nor by the laws of Utah or by a Mormon public sentiment precluding their enforcement.

The escheated church-property being returned to their possession, and Utah's statehood being an accomplished fact, this "saintly" horde boldly removed its mask of seeming compliance, and entered upon its programme of aggressive warfare in favor of polygamy. First, Brigham H. Roberts, a polygamist, was sent to Congress in the face of undenied public charges that he was, in violation of law and Mormon pledges, continuing his unlawful cohabitation. This was naturally followed by a general justification of such conduct. Not one single Mormon in good standing has ever been found to plead publicly for an honest keeping of the most solemn pledges made against

unlawful cohabitation between those who became polygamists prior to 1890. A very few Mormons have upon considerations of expediency alone opposed the passage of a law which would make prosecutions for unlawful cohabitation and polygamy practically impossible, but all without a single exception justify the violation of all pledges and existing laws against unlawful cohabitation. Already a few justify the repudiation of all pledges because, as they contend, all were improperly exacted under conditions amounting practically to duress. Anti-Mormons are asking: "How long will it be before such moral perversity will induce every Mormon to justify a violation of the pledges and laws against the taking of new polygamous wives?" It is feared only until the leaders see fit to command their slavish following to do so.

That there exists a reactionary force within the church, through whose influence some new polygamous marriages have been, since 1890, secretly solemnized and publicly denied, is established by the best possible circumstantial evidence and even admitted by some Mormons. That since statehood this increase in polygamists has been as rapid as the decrease by deaths, no one outside the church can assert upon any evidence discoverable to the public. Unless the increase of polygamists is now, or is likely to become, equal to the death-rate among polygamists, then it is apparent that the system will die soon, even without the aid of Federal legislation, and ninety millions of people will not be disposed to give up their right of local self-government over the marriage relation merely to hasten the certain death of an institution which involves directly less than 1,000 families.

The condition precedent to a very serious consideration of the demand for an anti-polygamy amendment to the Federal Constitution briefly stated is this: First, competent evidence, sufficient to make a *prima facie* case, that new polygamous marriages are being solemnized by

the Mormon leaders. This is easy, since very few sporadic cases are admitted. Second, the proponents of this amendment must establish a probability that those marriages are likely to increase the number of those living in polygamous relation at least as fast as the death rate will decrease it. It is not enough to prove a half-dozen new polygamous marriages since 1890, a period of sixteen years. There should be *prima facie* evidence tending to show a general revival of polygamous marriages, at least to such an extent as to make the perpetuity of polygamy a real menace.

There is another reason why this amendment should not be adopted. The mere matter of giving Congress power to legislate upon marriage, or polygamy, or adultery, would be absolutely useless. To prove this, we need but resort to the record of what was accomplished while Congress did have and exercised that power. The first national anti-polygamy law was passed in 1862, and the apparent desire and need for its enforcement continued until 1890, twenty-eight years. During that time there existed an average of 3,000 polygamous families, with an average, let us assume, of only three polygamous wives. It will be a fair estimate to say that at least two-thirds of these polygamous marriages were performed after 1862. In other words there must have been solemnized about 6,000 bigamous marriages, and 12,000 persons continuously, repeatedly and defiantly committing adultery, in spite of the prohibitory Congressional legislation. Making allowance for successive generations of persons living in this relation, the total number of the guilty must have been twice that number, or more. Out of that gross number, not to exceed a total of ten convictions were ever secured before 1890, against Mormons for either polygamy, bigamy or adultery. This amounts to a demonstration that Congressional enactments will be wholly impotent to reach these secret ceremonies and relations, unless the Fed-

eral judiciary is to be reduced to police courts, and take cognizance of minor offences, such as fornication, bastardy, and unlawful cohabitation. It was only for such minor offences that convictions were ever secured. The situation is not yet grave enough to require so extraordinary a remedy as depriving the States of the power over such police-magistrate affairs. In all probability the experiment would only prove over again, that the sociological theories of a sincere fanatic cannot be changed by force, and the effort to coerce him will only increase the frenzy of his fanaticism without enlightening his intellect. It is worth some serious thought whether in view of the foregoing statistics we are not making as much progress as reasonable men could expect.

If there has been, or shall ever be, any

flagrant violation of the anti-polygamy pledges upon which Statehood was secured and the escheated church-property returned to the Mormon church, Congress and the courts will find some effective remedy. It is quite likely that a resequestration of the church property, because the conditions have been violated upon which its return to the church was predicated, will be even more effective than threats of Constitutional amendments, because it affects the purse-strings of those "whose voice is the voice of God"—the leaders. This is a remedy easily applied and does not require the concurrence of state legislatures. If something is really necessary to be done now, why not attempt that first?

THEODORE SCHROEDER.

New York City.

CONSUMPTION OF WEALTH: INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE.

BY C. C. HITCHCOCK.

LIFE AND LABOR.

Here on a languid deck how tranquilly we float!
Seafaring now seems easy, thanks to—call it coal!—
Who blames us all for idling, on an idle boat?
Fools, stand and watch one moment in the stoker's
hole!

ARTHUR STRINGER.

On the planet Earth one problem rises incessantly before every being. Whether it is the monad moping about in the sea-slime, the miser conning his accumulations, the wild bird incubating her brood, the firefly kindling its twilight torch, or the lawyer lying about his client, the problem is the same. There is no other problem; for all other problems are fractions or inflections of this one. It is the relation of each individual to the rest of the universe.

J. HOWARD MOORE, in *Better World Philosophy*.

WE DEFINE wealth as the things provided or produced by the labor of man applied to land or the products of nature, comprising such things as are needful, or of service, to man

for his maintenance and development.* Each individual unit of society consumes wealth in the form of food, clothing, shelter, etc., while the collectivity demands wealth in certain forms which is used in common. It is the use of wealth by the individual, and by the social body as a whole, which we consider.

Let us first refer to the ownership and consumption of wealth by the individual.

It is obvious to all that there is a vast disparity in the amount of wealth which the various members of society have at their disposal. The average yearly wage of the individual workers of our country,

*The atmosphere, the soil, the mines, the forests, etc., are nature's products and belong by inherent right to the race collectively. The individual has a moral right to appropriate to his personal use only such values as he may have added to nature's gifts by his personal creative energy.

according to government statistics, for 1900, was \$439.09,—less than \$1.50 per day. These figures do not include the salaried official workers. Were the salaries of this class of producers added, the average income would be but slightly increased. There are, on the average, directly dependent on each worker 2.6 non-workers.

It is a matter of common knowledge that in every industrial center there are many families comprising father, mother, and several children, who of necessity, as industry is now organized, are obliged to subsist on an amount of wealth represented by a weekly income of \$7 to \$12. A larger income is received in case the children work, or as in many instances, the mother becomes a wage earner.

According to the Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of New York for 1892, the family income of the laboring class was, on the average, approximately \$750. The average family expenditure was as follows: For subsistence, \$377; clothing, \$136; rent, \$90; fuel, \$8; sundry expenses, including savings, \$113. The statistics for the State of Massachusetts correspond very closely with those for New York state.

Robert Hunter, in his book *Poverty*, states that there are ten million people in the United States whose command of wealth is so limited that they are either in, or on the verge of, poverty. The same authority also states that in New York city there are thousands of children who are sent to school either without breakfast, or so insufficiently nourished that they are not in a state of health to efficiently apply themselves to their tasks.

William B. Waudby, Special Agent of the United States Department of Labor, states that there are 1,750,000 children between the ages of ten and fifteen years employed in the mines and factories of the United States.

Unquestionably the laboring classes as a rule are not lavish in their consumption of wealth. It is a fact also, that the great majority of wealth-producers would

become destitute following a few months of enforced idleness.

As industry is now carried on, economic security to the individual can be had, if at all, only through the accumulation of a considerable amount of wealth. It is only by depriving himself of many desirable things, and to a considerable extent even of things necessary to a comfortable living, that the average laborer can accumulate sufficient wealth to attain a condition approaching security.

The fact is, we claim, that the standard of living for the laboring class is not as high as it should be. The workers are not as a class as well nourished, as well clothed, as well housed, or as well educated, as they should be. Many are not adequately protected from disease, or well cared for in sickness. They are deprived of the advantages of travel, and in large measure denied leisure for recreation and improvement.

Quite likely of the two evils which threaten the average wealth-producer to-day, that of a dependent old age, or a life of scanty subsistence, the latter in many cases should be considered the lesser evil. It is our contention, however, that with our facilities for wealth production, neither of these alternatives should exist.

We next refer to the consumption of wealth by the middle and upper classes.

In almost every community of a few thousand inhabitants, there are found families which consume wealth represented by \$5,000 to \$10,000 per annum; \$15 to \$25 per day and upwards. In the larger cities there are many thousands of families whose annual consumption of wealth is represented by \$200,000 to \$300,000; \$700 to \$1,000 and over daily; these amounts not including extraordinary expenses, such as refurnishing a house, or the purchase of automobiles, expenditure for yachts, or an additional mansion.

One of the New York "smart set," writing recently of their manner of life says, among other things, "that the aver-

age man in this class is expected to spend any amount varying from \$1,000 to \$5,000 a year for clothes, a woman from \$3,000 to \$10,000 not including jewels."

A multi-millionaire is building a house in New York city at a cost, it is said, of \$4,000,000. This expenditure by one individual for a home represents the labor of one man, if reckoned at \$4 per day, for three thousand three hundred years.

The income of one of our most prominent men is estimated to be \$50,000,000 per annum. It may be less than this amount and be equivalent to a daily income represented by a column of twenty-dollar gold-pieces placed one above the other, exceeding fifty feet in height.

We cannot dwell on the details of extreme poverty, with which we all are in some measure familiar, nor on the conditions surrounding the extremely wealthy. The manner of life of both classes is adequately set forth in prominent publications and current literature of the day,

Definite knowledge, however, on the part of the student regarding the material conditions, the life, and the thought of the various classes in society, is essential to a comprehensive understanding of our economic and sociological development.

We cannot form any correct estimate of the amount of poverty existing in our own country without being overwhelmed with the enormous extent of it, and of the suffering, the ignorance, intemperance, insanity and crime which it engenders.

We next briefly refer to what may fairly be considered abnormal conditions pertaining to our method of wealth distribution.

Under our modern system of production, the distribution of the product of labor remains a problem of no minor importance.

Government statistics for the year 1890 show that, at that time, one per cent. of the families of our nation received nearly one-fourth of the total income. From the same source it is ascertained that the wealthiest ten per cent. of our families receive about the same total in-

come as the remaining ninety per cent.; that one-eighth of the families receive more than one-half of the aggregate income, and the richest one per cent. receive a larger income than the poorest fifty per cent. It appears that a small class of wealthy property-owners receive, from property alone, as large an income as one-half the people receive from their investments and their labor.

The conditions depicted are facts of momentous import, and it may well be claimed that the practical solution of this problem of wealth distribution has become the task of the century.

That our argument may be made clear, let us define our use of the term wealth-producer.

From the point-of-view of the social economist, the terms worker, laborer, and wealth-producer, refer to the individual who produces wealth, or who contributes by his creative effort to the furnishing of the means of subsistence, or whose effort contributes to supplying the needs of an industrially well organized community.

The effort of a teacher does not add to the stock of things we eat or wear, or by which we are sheltered; the teacher does, however, devote his energies to the training of the young, and in thus preparing the rising generation for citizenship there is an expenditure of effort which commands universal approval, meeting as it does the requirements of every cultured society; and hence the teacher should be classed as a wealth-producer.

To those who have given but little thought to the production of wealth, it may appear that every individual who employs his time and energy in acquiring the means of subsistence is a wealth-producer. A very little reflection will convince the inquirer that this is not necessarily the case. A schemer is not a wealth-producer. To illustrate, a speculator buys stocks, a house, a farm, or a lot of grain; he sells for twice as much as he pays and makes, he says, \$1,000. His effort has not added any-

thing to the world's store of wealth. He is not a wealth-producer.

The merchant of to-day is to a considerable extent an exploiter of the community. Individual firms expend yearly all the way from a few hundred to many thousands of dollars in advertising. Some of the larger firms employ skilled and high-salaried writers of advertisements; illustrations are procured, type is set, presses are run, advertisements folded, addressed and distributed by a whole army of employ es who are not producers. They produce no wealth whatever. Not an ounce of food, not a yard of cloth exists which did not exist before. Nearly \$2,000,000 each day are expended in the United States in this way—\$600,000,000 per year,—energy wasted in strife among merchants and manufacturers to secure under the name of profit, wealth already created by other laborers. In many instances a larger amount of energy is expended in placing goods on the market than is expended in producing them. Note also the enormous amount of wealth consumed in the construction and maintenance of the vast armies and navies of the world, neither of which in the slightest degree is a factor in wealth production.

Waste—unproductive expenditure of energy—attending our present profit system is enormous. For want of space we hardly more than allude to it. The elimination of this unnecessary expense is the most pressing economic problem before the world to-day.

With this evil corrected, as it certainly will be, we have what? Socialism; in place of the competitive state we have the co perative commonwealth.

The observer will recognize that the small but very wealthy minority of our families, as a rule, contribute but little if anything to the world's store of wealth, while they consume enormous quantities of it. The rich minority occupy their time mainly either in consuming wealth, or in devising ways and means whereby they are able to secure the wealth created by others.

At this point let us ask a few pertinent questions, all of which call for adequate answer.

Why are we confronted with such extremes of wealth and poverty?

Why are many thousands of our laboring families deprived of a comfortable living, many in poverty even, while our storehouses are filled with goods?

Why do we at great cost expend large sums in opening foreign markets and in transporting merchandise to distant shores when there are so many willing workers at home whose wants are not reasonably well provided for?

Why are the few enabled to revel in wealth created mainly by others, while there are multitudes whose energies are freely expended in production who are permitted to consume but a small portion of their product?

To state the question a little differently: Why is it that those who create but little are enabled to consume much, while those who create much are allowed to consume but little?

The social economist answers these inquiries relating to the great disparity in wealth consumption by referring to our faulty, unscientific and unjust methods of wealth distribution. Tolstoi has in mind the cause of our social ills when he says: "The misery of the people is not caused by individuals, but by an order of society by which they are bound together in a way that puts them in the hands of a few."

What is this order of society to which he refers; this order of society which has dominated our civilization to such an extent that it has become a menace to our social health and advancement?

Briefly stated it is this: Capitalism; our profit system. It is the profit system which is the determining factor in the distribution to the laborer who creates wealth of one dollar and one half per day on an average, while by others who may produce nothing we see wealth appropriated in sums running up into millions in a single year.

The capitalistic order has decreed that inanimate capital shall practically compete with living tissue in the division of wealth which is created only by the brain and muscle of that portion of humanity which applies itself to production. Our statutes prescribe, in effect, that material wealth in the form of capital may for its possessor exact its pound of flesh from the toiler; that capital shall have the power of perpetual increase for the benefit of him who controls it, as against him who creates the wealth.

We repeat, because trained in capitalism as we are it is with difficulty we are enabled to see that capitalism is economic jugglery. Capital has, by law, been enthroned as though it were a wealth-producer, thereby relieving its possessor of personal effort in production. The individual possessing capital, and drawing wealth under the form of interest, rent, profit or dividend, is seen to be a parasite on that portion of humanity which exerts its energies in creating wealth. "Wealth, the product of toil, which should be completely subservient to man, has become enthroned so that it dominates and rules over the destinies of humanity. As McKenzie says: "'Things are in the saddle and ride mankind.'" In this expression the whole evil of our present condition is summed up."

The task of the century, we have intimated, is the establishment of a system of scientific economics,—a system which will provide for an equitable distribution of wealth; wealth to him who produces wealth.

It is claimed by sociologists that the well-being of any civilized nation is in direct ratio to the economic equality of her social units. The socialist concurs in this view, and indicates the only plan which will accomplish the end sought, *i. e.*, an equitable distribution of wealth. The method may be considered radical. It is unquestionably revolutionary. It is no less surely sensible, and when understood is seen to be eminently practical.

The work before us is the dethrone-

ment of capital; the annihilation of our present profit system which to-day dispossesses the creator of wealth of a large portion of his product. Wealth is to be produced primarily for consumption, not for profit as at present under capitalism. Profit is waste. We seek merely to eliminate waste.

The task is great, yet when the plan is understood it is seen to be a very simple one. It is the taking over to public ownership and control, land, and the machinery of production; that is, in addition to all natural resources, that portion of wealth which we find useful in the production of more wealth, and which we term capital. It is the establishment of a coöperative industrial society, whether under the name of socialism, socialist republic, coöperative commonwealth or some other term. It is the substitution, to the fullest extent, of the principle of coöperation in economics in the place of the competitive and destructive warfare which now prevails under capitalism.

Concisely stated, the task of humanity is to establish an order of society in which the able-bodied individual will not be allowed to consume more wealth than he creates. When we have abolished the legal capitalistic privileges which have made usury (profit) the hook whereby wealth is "filched from labor's pocket," we have practically accomplished this result.

We repeat, for here is the cardinal feature of the socialist argument: We stand for an industrial order in which the adult able-bodied consumer of wealth will eventually be required to apply himself as many hours to productive effort as there are average labor-hours required to produce the wealth he consumes.

Let us briefly illustrate the operation of this principle.

From the individual whose tastes are simple, the new order would require but little in the way of economic effort. From those having more elaborate wants, more effort in production would be required; effort proportionate to the amount of

wealth appropriated. Bear in mind, that under a coöperative commonwealth we are to be given free access to the best of labor-saving machinery.

Under a socialist republic there would be little temptation to excessively extravagant living. Extravagance is the child of capitalism. But let us assume for the sake of the argument that some individual might desire a mansion on the "Green lanes of Boston," a \$500,000 villa at Newport and another in the Adirondacks. He might think he must have a \$300,000 yacht, half a dozen automobiles, stables filled with expensive horses and carriages, a parlor-car and various other things. What would the new order say to such a man? Simply this: We impose but one condition. Appropriate any amount of wealth you may desire provided you add to the world's store of goods, by your own creative energy, as much wealth as you consume. We say "as much" yes, in all cases a percentage more for the use of the immature, the infirm, and for certain society uses.

A little investigation regarding the means and methods of wealth production will reveal the fact that life's span is not long enough for any one individual to produce such an amount of wealth. Furthermore, were such a feat possible, this vast store of wealth would be of little use to the producer as he could not afford the time to enjoy it; his attention must constantly be given to the task of its production.

In a coöperative commonwealth will there then be no princely estates, no millionaires? Adequate answer to this question can be given by asking another: Why should one individual or set of individuals create wealth for other able-bodied people to consume, thereby relieving them of the task of its production?

Let us next consider the probable effect of a changed economic environment on the individual's use of wealth. Let us consider what would be the state of affairs under the industrial democracy, a condition of society in which each individual

has free access to all natural resources, and to the machinery of production, exploitation thereby being entirely eliminated, and where each consumer of wealth is allowed its use proportionate to his effort in creating it.

1st. With our constantly increasing facilities for production there will be an abundance of wealth to supply all reasonable desires.

2d. A coöperative commonwealth furnishes an environment directly tending to great simplicity of living; liberal consumption by the individual of wealth in forms which contribute to comfort and the conveniences of life, great frugality in the use of wealth for display. As we have intimated, our competitive system is responsible for our extravagant and ostentatious display. This tendency is manifest in our surroundings from the cradle to the grave. We are not satisfied with that which is serviceable and even artistic, our expenditure must reveal our financial standing. Pretentious houses, show in dress, rivalry in entertainment, are a few of the forms in which wealth is lavishly consumed to-day. The poorer classes are led to a greater or less extent in the same direction, but few being content to appear greatly inferior, in an economic way, to their neighbors.

3d. There will be little incentive to the hoarding of wealth, as it could not be invested in the sense in which we now use that term. The energy consumed in producing wealth would more than offset any imagined good to be derived from hoarding it. Effort in production would be restricted to the supply of actual needs; thus a great amount of human energy would be conserved. To-day our wants, to a considerable degree, are artificial; we consume an enormous amount of wealth which does not contribute to our comfort, but merely to our pride.

4th. The units of society would not, to any such extent as now, be influenced by the demands of fashion. Capitalistic environment is responsible for our slavery

to its dictates. To-day, wealth being produced primarily for profit, capitalistic interests demand periodical and often radical changes in style; this in order that the renewed demand for goods occasioned by these changes furnish the capitalist with additional profit. The wealthy also here find occasion to display their wealth by a prompt adoption of the new fashions. Under a coöperative form of society the prevailing consideration, in our clothing for instance where fashion most conspicuously dominates, will be adaptability, serviceability, artistic effect. If a garment meets these requirements it will be likely to remain in good taste until well worn.

Diamonds and precious stones are used mainly as a distinguishing badge of wealth. Those who wear them are thought to frown on those who would wear an imitation as being "shoddy," as pretenders. But a good imitation can in appearance be distinguished from the genuine only by an expert. If then these sparkling points or clusters are truly ornamental and desirable for use because of their artistic effect and intrinsic beauty, why do we demand that such ornaments shall be used which can be procured only by the wealthy? Why should it not be equally good taste to secure the same effect at a fraction of the expense of the diamond? Our question needs no further reply than to point out that our capitalistic system is responsible for unnatural and arbitrary standards of taste.

We have intimated that the socialist's measure of value is labor-time. He sees the average labor-hour to be a much more accurate measure of values than money, or any other medium of exchange.

In well-organized factories the labor-cost of the products, whether shoes, cloth, iron or other forms of wealth, is determined to-day more crudely perhaps than would be the case under a coöperative commonwealth, yet factory officials can determine with a fair degree of accuracy the cost in average labor-hours of any item of their product.

Exploitation abolished, usury whether in the form of rent, profit or interest likewise abolished (a necessary step before equity of distribution can be approached), what more just exchange can be made, —with a modification to be referred to later,—than to allow the workman producing wealth as much wealth, in the same or any other form, as is produced in an equal length of time or by the same expenditure of energy, by any other producer? In other words, human effort is the only equitable measure of value.

Doubtless the thought occurs that some workers turn out, in a given time, a much larger product than certain others; under the average-labor-hour basis of exchange therefore, it may be claimed that the rapid workman is discriminated against in that he receives no more product than the moderate workman.

Under our present system of production there is an occasional worker whose amount of product is considerably above the average, and on the other hand an occasional worker whose product is considerably below the average. In exceptional cases the most rapid workman may produce, under the same conditions, twice as much wealth as the most moderate workman. We should bear in mind however that our present system does not furnish to the individual an environment favorable to a wide latitude of choice in the selection of his life-work. Economic necessity has compelled the great majority of workers to accept their sphere of activity regardless of special aptitude or taste for their calling. Had workers at the loom been given an occupation requiring a different order of ability, quite likely their capacities in production would be reversed: The worker who excels at the loom might be a poor hand at music or invention; the inferior weaver might excel at teaching or as a farmer.

A coöperative commonwealth, we have reason to believe, would furnish an environment which would give great latitude of choice to the individual in the

selection of his sphere of effort; and under such circumstances the relative capacities of the individual workers would be much more nearly equal than at present. Again we should bear in mind that the individual is a social product. The units of society are not, to any great extent, self-made; the individual is largely what he is because of his environment; because society has made him such. This being the case as we believe, we may conclude that we cannot in equity deny any individual who applies his best effort in production during a given time the average individual product during the same length of time. At all events this is a question pertaining to the distribution of wealth, which will be determined by the workers themselves; and which they will be perfectly competent to decide. It has been said with truth that there is no greater heresy than to distrust the integrity of the common people.

An important feature attending our social progress is that of appropriation and use of wealth by the collectivity. Large aggregates of wealth individually owned are seen to be a menace to the well-being and stability of society; while our social health is enhanced by an abundant store of it held collectively for the use of society at large.

Social wealth in the form of roads, parks, school and other public buildings, museums, libraries, hospitals, sewer and water-works systems, etc., mark the advance of civilization. Progress in the direction of social ownership is constantly being made, and economic education of the people is creating the demand that land and the machinery of production be transferred to social ownership and democratic control. The socialist sees that until the means of life are socialized there can be no civilization worthy of the name.

With this advance secured in the socialization of wealth, the individual will for the first time in history have direct access to power-machinery, and be able

to produce in abundance the wealth desired for his maintenance and development.

We have intimated that the producer of wealth will recognize the advantage of contributing a percentage of his product to the public treasury for communal use. In addition to the familiar forms of collectively-owned wealth which the community maintains to-day, under the new order we shall have the machinery of production to keep in repair. Also the invention and construction of new machinery, to still further lighten our task of production, will call for social rather than individual expenditure.

Educational facilities doubtless will be much more liberally provided. Not only will our common-school system call for enlargement, but manual and technical schools, and schools of art and universities for higher education will be demanded.

The store of communal wealth, we believe, will be made ample to provide for the wants, not only of the incompetent, but for the maintenance by society of each individual from birth to maturity.

Our present system of life-insurance will doubtless be supplanted under a co-operative commonwealth; in part as we have intimated; and further and completely by some system of old-age pensions. It is not unreasonable to expect that after contributing to society a liberal portion of the individual product throughout an active life devoted to production of wealth, society should provide for her social units a period of freedom and repose during the declining years of life. Even under our present system progress is being made in this direction.

We cannot dismiss this subject without reference to the attitude of a social democracy toward art.

Emerson says: "Without the great arts that speak to his sense of beauty, man seems to be a poor, naked, shivering creature." In the same line of thought John Ward Stimson says: "One sacred pole-star of life, among the weltering

billows and rocks of doubt, confusion and despair, is the growing consciousness of the race that Principles of Immortal Beauty forever cheer, console, sustain, upon every plane of mortal experience, because they are vital to the experience of God himself, and visibly insistent upon every side of his activity."

The socialist believes that the longings of the individual for the beautiful in art can most economically be provided for through collective expenditure. To-day it is not, and doubtless it will not in the near future be practical for each wealth-producer to erect his house of expensive marbles, or to store it with costly statuary and paintings. The desires of the individual in this direction can be adequately provided for, we believe, through communal expenditure. We believe it will be practical under a coöperative commonwealth for every social center to provide its free art-gallery or museum, and that the public buildings, in every such center (library, school-buildings, public halls, etc.), should be erected with lavish expenditure of labor, rarely known to-day, to secure beautiful material and to erect it in harmony of line and color and perfection of detail.

The capitalistic environment tends to conservatism in public expenditure. The coöperative environment, as we have shown in the case of the individual, will, we think, reverse the present order relating to social expenditure. A social democracy, we have reason to believe, instead of being frugal, will be lavish in the use of wealth.

The modern historian views the entire course of human history as the struggle of the race towards a more perfect state of socialization. It is only recently that the study of sociology and of economics has been sufficiently advanced to enable us to broadly interpret the meaning of the conflicts of classes, of tribes, and of nations. For this reason the progress of humanity has been blind and halting, and attended with great waste of wealth and of life. It has heretofore been a

movement without conscious purpose or definite meaning so far as the social destiny of the race is concerned. To-day we have become conscious that we have the power to shape our social environment,—to so control conditions that they will directly contribute to the well-being of society, and indirectly to the individuals of which society is composed.

In conclusion. Capitalism may, in a sense, be scientific application of energy in wealth production. Socialism is more than that: Socialism is science applied not only to the production of wealth but to its distribution. Socialism is the scientific application of human energy in supplying the economic needs of mankind, individual and collective. While socialism is scientific economics, the philosophy based thereon is the most lucid philosophy the world has ever known. It furnishes a key to the interpretation of social phenomena which readily unlocks an otherwise inextricable tangle.

In the *Changing Order*, a recent volume by Oscar L. Triggs, we find this quotation from Maeterlinck: "There are about us thousands of poor creatures who have nothing of beauty in their lives; they come and go in obscurity, and we believe all is dead within them; and no one pays any heed. And then one day a simple word, an unexpected silence, a little tear that springs from the source of beauty itself, tells us they have found the means of raising aloft, in the shadow of their souls an ideal a thousand times more beautiful than the most beautiful things their ears have ever heard or their eyes ever seen."

To many burdened souls socialism is this ideal which gives added courage and strength to bear patiently the deprivations and disappointments of life, while they work for and witness the dawn of a better civilization. Yes, socialism is more than an ideal. The coöperative commonwealth is a coming reality.

C. C. FITCHCOCK.

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SHALL EDUCATED CHINAMEN BE WELCOMED TO OUR SHORES?

BY HELEN M. GOUGAR.

LIKE THE mushroom that springs up in a night has come the demand that the Chinese Exclusion Act shall except from its operation in the United States the intelligent classes, which are enumerated as "professional men, commercial agents, bankers, lawyers, priests and journalists."

This demand has recently received the endorsement of the Chamber of Commerce of New York, the Merchants' Club of Chicago, and many of the leading magazines and newspapers of the country.

The proposition is sufficiently before the people to deserve that all sides of the important issue be considered.

One of the leading religious journals of the East puts the whole demand in a nutshell in the following editorial comment:

"According to Singapore dispatches, the boycott of American goods has sprung up again in that city stronger than ever before. It is further stated that the situation there is critical. Chinese merchants that have persisted in handling American products have received threatening letters from men behind the movement. On the other hand we are told that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in its annual report, demands the enforcement to the letter of the Chinese exclusion laws of the country. Of course there is no selfishness in such an attitude! It remains to be seen whether between Congress, the President, and Secretary Root, the coming winter will see some statesmanlike act recorded which will redress the wrongs of the cultivated, professional Chinese, while properly keeping the lower order of laborers out of this country as at present. As the matter now stands an arrangement ought

not to be difficult. For it is understood that China is willing that the laboring classes shall be excluded, but asks that all other classes shall receive the same treatment here that is accorded similar classes from Europe. The request is a reasonable one. Certainly no good reason can be offered for the exclusion of Chinese professional men, and particularly traveling commercial agents. Chinese merchants are admitted at present, but the exclusion law is interpreted strictly, and a commercial agent cannot enter as a merchant. The exempted classes, as the law stands, are not numerous and it is difficult to understand why a Chinese banker, lawyer or journalist should be excluded while students and teachers are admitted. We want the best of all nations to see us and know us, and it is to be and it is hoped that the present administration will make this possible."

Who constitute the laboring classes that are already excluded and that all seem to be willing to be excluded from the United States? Those who toil with their hands, the real wealth-producers of every land. To be sure they are poor, and it is a strange commentary on industrial conditions the world over that those who do the most and hardest work are the poorest. Those who demand the exclusion only of these laborers must hold that labor and poverty are twin disgraces, and by such exclusion are willing to increase the misery of those who toil with their hands and produce the wealth of the world!

Why should Chinese laborers be excluded from a country that has such wealth of undeveloped resources as America has, and allow the parasites of wealth,

such as merchants, bankers, lawyers, priests and professional men be allowed to come in hordes, as they will come, if an exception is made in the exclusion act in their favor?

To the casual observer, resolutions appear very just and liberal that ask for an open-door for the intelligent and commercial classes. But what will be the result upon America's young business manhood? The commercial life of the Orient gives warning answer. It is true that the cultivated Chinaman is a charming specimen of the human family; he is keen of intellect, tireless in energy, honorable in his dealings to an eminent degree, a skilled money-changer, a law-abiding citizen; but he is also a cheap employé, a poor home-maker, superstitious in religion, holds woman in supreme contempt,—possessing the right of life and death over his wife or wives in his own country,—brutal in his punishments, and if he comes here he comes with all these qualifications as a citizen.

He can vote the same as any other immigrant after a few years of residence. He will soon become a social, commercial and political power to be reckoned with in our already complicated body politic.

Shall he come? Is there no danger because he is intelligent? The answer is found in his conduct and influence in the Orient.

He is the money-changer in banks, railway and steamboat-offices, and hotels, the comprador for contractors and syndicates, and wherever trustworthiness is needed there is the intelligent Chinaman; he is the merchant and tradesman, and is so successful that few can compete with him.

Should these "intellectuals" be permitted free ingress they would work the greatest injury to the ambitions and opportunities of young, educated, capable and aspiring American men. Commercialism is quick to recognize ability that hires at a small wage. His supreme virtues make him dangerous.

I am emphatic in the assertion, after

witnessing the almost universal employment in the Orient of the educated Chinaman, that his presence in this country would be most detrimental and dangerous to the Anglo-Saxon business man. The college-educated man, the American banker, professional man, commercial agent, lawyer and journalist would be driven into the background, would be overwhelmed by these Goths and Vandals of the commercial world.

The Chinese merchant is in San Francisco. What is the result? The answer is found in the crowded, filthy, immoral quarter of that city known as "Chinatown." He lives like a rat at home and he would live no better here. To allow the Chinese "intellectual" to come to this country would mean a "Chinatown" to augment the slums of every city in the United States, for the Chinaman is never sufficiently cultivated to live decently, according to American ideals.

As a commercial factor the intellectual Chinaman is a dangerous rival in the business world. The intellectual American should be most earnest in opposing his admission into this country. He would do far more harm by lowering the standard of living than the coolie or laboring classes would do. Of the two, the intellectual is a more undesirable immigrant than the coolie; the latter may undermine us with his shovel, but the intellectual would knock us on the head.

The quotation from the religious journal suggests that the resolution by the Federation of Labor is inspired by selfishness. Be it so, it is most commendable selfishness. It is the selfishness of self-protection and the preservation of American ideals of home-life.

It is no unkindness nor inhumanity to tell the Chinaman to stay at home. He is needed there to improve his corrupt government, to educate his ignorant hordes, to widen the streets and drain his filthy cities reeking with disease, to treat women like human beings, to banish his Joss-houses and level his temples filled with tawdry gods, to plough up his

graveyards and develop his millions of rich acres that are waiting for the application of enterprise and intelligence to give comforts to the Chinese millions that are living in squalor and filth in crowded cities, not for want of room but for want of better ideals.

Great primeval forests wait the axe and saw of the millions of coolies and their ambition to build homes; rich mines of gold, silver and other precious metals, coal-beds and stone-quarries invite the brain of the intellectuals and the labor of the coolie to remain at home to better the conditions of the race, instead of gaining entrance into this country through a sentimentalism that does little credit to the patriotism, common-sense or commercial spirit of Americans. Let China boycott our trade if she will; we can get along

better without her trade than we can with her intellectuals in our country.

There is but one way to settle the vexed problem of Chinese exclusion and incidentally foreign immigration, to avoid the cry of unjust discrimination.

Put not less than a \$500 poll-tax on the head of every immigrant not of Caucasian blood. We would not only protect ourselves from the "yellow peril," but from the "brown peril" of the Orient.

Let ours be an Anglo-Saxon civilization wrought successfully as the world's example.

Under such non-discriminating law, China and the Orient would have no occasion for complaint and America's welfare and safety would be conserved.

HELEN M. GOUGAR.

La Fayette, Ind.

UNRECOGNIZED INSANITY: A PUBLIC AND INDIVIDUAL DANGER.

BY HENRIK G. PETERSEN, M.D.

ADMIT that human life is a complex state and that as individuals we bear the variegated imprint of past and present, are consciously or unconsciously obedient to impulses, and such admission involves also the recognition of guidance by a complex and elusive quantity—mind. Then naturally arises the question as to how far we can lay greater claim to absolute directness, even sanity, of thought and act, than to perfect independence of will and control. Hesitating to affirm or deny, we clearly perceive that a uniform standard of self-manifestation is lacking, both theoretically and practically; yet we adhere to a belief in perfect sane mentality.

It is fortunate that our unimpeachable sanity is not to be gauged by absence of uniformity. By the concurrence of major capacity, we have evolved a system by

which to establish a serviceable standard excluding whatever diverges or jars upon current comprehension of mental evenness in relation to ordinary life. Necessarily the area has been made generously large in order to include the greatest number of our fellowmen. Although the grooves in which such theoretical sanity is presumed to move are drawn on the rectilinear plan, they are adorned by curves and ellipses in accordance with experimental and confusing facts, which apparently contradict the axiomatic truth that the shortest distance between two points is the straight line. Evolution of healthy thought thus enforces the admission that a circuitous route leads to sound reasoning. Argument is as yet wanting as to the exact order and number of characteristics constituting universal evidence of rational ideation; conse-

quently in our endeavor to be precise, we have sped past or lingered behind, according to material or controversial methods. Aside from this and the apparent impossibility of presenting a patent type-mould, our existing sanity system has been so far elaborated that no one can murmur at a classification which adjudges him mentally sound or defective. It is only the comparatively rapid enlargement of confines that reveals the inefficiency of this social structure of intellectual aggregations, and daily accumulating evidence demonstrates the futility of too close an adherence to any accepted code. The working system of to-morrow refutes the rule of yesterday.

If it is no easy matter to delineate the proper claims of sanity, the opposite condition meets with even greater and more embarrassing difficulties. There exists, of course, a sharply-drawn line of demarcation, much as between decorous sobriety and the strange gyrations of inebriety, but the finer shades of mental stability either escape sufficient notice or are confounded with temperament, generally considered,—jovialness or morbidness. In reality, we are defeated by our system or lack of adequate system because enthroned behind a timorous disinclination to advance too far in a scrutiny liable to restrict the field of supposed sanity. Scientific perspicacity is less at fault than a position of expectancy, and especially the presence of obstacles which hamper an early and painstaking observation of cause and effect. There is a natural strong disposition to cling with extraordinary tenacity to our place as rational beings, to invent plausible excuse for whatever in our conduct deviates from or becomes inconsistent with well-balanced thought and act. Such protest survives even unmistakable degeneration, and, almost without exception, inmates of insane hospitals consider themselves sane, indignantly repelling all idea to the contrary. By building professed mad-houses, said a French wit,

men tacitly insinuate that all who are out of their senses are to be found in those places only. Even so, their numbers encroach threateningly upon those of the saner majority.

Irrefutable facts demonstrate that insanity increases at a high rate all over the civilized world, the sturdy Anglo-Saxon race being no more exempt than effete nations. Here in New England and in this country generally, the average ratio is one in about every three hundred inhabitants. To receive this abundant fruit of modern civilization we have doubled the number of our storage-houses, not over-sanguine as to their capacity of holding the harvest nor our means to prevent over-production.

While as a rule we contend that sanity is without varying degrees, no one stands ready to advance that this is equally true in regard to insanity. A person is sane or insane, but more or less only in the latter instance. When system, complacency or superficial knowledge incline to qualify us sane individuals, without troubling about comparative or superlative degrees, no wonder that the germ of insanity easily eludes detection and that the catastrophe, drawn nearer by shrinking from unwelcome facts, gives no warning against approaching disaster by initiatory indications. As the growth of mental infirmity is proportionate to its breeding capacity and immunity from proper interference, well-directed precautions would partake of social no less than scientific duty. Vastly more important, indeed, the ability to grasp and modify those subtle variations whose incipient stages point the course of fuddled brain activity, than recognizing normal intellectual grades. Mental science has proclaimed the necessity of early discernment and protective measures, but the conviction has not gained executive strength and method. Much as heretofore, with but little concern and remedial effort, we live with these unfortunate individuals, marry them, employ them, follow their advice and suffer their caprices.

Is there not, in so doing, a degree of insanity on our part also?

Under such circumstances it is not surprising that public interest in this momentous question is neither appropriately keen nor intelligently developed. Only through educational processes may a change be expected. The purpose of psychology must be more clearly defined and better understood as mental science. Not as experimental uncertainty, but as an agent of remedial force, must the urgency and timely value of its services be impressed upon the community and intelligence awakened to the fact that its office is not merely to pass upon drifting wreckage, but principally to forecast threatening storms and pilot into safe harbors. Through this ability to differentiate in advance of occurrence and obviate calamity by logical conclusion, it will give tangible evidence of scientific accuracy and recruit a most needed support—public confidence. We still hold the prejudicial ignorance to which mental defect has always been subject, and an obstinate disinclination to disclose the clouded relations of family life still lingers. Moreover, an erroneous conception nurtures a false and unqualified pride that thwarts attempts to reach a weakened mind while saving steps are still easy of ascent. The conviction that mental derangement is a disease possessing stages of growth like physical ills, gains ground but slowly, and preventive measures engage little sympathy through desultory efforts. The popular idea of insanity conforms more with what is violently abrupt and hopeless and, because of shock and tragedy, amenable to incarceration. Where the climax, as an intelligent lesson, should serve a logical end preparing for acceptance of psychological facts, the effect strengthens but an inept suggestion of the inevitable. While such an unwholesome aspect may be said to represent traditional ignorance, and its gloomy errors oppose the alienist's task by a strong hold upon the popular imagination, abuse of intellect and

indifference on the part of those credited with broader views are even more likely to confuse sober and dutiful perception of social danger.

In only too many instances what benefit does the public derive from legal probing of insanity? As displayed in our courts it is frequently more associated with a revolting concern to further selfish purpose than with a desire to protect an unfortunate condition. In the eleventh hour it may be made the ringing appeal in defence of some dastardly act otherwise destitute of extenuating circumstances, and psychology called upon in conjunction with mental experts to strengthen the gossamer arguments of a counsel in despair of cause. Or, the public is treated to the spectacle of a lawyer, fresh from the reading of works upon mental intricacies, wrangling with the opponent or the physician to prove and disprove. Furthermore, if the controversy of alienists engaged in the struggle unfortunately obscures rather than elucidates the abnormal features of the case, the judge may or may not arrive at an appropriate conclusion. In this he will be assisted by a jury with honest intentions, but rarely capable of discerning the true correlation between subtle mental causes and positive physical facts. A puzzle of greater or less magnitude to the parties involved, it must remain so to the public at large which has followed its knotted phases and whose inferences were indicative of its mood,—sympathetic or prejudiced. Whether such disposition extends to an innocent, fraudulent or criminal individual, a testator or disappointed heirs, the main outcome is generally a blurred image and contemptuous disregard for opinion otherwise worthy of the highest consideration. Thus faith in scrutinizing authority is weakened by impatient, even arrogant public criticism, never for a moment conscious that individual neglect of preventive measures is the responsible primitive cause for the thrill of horror, clamor of fear and indignation which convulse

the community when the smouldering evil suddenly blazes. It is censure whose impulsive weakness is rendered intolerant by being pretentious and impractical because exaggerated. Fugitive as are these morbid and spectacular impressions, there remains, however, a vague and phantasmal apprehension of danger. The calamity is positive but the ability to cope with the conclusive realities uncertain.

Does the diminishing sane majority contemplate raising still vaster monuments to decadent life, or will it concentrate its energies upon the rebuilding of salutary homes and men? Now, more than ever, it is confronted with a forceful necessity of choice. The evil cannot properly be referred to periodicity, as of epidemics, nor can a plea of suddenness, like that which disturbs cosmic harmony, be an excuse for insufficient means of resistance. The condition of ravage has been fostered by blind care, been allowed a steady growth, and illustrates with terrible exactitude the grinding processes we have selected to further human progress. Plentitude as well as scarcity of resources have spurred to the breaking-point every active power and shown danger both in feverish exertion to achieve and in satiety and indolence of possession. Not incidental, but dependent upon violation of natural laws, the cause is divested of all mystery as the recoil of immoderate surcharge and misspent ambitions. We can neither feign surprise at its presence nor wonder at its powerful antagonism, but must deplore not having foreseen and arrested its development. Although prisons and hospitals confine moral and physical degeneracy, they furnish but approximate statistics of social decay. They prove, nevertheless, in a striking manner not only a most prodigal law of causation, but also our inadequate means of control and our indiscriminate classification. There is a vast difference between imaginary, untrained common sense and psychological grasp upon mental conditions and pro-

cesses. The longer they remain in opposition by conceit of equality or superiority, the greater the confusion and more dangerous the delay preventing concerted, well-regulated efforts.

It is undoubtedly as true concerning the insane as in regard to criminals, that thousands would be locked up but for the perilous chance of not having been found out. All are acquainted with individuals whose temperaments, ideas and manners give rise to wondering perplexity. Our streets are peopled with many whose countenances, gait and occasional emphasis denote self-centered, conflicting brain activity. Here we catch a glimpse of extravagant affectation and petulant singularity, there the strutting conceit of nascent paranoia, the slanting looks of the rancorously envious and suspicious, or the torpidly moving body with foolish thought and malevolent planning. Betrayed by a multitude of almost imperceptible indications to a keen observer, a closer contact may in many instances fail to give sharper relief; very few, however, disprove mental deterioration by plausible claim of unusual development and manifestation of character. As a rule they are all conscious of their psychic mimicry; it is to some a burden and to others a satisfaction. Many suffer cruelly from futile attempts at control, from fear of detection or under the merciless lash of a scoffer; many are elated and naively allude to these precursive signs in pleasant and to themselves complimentary terms. The eccentric is made to pass for original; the taciturn and morose are called profound; the brusque or whimsical offender is looked upon as a plain-speaking or amusing person; and irritable, offish and imperious moods are explained as belonging to high-strung organizations whose delicate sensitiveness the ordinary affects with painful acuteness, and so on. While pity for these individuals is neither accepted nor tolerated, and assistance remains uninvited and an offence, the sufferance of their intolerable presence is expected as

a matter of course if not as blind politeness. There seems to be a tacit understanding to ignore and placidly await the explosion of these psychic bombshells which directly or indirectly we have helped to charge and ignite. That the concealment practiced by family and friends is injurious to both the sufferer and the public ought to be just as evident as the duty to prevent their falling victims to selfish or mistaken conceptions of individual responsibility and authoritative protection. As it is, the fatal results from these mental pyrotechnics cause but awed expressions of late and fleeting regret.

If this is an age where brain counts more than brawn, there is nevertheless need of a fit physical instrumentality for maintaining a pressure of endurance. Increased industries, arts and sciences have created opportunities which all are eager to seize and determined to hold against growing competition. The strugglers enter the lists at an early date, either as sullen intellectual beasts of burden or as callous taskmasters. To both the alluring prospect has the same brilliancy, but qualifications are disproportionate to ambition and the hardness of the task, the brittleness of mental caliber and the tenacity of the ruling idea wreck efforts and constitutions. That this is so, is largely the fault of an omnivorous liberal education more considerate of an elaborate programme than of just discernment between smattering, solid and essential knowledge. By encouraging a race for ill-defined and unattainable ends, it lights a consuming fire and means to many, whose aims would otherwise have been diverted into calmer channels better suited to their talents, an easy assurance of successful speed upon swifter currents. A cerebral mediocrity in full enjoyment of vigorous health and well-balanced development, brings better material to the social building than the sickly savant or a disgruntled person of attainments. Because wisely he avoided going beyond his depth, he reached the fullness of his

capacity where the others lost or saved at a discount. While maturing slowly the one is a promise in futurity, the other, the surcharged effort, is productive of brief bloom and decayed fruits.

Advocating a strenuous life in opposition to the measured and unvaried existence, the trivial has been adduced as a powerful cause of unbalanced mentality. The catholicity of the argument suffers by limitation of view, because the injurious effect is not related merely to rural monotony of occupation and isolation of thought. The trivial shrouds all that mental alertness and interest cannot endow with healthy life. If in the country it closes the mind to broader views—to nature itself—through dull contemplation of familiar scenes and paucity of fresh ideas, the varied, exhausting demands and fatigue of acquisition that a city imposes cast even darker shadows, regardless of poverty and opulence. Ever returning duties of an exacting kind, whether legitimate busy routine or fashionable emptiness; an unceasing round of pleasures and exaggerated claims upon attention; stereotyped smiles and phrases; indolence and activity in prescribed measures, both the frivolous and more serious forms of daily competition, make victims by restless nervous strain. While anxiety for the morrow saps the energy of the less favored ones, the unfortunate rich spend it as if it would last forever. The social moth flutters assiduously around the flame of high intellectual problems or artistic pursuits, in accordance with decrees and demands of its class; the dazzling show causes gradual mental starvation and benumbs through blunted perception; malassimilation transforms the beautiful and elevated into dreary drudgery under which the spirit droops. Yet awhile the jaded faculties remain tremulously active, with vague and strange longings which finally overpower the rational. Strenuous life thus pays everywhere its debt to triviality.

Is psychical infection possible? There is no doubt thereof. Experience affirms

the conveyance of impressions and ideas as well as their rooting in the mind, and upon this fact educational endeavor is based. Mental waves affect multitudes as they do individuals, but degrees of predisposition and resistance make the effect transient or lasting, as in physical disease. Whether they arouse buoyant enthusiasm or shrinking fear; create admiration for national heroes or sympathy for foul murderers; strike with cyclonic violence and rapidity, simultaneous with inception, or manifest along slowly-traced lines, the gathered force depends upon an identical principle and is subject to the same developing conditions as the primary suggestive idea. Generic diversity of effect does not refute generic identity of cause. Individual symptoms will vary, prove elusive and doubtful as to final form, but they constitute disease. The clearer the conception and the deeper the study of cause and its ramifications, the easier the recognition of early indications and the less excusable both existence and prevalence.

Ought one who has been mentally diseased to marry? This question involves more especially heredity and vice. If a descendant of a degenerated family with marked hysteria, neurasthenia and suicidal tendencies, the answer must surely be in the negative. The predisposition to the resulting diseases, epilepsy, imbecility and idiocy is more particularly inherited than the diseases themselves, and, fortunately, the hereditary fatality is often obviated by sterility. On the other side, the offspring is considered exempt if the parent has become subject to a maniacal crisis of shorter or longer duration consequent upon a serious fever, parturition, pneumonia and strong emotions when mentally overworked. The taint of insanity does not as a rule result from consanguineous marriages unless, like unions within a restricted family circle, this is repeated during several generations. Still a debatable question, the weight of opinion favors the conclusion of premature de-

cline and the emphasizing of transmissible features, more or less morbid. On account of these lurking possibilities, blood-alliances may rightly be looked upon as daring experiments opposed to the best interests of family and community. A greater danger, undoubtedly, are the more frequent unions between individuals with little or no care concerning antecedents and tolerated with an equally reckless disregard for the common good. In regard to mental and bodily disease as acquired factors, the relative importance varies with sex, but in hereditary transmission the psychical element prevails among women.

Cognizant of undeniable facts that force themselves upon observation, and of psychological subtleties whose desultory nature and appearance require watchful scrutiny to decide whether the mental oscillations are within or swinging beyond rational bounds, the duty of public caretakers cannot be doubtful, but demands unabated vigilance. Not satisfactorily expressed by bringing an ever-increasing number of our fellowmen within guarded enclosures, prevention is a more logical course than commitment. Although the trend is toward improved methods and well-planned reformatory efforts are manifest in various directions, it still remains a matter of reproof that our precautions are extremely lax in regard to those who suffer from or are threatened by mental decay. In the same proportion as we recognize that many causes contribute to produce the evil, we also acknowledge that the influence to check its growing activity belongs to a large group of agencies. Nevertheless, the principal effective remedy must evolve from concerted action on the part of the medical profession and the public itself. Whatever perplexity may have attended honest medical endeavor to trace the silent working of clouded brains; whatever failure has resulted from interpreting their secrets by vague premonitions, and wherever cunning abuse has succeeded in making insanity cover moral

depravity, such shortcomings or faults can neither justify hypercritical judgment nor the placid indifference of citizens. If, on the contrary, considered an eminent matter of foresight and effect, it is only a fair presumption that to inspire confidence in protective methods, the educators themselves should be able and painstaking. This criterion appears, nevertheless, an essential cause of failure. We have efficient alienists and psychologists, but as a body medical men cannot lay claim to such knowledge of mental disease that by timely detection and practical measures their services become valuable. If it were otherwise, there would be more healthy brains in our homes, fewer decaying ones in our hospitals. If not entirely in recognition of their own helplessness, then through easy-going optimism and lack of strict requirements in regard to early watchfulness and remedial steps, physicians have yielded the supervision of germinating stages to family discretion. Because no enforcement exists, the supposition would either be that no effective assistance is available or intervention neither necessary nor beneficial. If ever held as a logically safe conclusion, such premises are to-day bereft of all but the danger they have inadvertently created. As insanity in all its stages presents a problem of public health, the layman no less than the professional becomes an indispensable factor in building and maintaining a sane community. To this end it is imperative to disseminate a general conviction that, first of all, insanity is neither a moral defect nor a disgrace, but a disease whose wilful neglect alone deserves public obloquy. Therefore should every home, rich or poor, be open to benevolent but strict scrutiny, unobstructed by ignorant false pride and hysterical interference on the part of parents and guardians. It would have to be investigation that truly investigates, and not a perfunctory form. The measure must be aided as much by civic intellectuality as by legal demand, and in the in-

terest of the race as well as in that of the individual. The result will certainly prove appalling at first and raise statistics to an astonishing height when compared with those already presented by incarcerated fellow-beings, but the step will ultimately reduce quantity and improve quality according to promptness and sanatory efficiency. As an argument to the contrary, it is hardly a tenable position to claim that the multiplying numbers in our insane asylums indicate diminishing infection outside of those institutions, nor is it proof of increased alertness on the part of lunacy commissions. Generally a last refuge, it is recruited from the unknown afflicted multitude whose neglected existence stands revealed in this manner. No juggling with figures nor optimistic presumption can successfully disprove the need of what ought to be done or create satisfaction with that which is attempted, however meritorious, under existing limitations. Because psychic decay has a longer period of incubation than physical degeneration, and we have to deal with diseased individuality rather than with disease, such fact is at once both a hopeful and a saving clause. To the well-instructed and broadened intellect, therefore, early and searching investigation within an enlarged area can mean but mutual protection whereby decadent childhood and mature age may escape the fate of adjudicated and frequently hopeless insanity, and can never be viewed in the light of odious, imposed duty to lay bare secrets of an intimate nature.

As harmonious correlation of mental and bodily activity depends upon a natural energetic life, prophylaxis offers the most effective means because it preserves and upholds the very conditions which develop without overtaxing individual strength. It advises healthy environment as an absolute necessity at all periods of mental disease. The home atmosphere rarely possesses an influence desirable for supersensitive natures whose unmodified contact with daily exigencies

hastens the climax. Agglomeration of weakened brains produces an even worse effect and is the objectionable feature of every institution intended to lessen the strain and eventually conquer the malady. For this reason most sanatoria and lately also a few insane hospitals have endeavored to mitigate the detrimental result from unwholesome environment by adopting the cottage plan. The small Belgian town, Gheel, has for centuries successfully proved to the world its philanthropic and restorative value. The director, Dr. J. A. Peeters, refers with proud satisfaction to its kind-hearted and tactful peasant-inhabitants, scattered over a vast surface, as invaluable assistants by whom even the terms "lunatic" and "insane" are banished and their charges spoken of only as "friends." Universally admired as a practical and effective method and recognized as a simplified humanitarian principle, why then so imperfectly and slowly imitated in a progressive country rich in land and means? It should not be lost sight of by our legislators when discussing appropriations for housing the insane, and although here the erection and proper equipment of numerous widely distributed pavilions involves greater expense than huge buildings, the principal purpose is to offer their inmates the best chances for recovery and not to provide room for the largest number possible at the least cost. Such a beneficial exchange for packed wards and resounding noises legitimates as economy lavish outlay, while its motive exemplifies a humane act.

Willing though we may be to sacrifice wealth for the comfort of blighted lives, our greater privilege is to brighten the path before it has grown dim and dark. Only the searchlight of reason and knowledge can guide these promptings of pity

and sympathy and make them beneficial. "Physicians are expected under the law to report each case of diphtheria and croup, scarlet fever, cholera, small-pox, measles, cerebro-spinal meningitis, chicken-pox, typhus, typhoid fever, laryngeal and pulmonary consumption, to which they may be called." Impelled by the greater prevalence and ravage of certain diseases like diphtheria and tuberculosis, demanding a wider and more effective scope of preventive measures, the medical profession has repeatedly been reminded of its neglect to report. Nevertheless, as the Board of Health regrets, the "expectation under the law" remains without conscientious fulfilment, but continues to be largely considered an optional course. A similar injunction regarding vigilance in cases of insanity does not exist, however, nor do the weekly public reports refer to this phase of communal health. Why exclude this fell disease from the dangerous class and exempt its study and prevention from professional duty under the law? Why not summon the combined efforts of legislature, medicine and public conscience in its behalf? Coöperation once established, the alienist will not only be assured of more freedom as an early observer, but physicians enabled to render efficient assistance and the monomaniacal tendencies of the day be prevented from becoming a dominant and ruining disease.

Seemingly a plea for immediate action in a case of emergency, it is absurd because necessary and mortifying because true. This blindness to both truth and necessity is the result of incongruous opinions on the part of a sane majority that might reasonably be expected to dictate and exact obedience of rules assuring its self-preservation.

HENRIK G. PETERSEN.

Boston, Mass.

PRESENT STATUS OF THE REFERENDUM MOVEMENT IN MAINE.

BY ARNER W. NICHOLS.

IT IS assured to a moral certainty that the next Maine legislature will pass a resolution permitting the people themselves to determine by majority-vote whether or not the principles of the peoples' veto and a direct initiative shall be incorporated into the constitution of the state. Both the Republican and Democratic parties are pledged to such a course in plain terms.

This has not been accomplished through the efforts of those corporations that are now enjoying a private monopoly of Maine's public utilities, nor of the wild-land owners, nor the tax-dodgers, nor even through the efforts of the political bosses; nor was this a concession made to the demands of organized labor, even though the organized workers did bear all of the expenses of presenting the measure to the last legislature and of the accompanying campaign of agitation and education. It has been brought about through sheer force of popular sentiment. Out of the agitation which has been conducted by the Referendum League, the State Federation of Labor, the State Grange, and the rapidly increasing number of active advocates of the referendum principle, has developed a public opinion which refuses to be sidetracked. When politicians press upon other issues the notice of the people, instead of diverting their attention from the referendum idea, the opposite result is arrived at, for the voters proceed to consider the new issue in the light of the application of referendum methods to its solution. The people of Maine *intend to have* the referendum; and in many localities where the agitation has been concentrated and intense, the people are already using it, are actually learning self-government by practical experience, just as one learns to

drive a nail by driving a nail, not alone by watching others.

For instance: In Augusta the atmosphere is so thoroughly permeated with the referendum idea that when last spring petitions, bearing the names of 660 citizens, were presented to the City Council favoring the purchase of certain properties from private parties for a public park, and when, at about the same time, an order was introduced into the Council for the appropriation of \$40,000 for the permanent improvement on suburban roads, it seemed the most natural thing to do, and, as a matter of course, the Council did refer both questions to the voters, who took such a lively interest in the problems and spoke at the ballot-box in such decisive terms that the people generally were delighted, not merely with the final results, but particularly with the methods employed. The sentiment was much in evidence that the question had not only been settled right, but that it had been settled in the right way. 669 voters signed the petitions in favor of the park scheme when personally asked to do so, yet when the doors of the voting-booths were closed behind them and they realized their independence of outside influences, they marked their ballots as in their judgment was best for themselves, and the result was only 160 votes in favor with 669 against. Not one in ten voted as they had petitioned. Soon after the vote was taken, the writer overheard a prominent business man remark that if this matter had come up three years ago, before the agitation for the referendum, the city would have paid \$70,000 for parks they did not want, and would have gone without \$40,000 worth of good roads they did want, and his remark but voiced the general sentiment.

There are a great many people in Maine who are now convinced that whether general business shall continue to be good and the people to prosper depends absolutely upon taking away from vendable legislators the power to finally pass laws the people do not want.

Doubtless much of the success of the movement has been due to strict adherence on the part of its promoters to their policy of pointing out and persistently keeping before the people its direct connection with and bearing upon issues for and against which there has already developed a strong popular sentiment; for experience teaches that interest in public affairs develop as fast and no faster than people recognize their connection with their own affairs.

It matters not whether one realizes the fact as a fact, yet it is a fact just the same, that the real, the true, the genuine well-being of the individual is bound up in the well-being of the people as a whole. The far-sightedness or ability to recognize one's own individual interests as involved with interests common to all, is the one distinguishing feature which differentiates the statesman from the demagogue, the patriot from the grafter, and the philanthropist from the miser. We should all be patriots if we were able to locate and identify our own best interests where they actually are. We shall become patriots as fast as we arrive at a full realization of the fact that no matter how we get our living, we get a better one and get it easier when general business is good and the greatest number of people are prosperous. It is contrary to nature that men should appreciate this fact to the extent of being actually conscious of it, so that the idea shall control their actions, simply being told of it, any more than one learns to play the cornet simply by being told how. But when under the referendum a voter is called upon to decide a question in which his own well-being is involved with that of others or of the people as a whole, every effort to discover how his own individual interests

are likely to be affected must react upon himself after the manner and in the sense of a course of intellectual athletics, and the inevitable result must be that the voter will be better prepared to consider the next public question.

The common people of Maine were already alive to the futility of appealing to a legislature selected and controlled by those who through such control were securing for themselves special privileges and immunity from taxes. They were convinced that it did not lay in the power of the people, by any method at present available, to secure the passage of laws to make taxes even a little more fair and equal, to protect the people from being robbed of their wild-lands and valuable franchises, or to prevent monopoly in both the necessities of life and the means of acquiring them. They could readily understand how men or corporations worth a few millions, but paying taxes on only a few thousands, could afford to pay for the defeat of a measure that would compel them to pay their full tax. They had learned, to their disappointment and cost, that after legislators had got their election, the influence of a great many of the common people, who had perhaps helped to elect them, was often far outweighed by the influence of a few to whom some particular legislative act would be worth a large amount.

They felt that the influence of those who control legislation for their own personal profit, was direct and effective, while their own was remote, unavailing, and usually abortive, and that both those legislators who are bought and those corporations who buy are anxious to perpetuate the existing system.

Is it any wonder that the plain people of Maine are outspoken and emphatic in favor of a system which gives themselves a larger, more direct and therefore more effective influence on the making of their own laws?

The people of Maine are already interested in the liquor question, and the political parties bid against each other

for votes because of this interest; the Democratic party offering the people all the rum they want, the Prohibition party all the law they want, while the Republican party has usually been the successful bidder by giving the people both; but the people themselves feel that this is a problem with which they must cope for a long time to come, perhaps almost perpetually, and they look with favor upon the referendum as providing the methods and machinery best adapted to their purpose. They are insisting upon the right to an appeal from unsatisfactory decisions of the legislature direct to the people themselves, as to a court of last resort.

Equalization of taxes is already a ripe and living issue in Maine, and her people were quick to notice that while their own

most strenuous efforts, under the old system had been utterly futile, yet the people of Oregon on June 4th last, had an opportunity to vote directly for the reduction of their own taxes, by forcing those who enjoy a private monopoly of their public utilities to pay a more just share; and that they improved the opportunity by a vote of 11 to 1. The voters of Maine can see the true solution of their own tax problems through the same methods employed in Oregon,—methods which disentangle public questions from the private interests and personal aspirations of candidates for offices and give the voters an opportunity to pass an unbiased and non-partisan judgment upon them.

ABNER W. NICHOLS.

Augusta, Maine.

THE WOMAN WITH THE KNITTING.

BY HARLAN C. PEARSON.

THE NEW Governor, having taken the oath of office, was delivering his inaugural message to the legislature.

Beginning with the state finances, he was conscientiously covering all the subjects that his predecessors had introduced into this biennial document, from railroad rates to forest fires.

Before him was a glittering semicircle of men in gold-braided uniforms and women in gay gowns and bewildering hats; the brigadier-generals and colonels of the new governor's staff and the old governor's staff, with their ladies.

Another, wider semicircle, behind this zone of color, was composed of the members of the legislature, to whom the inaugural was supposed to be addressed. Some of them lolled or sprawled or sat bolt upright in their chairs; but more, dispossessed by the visitors of the day, stood, self-consciously, in the aisles or in the open space at the rear of the hall.

Some of the younger ones, sleek of hair, with new suits of clothes, aggressive neckties and *boutonnieres*, turned their backs frequently on the orating governor to scan the crowded gallery reserved for ladies.

Down in newspaper row the legislative reporters were taking it easy, for the inaugural was in type long since, awaiting only the message of "release," to greet the governor from the printed page as he left the state-house.

They, too, scanned the ladies' gallery—in search of copy, they would have said if pressed for an excuse—and for once Hal Butler actually found some there.

"George!" said he to his next neighbor, "look up in the hen-coop. Just this side of the middle pillar. See?"

George looked and grinned appreciatively.

"You saw her first. She belongs to you," he said.

So it was the "Under the Dome" column of gossip in *The Evening Watchman* that told the story; and the *Morning Mirror's* breezy description of the inauguration lacked this one touch.

Said *The Watchman*: "In the ladies' gallery to-day was one of the fair sex who can bring numerous witnesses to testify that she is not of those lilies of the field who toil not, neither do they spin. She must have arrived early, ahead of the crowd, for she had a choice seat in the front row. Following intelligently the progress of business, she evidently approved of the governor's message, for she nodded vigorously at its strong points. She could n't applaud as others did, for her hands were busily occupied with some kind of fancy work. Only when the chaplain prayed was her flying needle quiet, though under the spell of His Excellency's most eloquent passages it lagged a bit. Almost pausing, too, when the inaugural party entered and again when it departed with all the gay gowns in brilliant array. The Woman with the Knitting was, in fact, the one unique feature of this Inauguration."

The *Mirror* man was first in his seat next day and when Hal came in, with his usual rush to beat the speaker's gavel, his neighbor had something to communicate.

"You did n't scare her off, after all," said he. "I was afraid you would, but she is still here."

"She? Who?" asked Hal.

"Why, the Woman with the Knitting," replied Holland. "See her? Same place and same knitting."

Then the speaker and the clerks started up the legislative machinery and the newspaper men had no time for gossip if they were to keep pace with the routine.

Presently the pace slackened and Hal found a chance to slip in a word.

"I've got a clue," he informed Holland.

"To what?"

"To the Woman with the Knitting. When the clerk read the notice of a bill to be introduced by Mr. Choate of Hilton,

'to put a bounty on hedgehogs,' she stopped her work and smiled a smile that was a regular beam. So she's interested in either Choate or hedgehogs. Most likely Choate. Know him?"

"No. Look him up in the Blue Book when you get a chance."

This is what the Blue Book said: "Choate, John, of Hilton, Republican. B. in Hilton 1870, always lived there. Farmer. Educated public-schools. Married; no children. Congregationalist. Member of the Patrons of Husbandry."

That afternoon came the biennial lottery of the seat-drawing, a ceremony through which the newspaper men always sat for the purpose of getting acquainted with the new crop of legislators so as to be able to make the right hitch between new names and new faces.

Butler and Holland were on the alert when "Mr. Choate of Hilton" was called, but he proved to be the ordinary farmer from a back town, awkward in his new surroundings, blushing red from shyness, but clean and honest in face and manner. He had good luck in the lottery, drawing a seat on an aisle, directly in front of the speaker.

The little woman up in the gallery beamed more brightly than ever as she saw a page conduct the member from Hilton to so desirable a location; and he for his part turned and waved a joyful hand of greeting.

After that, during the long turmoil of the session, it was ever a source of relief to Butler and Holland to turn their eyes upward to the gallery, sure to see there a busy little woman, fingers twinkling among soft wools or gray yarns or white cloth, eyes not long diverted from the broad shoulders and brown hair of the member from Hilton.

One day Holland was absent, and Butler, in payment for doing the other's work as well as his own, brought in pretty Mrs. Butler to occupy the vacant seat.

As he could snatch time through the rush of the day he pointed out to her the leaders of the House and its freaks; the

oldest and the youngest members, the handsomest and the homeliest, the tallest and the shortest, the millionaire and the prize-fighter, the famous novelist and the infamous lobbyist.

And finally he told her about the Woman with the Knitting and directed her attention to the gallery seat beside the pillar. There Mrs. Butler looked long and with interest; with a gaze that would have been a stare, in fact, had the object of the scrutiny been aware of it.

But the Woman with the Knitting was intent, as usual, on her work and her husband; smiling, as her fingers flew, a vague little smile that came with her thoughts and seemed to veil her eyes.

Curiously enough, the same sort of a smile hovered over Mrs. Butler's face in unconscious response. Also, she turned a little pink and shot a stealthy glance at her husband; who, however, was busily transcribing the ardent utterances of a rural statesman with various and sundry grievances to air.

So she waited until the privacy of their own home enshrouded them before imparting to her husband certain information which he greeted with a long-drawn whistle.

"Say, old man," he observed to Holland next morning, "maybe it would be more polite of us not to stare so much at the Woman with the Knitting."

"What do you mean?" snapped Holland, with the frown that usually follows a day off.

"Why, that work she is everlastingly doing is on baby things, my wife says."

"Baby things?"

"Yes. Things for a baby to wear, you know."

"Well, what if they are?" objected Holland. "What difference does it make what she's knitting anyway?"

"They're for her baby, you old numbskull. And they do n't know yet whether they can name it Solon or Capitola. Now do you see?"

Holland saw at last; and into his cynical, old bachelor eyes came a touch of

the mystical dreamfulness that the women's eyes had known the day before.

So it came about that the Woman with the Knitting figured no more in the columns of *The Watchman* and *The Mirror*; the member from Hilton was conscious of an increased kindness towards himself from Newspaper Row; and Holland once or twice lost an important point from a story because the flying needles in the gallery seemed to have hypnotized him.

Then came the bill to incorporate the United States Horse Improvement Association.

The member from Hilton had been honored at the outset of the session by appointment as chairman of the committee on agricultural affairs. Half a century before this was one of the "big" committees of the session and its chairmanship carried a good deal of responsibility and influence.

Back in the woods at Hilton they cherished the impression that it did still, and both Mr. Choate and his constituents were a good deal impressed with his importance when the committee list was published.

But as the session wore away and not one bill was referred to this committee on agricultural affairs, its chairman began to realize that probably he had been placed there to get him out of the way.

He did not like the idea a little bit, either. Up in Hilton there were so many statesmen in embryo that no man was ever allowed to come to the legislature more than once. This was Choate's sole chance to achieve fame, and, this was what worried him most, the Woman with the Knitting had absolute faith that he was going to do it.

The member from Hilton himself was not so sure. He grew uneasy; fidgeted in his seat; half rose from it once or twice when the waves of debate rolled inspiringly high over the subject of oleomargarine or forest preservation; then sank back again, angry at himself for his lack of courage.

The press row knew the symptoms and the word went round that the member from Hilton was due for a speech.

It came when the chairman of the committee on agricultural affairs introduced an act to incorporate the United States Horse Improvement Association, and moved its passage. Choate did well, better than his friends in the Row had expected, and the little woman in the gallery ceased her knitting for a much longer time than ever before during the session.

The member from Hilton paid eloquent tribute to man's best friend, the horse; told of the fine horses that had been bred in this state in the past; and enlarged upon what the United States Horse Improvement Association intended to do in the future in the way of stock farms, horse shows, etc.

The bill passed at once its first and second readings without opposition and went to the table to be printed in regular course. Choate of Hilton was inclined to consider himself quite a legislative leader, and his wife had the halls of Congress plainly pictured in her mind.

Their friends in Newspaper Row also were pleased, at first; but Holland's brow was clouded when he came in next morning.

"Have you looked up that bill Choate put in yesterday?" he asked of Butler.

"No; have n't had time yet," replied Butler. "Something in it?"

"Something in it? There's all hell in it!" replied Holland with appropriate heat. "The New York racing law with some additions has been sneaked into that bill. It just gives the state to this Horse Improvement Association. They can build race-tracks anywhere they like and do whatever they like on them."

"All right, then, let's show it up," proposed Butler, rather pleased at the idea of a good row with which to close the session.

"Show it up? Oh, yes, we'll show it up," answered Holland with scorn. "Why, before this bill went in the men

behind it had retained every law firm of any account in the state; and as near as I can find out had seen every newspaper proprietor. They've got my boss fixed good and strong, I know. He told me who are at the bottom of it—Blake and Waite, the Westerners. Yes, you and I will show it up, I do n't think."

"Quite a jump from that pair to Choate of Hilton," suggested Butler.

"That's what makes me so cussed mad," responded Holland. "Why did n't they let one of their own gang put in their dirty bill instead of fathering it on an honest farmer? If it passes and is known as the Choate law it means shame for him and his children and his children's children."

"Gee, but you're looking a long ways into the future," laughed Butler.

Holland laughed, too, after a moment. "I do n't know why I'm so worked up over this thing," he acknowledged, "but when I see that little woman knitting away up there, so full of love and pride for her husband, and then think of how these big thief lawyers are using him it makes me madder than if I was the fool myself. It makes no difference to any one else how big an ass I make of myself."

It was Butler's turn now to grow grave, as the thought of his wife at home came into his mind. "You're right, old man," he said, "it's a beastly shame; and you and I will fix it yet."

Then the speaker's gavel fell, and it was a case of all hustle and no talk for the newspaper men. But while their pencils flew, recording the proceedings automatically, each was doing a heap of thinking; and when adjournment came each had a plan in his head.

"I'll see Choate this noon," said Holland, "and tell him the truth about the bill."

"And I will send word to my wife to come up to the statehouse this afternoon," added Butler. "Maybe she can do something with the little woman up in the gallery."

So near was the session to final ad-

jourment that the whole capitol was thronged that afternoon with those interested in the fate of some of the measures in the great heap still awaiting disposition. Lobbyists were fully as numerous as legislators and apparently much more interested in the business in hand.

"Did you fetch him?" asked Butler, anxiously.

"I think so," answered Holland, "but wait and see."

Up in the gallery the crush was something fearful, but the Woman with the Knitting was promptly and proudly in her place; and soon, perhaps the door-keeper knew how it was done, Butler's little brown wife snuggled down beside her.

Butler, watching out of the corner of his eye, gave his wife a mental pat on the back as he saw how soon the two were chatting away as briskly as old friends.

"Pretty strong on the 'con.' game is that little girl, I guess," he said to himself, the while he recorded the opening routine of the afternoon.

The climax was not long in coming. The Choate Bill, not for a moment delayed at the printer's, came up in its turn to be ordered to a third reading, which would naturally come on the following day with the vote on its passage to follow.

But time was precious; there was no danger in sight; and up jumped a little city man in the front circle, right under the approving eyes of the big bosses.

The formal motion rattled off his tongue: "Mr. Speaker, I move you that the rules be so far suspended that this bill be read a third time by its title at the present time and put upon its passage."

"You hear the motion," the speaker took up the chain with perfunctory promptness, "those who are in favor of suspending the rules——"

"Mr. Speaker!" came a clear, insistent call from the member for Hilton.

The speaker glanced up in surprise and hesitated. But this was the man who reported the bill; he must be all right; and so he recognized:

"The gentleman from Hilton."

Holland smiled in reply to Butler's questioning look.

"He's all right, that boy," he said, "get ready your buckets, for here comes the deluge."

Up in the gallery the fingers in the knitting were still. The Woman leaned forward, her lips parted. "Oh, I'm so glad," she whispered to herself.

"Mr. Speaker," said the member from Hilton, "the bill now under consideration came from my committee and was reported by me with the recommendation that it ought to pass. When I made that motion I had an entirely mistaken idea of the bill. I say now that I hope the bill will not pass. With a pretense of innocence it cloaks vile evil. Its promoters and instigators have hoped to betray the people of this state without their knowledge; to rob them of their birth-right of honor and truth; to find in them a fresh field for debasing and demoralizing exploitation."

By this time there was hubbub in all parts of the house. The little man in the front row waved his hand in the air and cried piercingly: "Order, Mr. Speaker, order."

"The gentleman from Hilton will suspend," proclaimed the speaker, "a point of order having been raised."

"My point of order is this, Mr. Speaker," said the little man, visibly swelling with the importance of the moment and the evident, though unspoken, approval of the bosses. "The gentleman from Hilton is making reckless, unfounded, libelous statements against gentlemen who are unable to defend themselves on the floor of this house, though we who know them know how unjust, how hideously unjust, these calumnies are. Mr. Speaker, when such action as this is attempted at such a stage in the life of a measure we who have had legislative experience know what to call it. We say that it is either a 'hold-up' or a 'sell-out.' And, Mr. Speaker, this house will stand

for neither. It will pass this bill without the vote of the gentleman of Hilton, whose cowardly attacks and base insinuations you will, Mr. Speaker, I hope, restrain."

The gentleman from Hilton seemed to require more than verbal restraint just then, for he had risen from his seat, stepped into the aisle and taken one long stride towards his defamer. Up in Hilton, as on the frontier, some words are fighting words and John Choate believed he had heard those words directed at him just then.

The house was in an uproar. The speaker broke the head of his gavel in frenzied pounding. The sergeant-at-arms tried in vain to remember where he had last seen the mace, official emblem of his authority.

But the tumult was stilled as suddenly as it had arisen. The little woman in the gallery had dropped her knitting and was leaning over the rail.

"John!" she called. "John!"

Choate of Hilton heard and hesitated, turned and resumed his seat. Others about him heard and saw and the story spread electrically over the house.

Presently there was a queer, questioning quiet abroad. The speaker, new gavel in hand, stood uncertain.

Holland wrote four words on a card and sent a page flying with it to Choate. On the instant the member from Hilton rose.

"Mr. Speaker, I move that this bill be indefinitely postponed," he said.

There was a wriggle of protest around the semi-circle in front of the speaker, but from all parts of the hall came cries of "Question! Question!"

The speaker put the motion and with a roar that was heard for a block the house vindicated John Choate of Hilton.

Even as the shout arose, and before the speaker announced the result, there was a little stir in the gallery and two seats in the front row were vacant.

For the first time during the session the Woman with the Knitting had left her post before adjournment.

Holland and Butler exchanged congratulations in a corner at the Press Club that evening.

"Lucky my wife was there," said Butler. "Case of hustle home, now I tell you. But they're all doing well, even Papa Choate."

"What is it?" asked Holland.

"Boy. Ten pounds. And they've named him Holland Choate."

"Appropriate to the day anyhow. Sounds like holler and vote," said the godfather with a pretense at gruffness.

But presently his cigar went out unheeded as he thought with an inward smile of how little Holler and Vote was probably justifying his name just then, somewhere down the Avenue.

HARLAN C. PEARSON.

Concord, N. H.



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Drawn by Ryan Walker expressly for THE ARENA.



1—after you had posed in the Senate for years as the incorruptible champion of the Common People—



2—and you had shown your sturdy Democracy by even refusing to wear evening cloths at society functions—



3—and you had publicly assailed the Oil Trust as the arch-enemy of your constituents—
Oppen, in New York American.



4—If you were suddenly exposed as the paid servant of the Standard Oil Trust? Wouldn't it DISCOURAGE you?
(Reproduced by special permission of W. E. Hearst.)



Finch, in Denver Rocky Mountain News.

"I GUESS I WON'T NEED THIS BOOK DURING THE CAMPAIGN."



Naughton, in Duluth Herald.

THE SAME OLD MERRY-GO-ROUND.

Taft: "I am in favor of Tariff Revision. We will reach it in time."



Bengough, in *Chicago Public*.
ON THE NEW REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.



Lovey, in *Salt Lake Herald*.
UNANIMOUS.



Carter, in *Boston American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

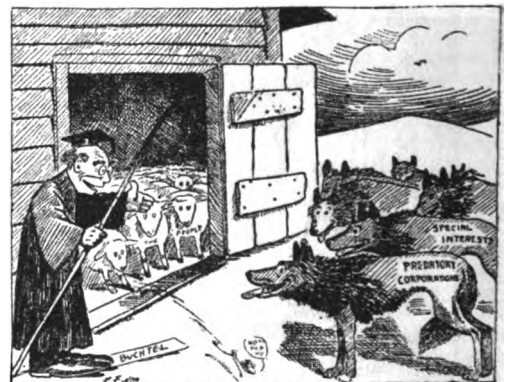
He finds there is one bird he cannot bow—the independent American eagle. He and his tame geese find the times precarious—the elephant and the tiger are as restless as the eagle.



From *Wickham's Magazine*.
"TWO MIGHTY HUNTERS."



Bush, in *New York World*.
THE JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON.



Finch, in *Denver Rocky Mountain News*.
THE UNFAITHFUL SHEPHERD.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.*

THE COLORADO CONFLICT AND ITS GRAVE SIGNIFICANCE.

The Clear-Out Issue Between Democracy and Plutocracy.

THE CONFLICT in Colorado is one of the most momentous state elections in recent decades. Here the issue between popular rule and reactionary class domination and privileged interests is clearly drawn—something that is rare indeed since the trusts and corporations have actively entered politics. There could be no shadow of doubt as to the result in the coming struggle being a splendid triumph for the fundamental principles of free government, barring intimidation, ballot-box stuffing and other species of fraud, were it not for the untimely and unfortunate division of those who should stand shoulder to shoulder in the present great struggle for the wresting of the government from as corrupt, revolutionary, despotic and essentially lawless a *régime* as has ever disgraced a commonwealth of the New World; a *régime* in which a brutal militia, acting as the servant of special interests, trampled upon popular rights in a manner that twenty-five years ago would have been thought impossible of toleration in any state of the Union; a *régime* in which these high-handed measures were not only condoned but upheld by the chief executive acting as a tool for the same privileged

interests; a *régime*, furthermore, in which the judiciary of the state has arrogated to itself powers and rights never before recognized in America and which strike at the foundation of free government.

During recent years the corrupt public-service companies of Colorado and certain other plutocratic interests have gained a strong hold on the Democratic party, especially in Denver, where Mayor Speer and his corrupt machine worked hand in glove with the equally corrupt Republican organization to further in every way possible the interests of the public utility trust of Denver, headed by William G. Evans.

At the last spring election the public-service companies determined by aid of their tools in the two parties to carry elections that would give them franchises worth millions upon millions of dollars, in spite of the apparent fact that a majority of the people were opposed to the giving away of these enormously valuable assets of the city—assets which in a few years could easily be made to pay all the taxes of Denver. By high-handed, brazen and indefensible methods the united rings compassed their ends, but not without having recourse to corrupt practices, such as having property deeded to men so as to get votes that

*EXPLANATORY NOTE.—This month we depart somewhat from our custom of noticing the chief events of vital interest in the happenings of the world, in order to give special attention to different phases of the great and irrepressible conflict that is being waged in the United States between democracy and plutocracy, between the friends of free institutions and powerful privileged interests seeking by corrupt and flagrantly brazen methods to wrest government from the real control of the people and lodge it with the money-controlled machine for the further enrichment and enthronement of the feudalism of privilege. The present conflict is vital to the very life of republican institutions. It is not a party question. The circumstance that the machinery of the Republican party has in many states been more completely captured by the public-service corporations, the trusts and monopolies than has that of the Democratic party is merely an incidental fact. The great conflict is a conflict between principles. Thus we find Senator La Follette and Winston Churchill, those staunch Republicans, doing as valiant service in battling against the corrupt influence of the railways and other privileged interests as are any of the leading spirits among the

progressive Democrats. While on the other hand the Ryan, Belmont, McClellan, Jerome and Parker brand of Democracy in New York State represents all that is most odious in the corrupt domination of privileged interests. In Pennsylvania the battle is being carried on between the Lincoln Republicans and the corporation-controlled Republican machine. And so we find everywhere the new alignment or the rearranging of the forces for the great pending struggle—a struggle that will within the next few years determine whether the republic is to remain a democratic or free government or become a feudalism of privileged interests, masquerading under the form of an aristocratic republic.

We desire also to call attention to the addition of Mr. Allan L. Benson and Professor Frank Parsons to our regular contributing editorial force for *The Mirror of the Present*; and in answer to many inquiries we wish to state that the Editor of *THE ARENA* is responsible for all unsigned articles in the body of the magazine, whether appearing in *The Mirror of the Present*, the Book Review department, or elsewhere. All the contributions by Mr. Benson and Professor Parsons will be signed.—Editor of *THE ARENA*.

could not rightfully be cast, whereupon the friends of good government immediately instituted proceedings to compel a recount of the ballots and to punish those who had flagrantly violated the laws. But the Speer or corporation Democratic organization was powerless to prevent this without the aid of the corporation-owned Republican party; so the Supreme Court promptly came to the aid of the grafters and criminals by thwarting the legal course of Judges Johnson and Mullins. When Judge Lindsey took up the case there was a general flight of the "safe and sane" conservative rascals, for the people had become so aroused that there were signs of weakening on the part of some of the officials whose influence had heretofore been cast solidly with the corporations. This was the situation when the decent or true Democrats of Denver, and all over Colorado, demanded that once and for all the grafters and corrupt corporation-ruled bosses and machines should be cast out of the Democratic organization.

Colorado Democracy Drives The Corruptionists and Grafters From The Party.

The brave words of Mr. Bryan when denouncing the notorious corporation tool, Roger Sullivan of Illinois, in which he said: "If the Democratic party has not virtue enough to spew out those who traffic in politics for the advantage of the corporations to which they belong, it does not deserve victory, nor can it hope to achieve it," were taken as the key-note by the democratic Democrats of Colorado.

Large and enthusiastic meetings were held in Denver by the forces of clean and honest government, and they culminated in a rousing Democratic rally shortly before the meeting of the state convention. At this great gathering, which represented a combination of the brains, the culture and the conscience of Denver Democracy, resolutions were carried demanding the absolute repudiation of the tools of the corporations and the corruptionists that had long disgraced the party and shamed the government of the state. The reorganized Democracy named many of the strongest and ablest men of Colorado as its delegates to the state convention, while Mayor Speer and the corporation or money-controlled machine prepared to battle for admission as the regular representatives of the party from Denver.

At first the discredited Mayor and his henchmen manifested little fear. They apparently thought that money could do anything, and they knew how alarmed and aroused were the immensely rich public-service corporations of Denver and of Colorado and how liberally and freely they would gladly contribute to anything that would destroy the rising tide of pure democracy. Later, however, they became alarmed, as from all parts of the state came news of the rallying of the people to the standard of pure government and genuine democracy.

The convention met, and it was grandly representative of the best manhood of the state. It rose splendidly to the august demands of the hour and by an overwhelming vote of 561 to 163 it repudiated the Evans-Speer machine Democracy and recognized and seated the reorganized Democracy of Denver.

The Platform and The Ticket.

Fine as was the action of the state convention in casting out the traitors who were plutocracy's minions and beneficiaries, this was but the first work in a convention marked by a degree of statesmanship and fidelity to the fundamental principles of popular government that would have rejoiced the heart of Jefferson and the fathers of the Republic. The platform adopted was one upon which Jefferson and Lincoln would have been proud to stand, judging from the lives, teachings and action of these great statesmen of the people. It was a platform fully abreast of the times and it absolutely committed the party not only to clean and honest government, but to the fundamental principles of popular rule, which have been imperilled in Colorado as in no other state in the Republic. It demanded the initiative and referendum; direct primary laws; the election of United States Senators by direct vote; municipal ownership of public utilities; the abolition, by constitutional amendment if necessary, of the kingly prerogatives arrogated by the courts; and the limitation of the power of the courts to punish for contempt. It demanded the creation of a railroad commission with a membership elected by the people, the abolition of passes, and the abolition of the lobby. It denounced the card-system in mining camps as an indefensible attack on the integrity of labor, and declared that there can be no alliance with corporations that exploit the people. It demand-

ed that the corporations shall file statements with the Secretary of State, and pledged laws making it a felony for corporations to contribute to campaign funds. It denounced in unmeasured terms the notorious decisions of the Supreme Court, made, as the convention averred, "as the price paid for the contribution of public and semi-public corporations to the campaign funds of the Republican party." So excellent is the arraignment of the amazing action of the Supreme Court that we quote at length from the platform:

"These decisions have abolished the writ of *habeas corpus*, guaranteed by our state constitution and the constitution of every state in the Union, the common heritage of English-speaking people since the right to the writ was wrested from King John, centuries ago.

"These decisions have set up a returning board with power to overthrow the will of the people as expressed at the polls upon the false and trivial excuse that they were following the opinion of a court of inferior jurisdiction.

"These judges have set themselves upon a throne; they have taken charge of the elections; they have installed a governor and changed majorities in the senate and in the general assembly; they have named two of their own associates; they have abolished the right of trial by jury and have deprived men of both liberty and property without due or any process of law; their attempt to strike down the freedom of the press is now a pending question before the Supreme Court of the United States; they have by the invention of a so-called high prerogative writ, the claimed right of which is based upon kingly power, undertaken to prohibit the judges of other courts, elected by the people, from administering the laws; they are a menace to liberty, not only in the State of Colorado, but a danger to the principles of liberty everywhere.

"The decisions of a majority of this court have nullified the twentieth amendment to the constitution—an amendment adopted by the people at the polls by an overwhelming majority and with the indorsement of both political parties. We proclaim without fear of contradiction that no other court in an American state has ever denied the power of the people to amend a constitution which the people made, and which only exists by virtue of the people's votes.

"The security of life, liberty and property, the peace and safety of the people and the

orderly conduct of the affairs of state, of communities and of individuals can only be maintained by a judiciary which commands and merits the confidence and respect of the people. The conduct of a majority of the Supreme Court has undermined this confidence and respect."

The platform rings true throughout and the demands are demands that in our judgment are the most pressing and fundamental immediate reforms called for in Colorado if the underlying principles of free government are to be maintained and the rights of the people are to be preserved from the aggressions of a lawless and despotic plutocracy operating through conscienceless tools.

It may be argued that the platform does not go far enough in certain directions, and there are doubtless tens of thousands of citizens in Colorado who feel that it should have been even more radical than it is; yet two facts must be taken into consideration: In the first place, all peaceful or evolutionary reform in democratic government which is opposed by powerful and entrenched interests is possible only by the step-by-step method and by methods which preserve intact the democratic form, method and spirit in government, or those things which vitally differentiate a democracy from a class-ruled government.

Now by the adoption of the initiative and referendum, which is one of the cardinal pledges of this platform, and by the submission and advocacy of an admirable Direct-Legislation constitutional amendment, which the party has incorporated in its platform, Colorado would place herself side by side with Oregon and make it possible for citizens of all shades of political belief to accomplish any legislation that they might be able to convince the majority of the electorate was just or necessary. The adoption of such measures as this in the present crisis we believe must precede the possibility of carrying into effect in a peaceable manner any more radical programme that may be proposed or desired by the people.

The public-ownership of public utilities would serve to break the power of the money-controlled machine and the corporations, as would also direct primaries and the direct election of United States Senators, and other reforms demanded. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive of a programme possible of success at the present crisis that would strike more

effective blows against the corrupt domination of wealth and render possible orderly, constitutional and peaceable advance along radical lines than that adopted by this convention.

The ticket nominated, judging from the reports of those in whom we place great confidence, is on the whole an admirable one and one composed of nominees who would faithfully strive to carry out the pledges of the convention.

In his speech accepting the nomination Governor Adams, who was robbed of the office to which the people elected him through the action of the Supreme Court and who has now been renominated for Governor, made clear his position in regard to the corporation influences in the Democratic party in the following unequivocal utterance:

"The Democratic party must realize that it cannot cure graft as long as it wishes to secure some of the plunder for its side. No cattle-thief was ever convicted by a jury that had eaten a part of the beef. The corporations have tainted politics by contributing to all parties. Lincoln said that the Union could not exist half slave and half free. Neither can the Democracy exist half for the corporations and half for the people.

"To every plank in the noble platform you have heard we subscribe. It is a new Declaration of Independence—the new Democracy's challenge to misrule and corruption. Give us judges that are true, officials that are true, a legislature that is true, and the people and not the corporations will reign once more in the capitol."

The Republican Party Abjectly Surrenders to The Throne Powers.

While the Democratic party thus placed itself squarely in the van of progress, the Republican party of Colorado afforded one of the most pitiable spectacles seen in recent years of abject surrender to the notorious corporations that have so disgraced the state and exploited the people. It even went to an extreme that few self-respecting citizens believed would be possible, when it bowed to the autocratic dictation of William G. Evans, the great public-utility boss of Denver, and placed the constitution-defying Judge Gabbert on the ticket. The respectable element of the Republican convention, and, indeed, all who cherished any sincere regard for the sanctity of free institutions, respect for the

courts and regard for constitutional guarantees, fought against the nomination of Gabbert; but the corporation chiefs, with the arrogant insolence that always characterizes an irresponsible autocracy, insisted on their will becoming the law for the party, and Gabbert became the nominee, whereupon the head of the Republican ticket, shortly after the nomination, resigned from the place to which he had been nominated. It was given out that his withdrawal was due to ill health, but the statement made that the real cause of the resignation was the placing of Gabbert on the ticket was doubtless the true reason of Mr. Stewart's withdrawal. Indeed, his letter of resignation leaves little doubt on this point.

Consternation reigned in the Republican camp when Stewart refused to run with Gabbert. One after another the various Republicans who were considered available for candidates were sounded, but all refused to run. Then the notorious public-service magnate who was also the biggest boss in the Republican party of Colorado insisted on Chancellor H. A. Buchtel of the Denver University becoming the figure-head. The *Rocky Mountain Daily News* in commenting on the dilemma of the Republican party owing to the refusal of Stewart to run with Gabbert, said:

"For more than three days the representatives of the allied corporations of Colorado have hawked the nomination about the state and have offered it to almost every prominent Republican who would consent to wear a corporation collar. Only yesterday afternoon, Whitney Newton, former state treasurer, rejected it as a thing unclean. Governor McDonald, George W. Cook and Robert W. Bonyng, subservient servants of the machine, refused it. Then Chancellor Buchtel was offered the place, and at the urgent solicitation of William G. Evans accepted it."

In the acceptance of this office by Rev. Mr. Buchtel at the dictation of Boss Evans we see another instance of the degrading and demoralizing influence of predatory and tainted wealth over prominent educators and divines since the corrupt and lawless plutocracy has set out deliberately and determinedly to drug the conscience of church and school and prevent these great engines of civilization from longer being aggressive forces for honesty, probity and morality. Dr. Buchtel has been a distinguished divine in the Methodist church, but he has, at least since he accepted the po-

sition as Chancellor of Denver University, been a personal friend of Evans, and the present instance is by no means the first time that he has shown himself willing to bow to the dictation of the odious boss in a way that amazed and humiliated many of his friends who place civic righteousness and the principles of free government above the wealth of unscrupulous public-service magnates and monopolists.

"It is not," observes the *News*, "the first time that Chancellor Buchtel has been subjected to censure because of his desire to advance the interests of his friend Evans, who is president of the board of trustees of the university. During the Peabody campaign, a young student named Reed was practically driven from college because he had criticized the war governor. Later, Professor Roberts was sent to Europe, ostensibly as a representative of the university, but in reality as the paid man of William G. Evans to secure data which Evans might use in his fight against municipal ownership in this city. Roberts was quickly exposed and forced into retirement, but not before he had done the university serious damage."

The Division in The Radical Forces Threatens The Success of The People.

If all the progressive citizens who sincerely desire to see juster social conditions and clean and honest government prevail, should unite upon this ticket, pledged to those fundamental first requisites of social progress, there would be little or no doubt as to the result, notwithstanding the vast corruption fund that will in all probability be contributed by the smelter-trust, the railways and other public-service bodies and all the exploiting and oppressing predatory bands which have so long flourished through plundering the people, oppressing labor and defeating the expressed will of the people at the polls; for no one appreciates more keenly the real meaning of the present struggle between democracy and plutocracy than the master-spirits in the feudalism of wealth.

On the other hand, and unhappily, a large proportion of the liberal and truly democratic citizens do not, it seems to us, appreciate the extreme gravity of the present situation and the true significance of the desperate struggle that is being waged. Their hearts are right,

their convictions and ideals are noble, but we question the wisdom of their conclusions at the present crucial hour. Thus, while the plutocracy is a unit, the reformers are divided.

The candidacy of Judge Lindsey, at this distance from the fighting center, appears inexplicable, especially since a short time before he announced himself as an independent candidate he wrote to Governor Adams stating that he regarded the latter as the logical candidate and indicating, in tenor if not in exact words, that he would support Mr. Adams if the latter was nominated. From the press dispatches which we have seen it would appear that the only possible result of Judge Lindsey's candidacy at the present time, since the Democratic party has adopted a platform demanding the great reforms that the Judge himself regards as of paramount importance, while furthermore it has cast out the plutocratic and machine element, would be to place in jeopardy the cause of the people as represented by the radical democracy of Colorado and to render reasonably certain the election of the odious corporation ticket representing all the Judge has so ably, fearlessly and nobly fought. Personally we have the most absolute belief in the integrity, sincerity and probity of Judge Lindsey, but we know how often men who are not practical politicians have been led by false and designing friends to enter contests in which the candidates themselves have been moved only by the highest motives, but, acting under a mistaken apprehension of the facts, their candidacy has operated so as to defeat the cause of the people and to set back the hands on the dial of progress, making the only real result of their action the defeat of the very cause they hoped to advance. We fear that in this instance Judge Lindsey may have been thus led to make a mistake detrimental if not indeed fatal to the immediate victory of the cause of popular government and civic righteousness. In saying this we do not for a moment wish to cast any reflection upon the character, ideals or impulses of the Judge. Knowing as we do his lofty patriotism and rectitude of purpose, we cannot refrain from hoping that he will withdraw in favor of Governor Adams before the election, for the good of the people's cause.

The second and doubtless the gravest element of danger is found in the votes that will be cast for the Socialist ticket. The Socialists are men of conscience and conviction. They are for the most part high-minded, earnest,

sincere patriots and are desirous of doing only that which they conceive will most rapidly inaugurate a juster social order. Moreover, in the pending election they are naturally strongly swayed by sentimental reasons. They have been most shamefully treated by the ruling powers of Colorado. Not only the iniquitous Republican government, but the odious Speer-corporation-Democratic machine of Denver, has been equally culpable; but this machine and its adherents were as thoroughly repudiated by the Democratic convention, according to all the newspaper reports we have seen, as was the indefensible, unjust and essentially lawless course of the judicial, executive and legislative departments of Colorado under Republican domination. This is an important fact that it seems to us the Socialists should not lose sight of. That they justly feel they have a special grievance goes without saying. Their leaders have been denied the rights supposed to be guaranteed to the humblest citizen accused of a crime. They were shamefully kidnapped and taken out of the state without due process of law, and they have been brutally and inhumanly treated—treated in a manner worse than would have been justified if they had been found guilty of the crimes charged. But they have not only at the present writing not been convicted of any crime, but every attempt on the part of the accused to obtain an early trial has been frustrated.

The laboring men of Colorado, since the triumph of the feudalism of corrupt wealth, have been shamefully treated by the discredited Peabody and the still more brutal and odious Bell; while the assaults on the freedom of the press and the rights of the citizens and the attempt to prevent the triumph of pure government by the Supreme Court have all served to arouse and exasperate labor's forces. Moreover, the discredited Speer administration of Denver has broken up the open-air Socialist meetings and arrested the leaders. These and other things done by the agents of plutocracy have aroused the Socialists and they are striving to secure as great a vote as possible as a protest against the wrongs they have endured. We understand their feelings and thoroughly sympathize with their righteous indignation, and if the Democratic party had not driven the plutocracy out of its ranks, bag and baggage, repudiating its corrupt rule and lawless deeds; if it had not placed itself clearly in favor of those first great fundamental

reforms which are not only vital to free government but essential to the peaceful triumph of any new political ideals or fundamental advance movement; and if it had not made a clear-cut issue of the despotic action of the Supreme Court, declaring most unequivocally against the assault on the freedom of the press and the rights of the individual which the Republican party has endorsed and upheld by nominating the American Jeffreys, Gabbert, to again disgrace the bench, we could fully sympathize with the Socialists in their attempt to secure as large a vote as possible. But noble and rare in modern politics as is the fine sentiment of loyalty to their leaders, in whom they have confidence and whom they believe to be the victims of an infamous plot, and important as it is on ordinary occasions for men to stand squarely for the whole creed they believe to be redemptive in character, there are hours of supreme peril in government when the highest wisdom, whether viewed from the standpoint of partisan, patriot or citizen, dictates the union with others for the preservation or maintenance of the vital groundwork or fundamental principles without the enjoyment of which no peaceable social, economic or political revolution is possible; and we know of no instance in modern times where the call is so clear for the union of all friends of fundamental democracy against the enemies of free discussion, a free press and a free government as in the present titanic battle in Colorado.

Why The Union of All Friends of Free Government is Imperatively Demanded.

The conditions at the present time in Colorado are exceptional and call for exceptional wisdom on the part of all friends of pure democracy and true social advance. The vital principles over which the Democrats and Republicans are fighting this year in Colorado affect no persons more intimately than the Socialists. This is a fact that no thoughtful Socialist can afford to ignore, and that it is the case will, we think, be perfectly apparent if we consider some important facts involved.

In the first place, the freedom of the press and the rights of the citizens are cardinal issues. To this and to every other plank of the platform Governor Adams has given his enthusiastic and unreserved adherence, whereas if Gabbert and the Republican ticket are

electd it will be accepted as a triumph for the reactionary despotism that has striven to destroy the freedom of the press, free speech and the just rights of the citizens. If these fundamental principles of free government are overthrown, as it is perfectly apparent is the settled determination of the plutocracy, there will be no more hope for the Socialists to achieve a peaceful or constitutional victory for their principles or ideals than would be the case if they dwelt in Russia. Let the plutocracy triumph in this clear-cut battle with radical democracy, and nothing will be easier than the accomplishment of that which the despotism of privileged wealth so fondly desires to accomplish—the outlawing of Socialist papers, under one pretext or another, and the harassing of all Socialist educational propaganda absolutely essential to the spread of the tenets. Now the Democratic party and its candidates are pledged to destroy root and branch the destructive attempts on the freedom of the press and the rights of the citizens which have been so brazenly put forth by the governmental friends of plutocracy in Colorado and which have been endorsed by the corporation-owned Republican convention by the attempt to force Gabbert again on the people.

Moreover, the Democratic party proposes to go further and to enact measures that will serve to render it forever impossible for the courts to return to the despotism of the Stuarts for precedents in furthering the conspiracy of plutocracy against free government. Now the triumph of the Democratic programme which will achieve these things will benefit no class of citizens more than the Socialists. The triumph of the Republican party will mean the practical outlawing of all Socialists, as it will be everywhere taken as an endorsement of the Peabody-Bell-Gabbert reactionary and despotic *régime*, while it will rivet the despotism of the trusts and corporations on Colorado and compel weary years of fighting to emancipate the exploited toilers and wealth-consumers from their Egyptian task-masters.

The Democratic party is pledged to the initiative and referendum. Many of the most thoughtful Socialists fully appreciate the vital importance of these measures. Others do not, we think, realize the fact that until the despotism of corporate wealth acting through corrupt bosses and money-controlled machines is destroyed, as it can only be destroyed by Direct-Legislation, any victory by

Socialists would be rendered practically impossible by the all-powerful machine-dominated *régime* sustained by plutocracy; while once obtain Direct-Legislation, and the people have it in their power to obtain and enjoy any reform or progressive measure or system desired by the majority of the electors. And the Socialists no less than the progressive Democrats are certainly democratic enough not to wish to triumph until their victory will express the desire of the majority of the electorate. Hence we can conceive of nothing at the present stage of the movement so vitally important for the Socialists as the securing of Direct-Legislation, which would remove the insurmountable barrier now raised against the achievement by the people of anything antagonistic to the advancing feudalism of wealth.

Moreover, no class of citizens is more vitally interested than the Socialists in overthrowing the reign of corruption and political debauchery inaugurated by the plutocracy, which renders honest elections well-nigh impossible.

Now the coming election affords the opportunity for the people of Colorado to utterly overthrow the despotism of corrupt wealth. It affords the opportunity of redeeming the state and settling forever the seal of a people's righteous condemnation on the shameful attempts to overthrow constitutional government, trample under foot the rights of the people and establish a despotism as autocratic as that which prevails in Russia, as has been attempted and is further determined upon by the corporation-owned and controlled Republican party of Colorado. The opportunity is offered to secure those absolutely vital rights and measures for all the people which must obtain before the Socialists can hope for triumph,—free speech, a free press, the rights of individual citizens, and Direct-Legislation. And by a union of all friends of democratic institutions in this crucial moment a splendid victory can be won; but by division, though a vast majority of the citizens may condemn the despotism and corruption of corporation rule, the enemies of the people will triumph and in so far as Colorado is concerned the day of free government itself will be, for a season at least, a thing of the past; and the victory thus won will retard the cause of justice and reform, not only in Colorado, but throughout the nation.

Thus, for example, if four-sixths of all the votes polled are cast by the friends of free

government, still the bosses and corruptionists may easily win the day, as will be seen by the following: Let us suppose that Judge Lindsey received one-sixth of the votes, the Socialists a fraction over one-sixth of the votes, and the radical democracy a few votes less than two-sixths, while the corporation ticket secured two-sixths of the votes cast. Although four-sixths of the voters opposed corporation rule, yet the corporations would carry the day.

On the other hand, if all the friends of free government unite at this election they can overthrow the corrupt and oppressive rule of the corporations, rendering impossible any further assault on a free press, free speech and the rights of the individual, giving the people the opportunity to enact a Direct-Legislation constitutional amendment, and enthroning the people once more in the seat of power; while under such conditions it will be

perfectly easy for any party or cause to triumph in the future, where its adherents have convinced the majority of the electorate in regard to the wisdom of its claims.

In this great crucial hour, when the rights of a free press, of the individual and of popular rule are in the balance, we believe it is the high and sacred duty of all lovers of freedom and social advance to unite for the election of the only people's ticket which apparently has any reasonable chance of success at this election. To do this will not, it seems to us, mean the sacrifice of any principle, but rather the exercise of wisdom in accomplishing a fundamental victory in the only way in which a victory can be hoped for at the present time. Not to unite will result in no party of progress triumphing and will insure a condition of oppression, lawlessness and despotism that would strike at the very vitals of free institutions.

HENRY CABOT LODGE AS AN APOSTLE OF THE AUTOCRATIC MONEY-CONTROLLED MACHINE AND THE FOE OF POPULAR RULE.

Senator Lodge: A Man of Wealth and Education.

SENATOR LODGE, who has been aptly termed "the big boss of Massachusetts politics," is a man of wealth and education. The Boston *Herald* in an illustrated article on the millionaires of the Senate, published over a year ago, credited him with being worth four million dollars. But whether this estimate was correct or not, he is a man of wealth and of aristocratic and reactionary tendencies. We do not call to mind a single instance in recent years when it has been of vital importance to the privileged interests that are corrupting government and fattening off of the sustenance of the wealth-creators that his influence be cast for them, when he was found defending the people against the aggressions of privileged interests, or, indeed, when he has not been found standing shoulder to shoulder with Aldrich, Spooner, Elkins, Depew, Platt, Dryden, Penrose, Knox and other henchmen of the public-service corporations, trusts and privileged monopolies. At times where the interests of the plutocracy are not seriously threatened, it is helpful rather than otherwise

to the masters of the bosses and the money-controlled machine that he, as well as others who serve the "interests," should make a brave show of defending the people against the aggressions of the criminal rich. This is a part of the game that has been so long played by the Wall-street gamblers and the trust and public-service magnates that they seem to think it can be successfully played indefinitely.

But Mr. Lodge is also a man of education and culture.

Senator Lodge's Fatal Choice After Entering Political Life.

In his Harvard days Mr. Lodge was considered a young man with strong leanings toward independence of thought and action, and at that time, if we are not mistaken, he was not only a free-trader in sentiment but a member of the Cobden Club. Certain it is that he displayed a freedom from the trammels of sordid commercialism that gave his friends grounds to hope that the "scholar in politics," as he was often termed, would develop into far more than a machine politician and an autocratic boss whose concern for privileged

interests might well have excited the admiration of a Quay.

In those days we confess we shared the hopes of many other citizens, that Mr. Lodge might in a humbler but no less worthy manner sustain the high record of Massachusetts for true statesmanship—a record made glorious by Webster, Sumner and Hoar. But when the test came Senator Lodge chose to become a machine politician who should depend upon the privileged interests, as do all the bosses of the money-controlled machines, rather than upon the people for the sources of strength.

We well remember how fiercely Henry Cabot Lodge fought the nomination of James G. Blaine in the eighties and how he made common cause with the Mugwumps until after the nomination of Mr. Blaine. Then he became a sphinx for a time, and it was hoped by many of his friends that though he was then the leader of the party in Massachusetts, he would refuse to stultify himself by supporting the man he had so bitterly denounced and opposed as unfit for the high office to which he aspired. It was not until the night of the Republican ratification meeting in Tremont Temple, after the nomination, that Mr. Lodge definitely announced his decision to work for the election of the man he had regarded as so thoroughly unfit to be President of the United States. We were present at that memorable meeting and were satisfied that night that Mr. Lodge had made the momentous choice, that henceforth he would be a machine politician fighting for the success of the machine and the interests that alone made the machine all-powerful, rather than be a true statesman who placed the interests and concern of the people above all other considerations. We have never had reason to change our opinion from that hour.

Mr. Lodge's Open Opposition to Popular Rule.

In his oration at the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of the town of Brookline, Senator Lodge amazed his friends by the most astounding exhibition of ignorance or something worse in regard to a great issue that it has been our lot to hear.

The destruction of the corrupt lobby and the equally corrupt money-controlled political machine in Oregon, brought about by the people of that state when they embedded an honest and practical Direct-Legislation amendment in their constitution, has alarmed the

corporations, the criminal rich and their tools and servants more than anything that has transpired in American political life in recent years. The secret of the corruption that has become so giant-like in our government, no less than of the power of the trusts and public-service corporations, which enables them to defeat any really fundamental or effective legislation offered to curb the rapacity of privileged interests or destroy the advancing peril of lawless corporations, lies, as no one knows better than the princes of privilege and their political servants, in the money-controlled political machine. Anything that will destroy the autocratic power of the boss and the machine and make the people the real sovereigns by placing in their hands the power to veto the acts of men who have been entrusted with representative power but who have refused to carry out the desires of their constituents or to represent them, necessarily strikes a fatal blow at the unholy alliance of the corporation interests with the boss and the machine. No one knows this better than the aides and allies of the corporations in the high places of our government, and Senator Lodge, speaking in the interests of the aristocracy of privileged wealth and political bosses, attacked Direct-Legislation in his Brookline address.

This was not to be wondered at, in view of the triumph of the people's rule over the bosses and their masters in Oregon under Direct-Legislation; for it must be remembered that so long as the people had no power to compel their representatives to represent their own interests in Oregon, they vainly strove year after year to get effective laws passed to meet crying evils of the times. In vain did they strive to secure primary election laws; to secure local option; to gain home-rule for their cities and towns; and to compel the great public-service companies to pay a small portion of the taxes raised for carrying on the government. The bosses and the machine refused to allow any primary law to be enacted giving the people power to select such representatives as they desired. The bosses, the liquor interests and their lobby successfully opposed the local option law demanded by the people. The public-service companies and the bosses refused to allow the cities and towns to enjoy home-rule; and the public-service companies, aided by the political machines and their lobbies, year by year prevented the enactment of laws that would com-

pel them to pay a just portion of the taxes. So year by year the people of Oregon, as is the case to-day in Massachusetts and in various other commonwealths, vainly strove to secure the blessings of a truly representative government. The feudalism of wealth, by grace of the boss and the machine, ruled the commonwealth. When, however, the Oregon electorate succeeded in placing in the constitution a practical Direct-Legislation amendment, giving to the people the powers of self-government—the powers which differentiate a democratic republic from a class-ruled land—the people secured every one of these needed measures by popular enactment.

Senator Lodge was addressing the citizens of Brookline, the town that for two hundred years has been under the New England town-meeting or Direct-Legislation; a town of over 24,000 inhabitants, which is not only the wealthiest town in the land but is recognized as the model municipality of New England; so clearly he could not attack Direct-Legislation for town government. But after admitting the excellence of this form of government before the people that gloried in direct rule, he next attacked Direct-Legislation for state and nation, using these words:

“On the other hand the methods of the town-meeting should never be permitted to trench upon the representative government of state or nation. . . . The essence of representative government is responsibility, and when that responsibility ceases representative government becomes anarchy and we are fairly on our way to such scenes as were enacted during the French Revolution, when the Paris mob, breaking into the Assembly or Convention, dictated the passage of laws. The control of the electors over the representative is direct, and if he does not satisfy them he can be replaced, but it is not to be forgotten that he represents not merely the people of his own district but in due proportion the people of the entire state. If responsibility is taken from him by compelling him to vote for measures solely because they have secured a certain number of petitioners, or if he is at liberty to refer measures of all sorts to popular vote, he ceases to be a representative and becomes a mere machine of record. When responsibility vanishes representative government is at an end and all the safeguards of debate and discussion, of deliberate action, of amendment or compromise, are gone for-

ever, legislative anarchy would ensue, and we might easily find ourselves in a position where the mob of a single large city would dominate legislation and laws would be thrust upon us ruinous to the state itself and to the best interests of the entire people of the state.”

Had not this oration been read from manuscript, and had not Senator Lodge previously furnished advance copies to the Boston papers, where, in the case of the Boston *Transcript*, the oration was published *verbatim*, we should have been inclined to regard the above utterances as incredible coming from an United States Senator. They not only grossly insulted the intelligence of all persons present, assuming that they were ignorant of a subject which every reasonably intelligent person to-day is supposed to be acquainted with, but the amazing statements were so clearly false as to be susceptible of easy refutation, making the recklessness displayed almost beyond belief. To prove the truth of this contention it is only necessary briefly to notice the assertions one by one.

“The methods of the town-meeting,” says the Senator, “should never be permitted to trench upon the representative government of state or nation. . . . The essence of representative government is responsibility, and when that responsibility ceases representative government becomes anarchy and we are fairly on our way to such scenes as were enacted during the French Revolution, when the Paris mob, breaking into the Assembly or Convention, dictated the passage of laws.”

Senator Lodge here opposes Direct-Legislation, first, because he claims it is an attempt to interfere with the responsibility of the representatives of the people on the part of those who have sent their servants to represent them; and, secondly, he claims it is a breeder of anarchy and mob-rule.

In the first place, the question arises, Who are the persons who ask to have a voice ere a measure of vital importance to the citizens becomes a law? Are they a special class, a privileged few, seeking some selfish advantage and thus scheming to prevent the legislator from representing his masters or sovereigns, the people? No. Direct-Legislation is merely a provision by which the principals or the masters of the representatives provide for their own protection against any possible ignorance or corruption on the part of their representatives. Who are the people's servants elected

to represent? The people or the corporations whose interests are opposite to the people's well-being? If they are elected to represent the people, and then defy their wishes, do they represent or misrepresent them? Perhaps nothing better exposes the sophistry of this first contention than the following passage from the *Direct-Legislation Primer*:

"The Referendum takes from the people's representatives no power that justly belongs to them. The legislators are the agents and servants of the people, not their masters. No true representative has a right or a desire to do anything his principal does not wish to have done, or to refuse to do anything his principal desires to have done. The Referendum merely prevents the representatives from becoming mis-representatives by doing, through ignorance or dereliction, what the people do not want, or neglecting to do what the people do want.

"A legislative body may depart from the people's will because it does not know what the people's will is, or because the pressure of private or personal interest, contrary to the public interest, overcomes the legislators' allegiance to the people's will. In either case the Referendum is the remedy and the only complete remedy; the only means whereby real government by the people may be made continuous and effective."

Direct-Legislation not only does not interfere in any way with the proper rights of the representative, but is in perfect keeping with representative government. This was made clear by the Supreme Court of Oregon in the following extract from its decision upholding the constitutionality of the law:

"The representative character of the government still remains. The people have simply reserved to themselves a larger share of legislative power, but they have not overthrown the republican form of government, or substituted another in its place."

From Mr. Lodge's remarks it is difficult to escape the conclusion that he has so long served interests other than those he is supposed to represent—namely, the people—that he has lost sight of the fundamental principles that differentiate a democratic republic from a class-ruled government. He seems to imagine that when a representative is once elected his obligation to represent his principals or

masters ceases and he is perfectly free to serve interests diametrically opposed to those he is elected to represent; that he has a right to betray his constituency and that his constituency should not be permitted to stop the betrayal or sacrifice of their interests on the part of their false or corrupt servants. It is not necessary to point out the fact that this view is not only subversive of free institutions, but is as alien to the spirit of republicanism as is the bureaucracy of Russia alien to the spirit of democracy.

But Mr. Lodge raises an alarmist cry and seeks to frighten the people. In so doing he presupposes an ignorance on their part that is anything but flattering. He first falsely assumes that Direct-Legislation is destructive to popular government and on this clearly false assumption he proceeds to argue that it would produce anarchy and mob rule. He reaches the climax of absurdity when he conjures up the specter of a mob of citizens invading the capitol and seeking to overcome the people's representatives. To fully understand the falsity and absurdity of this claim it is only necessary to call to mind the provisions and methods of Direct-Legislation and to remember that nothing in government has ever been found so effective in destroying even the menace of mob-rule, lawlessness or anything that is opposed to rational and constitutional procedure as Direct-Legislation. Wherever it has been introduced it has not only destroyed class-rule and eliminated corrupt lobbies while purifying and elevating government, but it has removed all pretext for mob-rule.

By the initiative the people compel legislators to act upon measures that they desire to have acted upon. The legislators have thus every opportunity to oppose the proposed measure with all the arguments that they can bring to bear against it. If they defeat it the measure will then go before the people with the stamp of disapproval of the legislative body. Here again it will be thoroughly discussed through the press and on the hustings before the people are called upon to vote Yes or No on its adoption. Does this extension of an educational campaign and general deliberation, not only in the legislature but on the part of the press, smack of inconsiderate action, mob-rule or anarchy? Is it not almost inconceivable how any man prominently before the people would place himself in so ridiculous and unenviable a light as to attempt

to excite the fears of the ignorant by summoning the bogey of mob-rule in connection with the initiative and referendum? For the referendum is also an equally rational and obviously needed democratic safeguard to protect the nation against the corrupt usurpations of legislators acting for privileged interests against the public good. Here, if a certain per cent. of the voters demand that a measure shall be submitted to the people, and make known their demand in the prescribed manner within sixty or ninety days of the passage of the bill, it must be submitted to the electorate at the ballot, when the people have a right to pass on the measure, and if their servants have yielded to the corrupt lobby, the corrupt boss or to the privileged interests that purchase legislation through campaign funds, they have the opportunity of defeating the measure and thus merely protecting themselves. Does that suggest anarchy or the coming of a mob into the legislative halls to over-awe popular servants?

In the next place the Senator says: "The control of the electors over the representative is direct, and if he does not satisfy them he can be replaced."

If the Senator had said that the control of the electors over the representative *should be* direct, we would heartily agree with him and point out the fact that this is precisely what Direct-Legislation aims to accomplish. But he continues that, "If he does not satisfy them he can be replaced." This statement is doubly misleading. How, save by Direct-Legislation, can the people prevent corrupt legislators from bartering away their rights and possessions? It is beside the point to say that the traitor who has sold out his constituency and betrayed the people of a state can be relegated to private life. That does not mend the matter or restore to the people the property and rights disposed of by their faithless representative. But Direct-Legislation just here steps in and makes it possible for the people to veto the corrupt act or betrayal of their interests by false servants, and this is precisely why the trusts, monopolies and public-service companies, or, in a word, predatory wealth and its representatives and servants, all oppose Direct-Legislation.

Again, Mr. Lodge says: "If a representative does not satisfy them [the electors] he can be replaced." This is not true under the present régime, and no one knows it better than Senator Lodge.

Under boss-rule the slate is made up by the boss or so-called leader, with a few congenial consulting spirits and largely at the dictation of the corporations or campaign-fund-supplying privileged interests. What slate would be nominated in Massachusetts that Boss Lodge opposed or did not largely shape in the preparation? Occasionally a man has great wealth and being on the popular side of a question is able to force his claims upon the machine, but such cases are very rare and truly exceptional. Does Senator Lodge claim that the tickets nominated and elected by Boss Tweed in the heyday of his corrupt rule, represented the free choice of the New York electorate? Again, does he claim that the tickets made up year after year by Boss Quay and forced upon the Republican party of Pennsylvania represented the free will of the Republican electorate of Pennsylvania, or did they represent the will of the notorious boss, the corrupt ring, the Pennsylvania Railroad and other corporations that ruled the state through Quay? And what is true of New York City under Tweed and of Pennsylvania under Quay is true to a greater or less degree of every state that has passed under the control of corporate wealth guided by political bosses operating the money-controlled machine.

Again, Mr. Lodge says: "It is not to be forgotten that he [the representative] represents not merely the people of his own district but . . . of the entire state."

And what, pray, has this to do with the question? A state issue has to be referred under the referendum, not to the people of a single district, but to the whole electorate of the commonwealth; and if the legislator represents the whole state, how much more authoritative and important is the expressed will of the majority or the deliberate judgment of the masters or principals of the representatives.

In closing his attack on Direct-Legislation the Senator reached the climax of absurdity, when, presuming that his auditors knew nothing of what Direct-Legislation was, he tried to make them imagine that its introduction would result in the mob of a single city largely dominating legislation and thrusting upon the people "laws ruinous to the state in itself and to the best interests of the entire people of the state." We can only say that unless by a mob he meant the majority of the qualified electorate of the commonwealth, acting coolly,

dispassionately and intelligently, then his words are so far removed from both truth and possibility as to be unworthy of notice; and if he is opposed to giving the majority the right to pass on laws vital to its well-being, his proper place is at the council boards of the Czar, and not as a mis-representative of the citizens of Massachusetts in the United States Senate. As indicating how absurd are his words we quote the following from the *Direct-Legislation Primer*.

"The advantages of the present legislative system,—its compactness, experience, power of work, etc., are retained with the Referendum, but the evils of the present system,—its haste, complexity, corruption and violations of the will of the people, are eliminated.

"Under the Referendum the city or state has its body of legal experts, trained advisers, and experienced legislators, of course, and they continue to do most of the law-making, but their power to do wrong or stop progress, their power to do as they please in spite of the people is removed. The state that adopts the Referendum has the *service* of its legislators, without being subject to their *mastership*. If the representatives act as the people wish, their action is not disturbed. If they act against the people's wish, the people have a prompt and effective veto by which they can stop a departure from their will before any damage is done. This is a much-needed safeguard of popular institutions."

The Senator as an Upholder of Autocracy and Class-Rule.

Direct-Legislation is merely a practical method for preserving democratic or popular government under the changed conditions of the present time—a simple and feasible means for preventing a democratic republic from becoming a plutocracy masquerading under a republican form of government. It is a rational, practical and eminently effective method of restoring the government to the people in a peaceful manner and overthrowing the present autocratic rule in which the political boss and the money-controlled machine operate for and by the grace of privileged classes. No enemy of autocratic rule can oppose a method that renders popular rule secure and establishes democratic government so firmly that even the great wealth of the criminal rich cannot overthrow it. Moreover, Direct-Legislation is equally op-

posed to lawlessness, hasty and ill-considered action or anarchy in any form. This is necessarily the case, as after legislation has been considered by the people's representatives it cannot be finally settled, if the people are not satisfied with it, until an election is held, prior to which time the subject can be thoroughly presented in all its phases to the entire electorate. It is because Direct-Legislation secures to the people a government of the people, for the people and by the people that we find the autocrats and the upholders of the despotism of privileged wealth covertly or openly opposing this most vital and imperatively demanded reform.

Senator Lodge's Opposition to Public Ownership.

It is a very significant fact that those things that alarm and arouse the fear, anger and opposition of the great Wall-street gamblers, the public-service chiefs and the trust magnates, awaken precisely the same emotions in the patriotic brain of Senator Lodge. The feudalism of privileged wealth sees its continued reign menaced by Direct-Legislation and raises the cry of alarm, and Senator Lodge forthwith rushes to the attack. The great railway interests have corrupted and controlled government so long that all attempts at effective control of the railways, even though backed by an enraged electorate prove futile. The oligarchy of the public-service corporations, a power outside of government but more powerful than the government, has long exerted the evil influences which bureaucratic rule under a non-constitutional government exert, though their sway of course has been less open and apparent. We are only just beginning to even partially realize the nature and extent of the systematic corruption of government, the flagrant defiance of law, the long-continued plunder of the nation, and the destruction of honest industry for the enrichment of special classes, through secret rates, rebates and other forms of indirection which have prevailed for years, during which time Senator Lodge has remained complacent and compliant in the face of corruption, popular oppression and defiance of law.

But when Mr. Bryan proposes popular ownership of the railways—something which has proved uniformly successful wherever introduced, whether in republican Switzerland, imperial Germany or democratic New Zealand—we find Senator Lodge again rush-

ing to the defence of the Wall-street interests. This time his bogey man is not the mob, constituting a majority of all the voters of the state, but the specter of autocracy. The essential autocrat has now become the foe of autocracy. But here again we must not allow the confusion of terms to mislead us. Mr. Lodge opposes Direct-Legislation on the grounds that the people's representative must not be compelled to represent those he is elected to represent; that he must be left free to act on his own responsibility, though that action be diametrically opposed to the interests and wishes of the people he is elected to represent; or, to put it in another way, the representative when once elected, supposedly to represent the people, must be left free to represent trusts, corporations and predatory wealth, if in his wisdom it seems good to betray the people who have trusted him. To interfere with the royal prerogative of a representative of the people to misrepresent them is, according to Senator Lodge, to invite anarchy. If Senator Lodge's words mean anything, they mean that the people's representative is not bound to represent those he is elected to represent, but is perfectly free to vote and work against their interests and wishes, or, in other words, to become in fact though not in name the agent of the new autocracy of privileged wealth.

There is no more offensive exhibition of autocratic power perniciously employed this side of Russia and Turkey, than that afforded by the corporations and autocratic bosses that have so disgraced American politics since the days of Tweed. The boss, the present American autocrat, holds his place and power by grace of class-interests which prey upon the people and which within the last two generations have built up a mighty plutocracy in the New World. Against this new despotism, this sinister, corrupt, lawless and oppressive power that threatens the very foundations of free government the people are everywhere revolting. The Senator from Massachusetts seems to have had no apprehensions for the Republic from the real exhibitions of autocracy in political life that have become so apparent in recent years; but the very suggestion that the people should own and operate the railways, as they do the postal service, causes the phantom of autocracy to flit before the Senator's fevered brain. In a speech made at Nantasket, Massachusetts, on September 11th and reported in the *Boston Her-*

ald of September 12th, Senator Lodge is quoted as saying, in speaking of Mr. Bryan's proposition for government ownership:

"It is turning our backs on the road of republican government toward another road leading nowhere except to autocracy."

Switzerland, the most ideally republican government on the face of the earth, has taken over the railways, but only such a vivid imagination as Mr. Lodge possesses could conceive that she has turned her back on republican government. New Zealand, far more popular and republican in essence than is our government under the rule of the bosses and the public-service corporations, has for many years owned and operated the railways, but there has been no hideous head of autocracy seen rising in this freest of nations, no turning of the back on the road of republican government "toward another road leading nowhere except to autocracy."

Then, again, Senator Lodge exclaims: "When you place all the business agency of the country in the hands of one man or group of men at Washington, you have made those men your masters. They will control the government."

What Mr. Lodge describes actually exists to-day, but the seat of power is Wall street, not Washington, Washington being merely a registering center for the commercial autocracy whose stronghold is the Senate and which operates in the nation through the boss and the money-controlled machine.

But there is a great and all-important difference between the present autocracy of predatory wealth and the public ownership of railways. The railway power is irresponsible, lawless and the chief corrupting influence in government. Popular ownership of railways would place the railways under popular control and destroy the flagrant defiance of law and the systematic corruption of government by privilege-seeking bodies. Under civil-service rules the railways would be no more a menace to free government than the post-office department is, and, indeed, not so much so, for to-day the postal service is largely influenced by the corrupt power of the railway corporations, else the postal robbery of the people by the railways in extortionate rates and rentals which obtains at present, and which is described at length in our book-study of Professor Parsons' work in this issue, would not be possible. Even without civil

service, the greatest evils possible from public ownership would be indifferent compared with the evil influence now exerted by the railways, not only at elections, but systematically.

Why did the Pennsylvania Railroad, when pretending to refuse passes, at the beginning of last year send passes to all the Ohio legislators, if not to bribe those representatives of the people?

The story of the corruption of government in city, state and nation by the railways, as outlined by Professor Frank Parsons in his new work, *The Railways, The Trusts and The People*, shows most clearly that the great

menace in this direction lies in the irresponsible and almost all-powerful railroad power that corrupts government, controls party-bosses and machines, and has already become an irresponsible, law-defying despotism, outside of but dominating government to such a degree that the people cannot get any fundamental or radical reforms; while it and its servants in government and the bosses are able to prevent the people from taking over and operating that which, like the water supplies for the cities or the postal department for the nation, is a natural monopoly which in the nature of the case should be operated by and for the whole people.

THE REAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WISCONSIN PRIMARIES.

An Analysis of The Result.

SO MUCH has been made of the nomination of Governor Davidson at the Wisconsin Republican primaries by the organs of the corporations and the money-controlled political machines, and so many people ignorant of the facts have accepted as true the absurd and false statements of the kept editors of plutocracy about the "repudiation of Senator La Follette by his constituents" and "the overthrow of Senator La Follette by the Wisconsin Republicans," that a statement of facts seems called for, if for no other reason than to enable intelligent and truth-loving citizens to confute the ridiculous stories of the alarmed and unscrupulous reactionary feudalism of wealth. In answer to inquiries addressed to correspondents located in different parts of Wisconsin and who are not only persons of the highest character and moral rectitude but are also peculiarly well-fitted to discuss this question intelligently, because they are intimately acquainted with the real facts in the situation, we have received replies that enable us to give our readers a clearer view than would be possible without such assistance.

At the outset it is important to bear in mind the fact, as one of our correspondents puts it, that "for six years, the Republican party in Wisconsin has been divided into two well-defined groups called La Follette Republicans and the Stalwarts. La Follette has been the one undoubted leader of the dominant group. Spooner, Quarles, Charles Pfister recently indicted for theft by the grand jury and Fat-

frier Babcock were the nominal leaders of the Stalwarts. The real forces behind these men were the officers of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad company, the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad company, and the Milwaukee Electric Light and Traction company, with John I. Beggs as chief manager. These three have furnished the sinews of war. Of course, other public-service corporations and the favored shippers who have received secret rebates have contributed money to local newspapers and candidates for the legislature. But the real power has been the two great railroads of the state and the Milwaukee street-car company. La Follette has been able to conquer these forces by direct appeals to the voters. His ability as an organizer, his marvelous power as an orator and his absolute integrity and high ideals have welded together a great party in the cause of good government."

At the last election Senator La Follette was chosen governor and Mr. Davidson, a Norwegian and a staunch supporter of Senator La Follette, was selected for lieutenant-governor. In the opinion of many of the La-Follette or progressive Republicans, who were also sincere friends of Mr. Davidson, the lieutenant-governor was not exactly the best man for the extremely exacting demands of the present crisis, in which the millions of the railways and other public-service corporations and the machinations of the corrupt and unscrupulous reactionary Stalwart machine would be employed to the utmost to defeat further

legislation aimed to protect and secure the people from the aggressions of corporate wealth and corrupt interests, or to emasculate laws which the interested parties could not prevent from being enacted. Senator La Follette was of this opinion. He knew as did no other man, after his many years of constant battling with one of the most powerful combinations representing unlimited wealth seeking privileges that would render possible the plunder of the people, and with cunning, corrupt and conscienceless grafters and political bosses, aided and abetted by the organization of the national Republican party, that the battle only partially won in Wisconsin demanded the leadership of the strongest, ablest and most courageous statesman among the people,—a man who was not only honest, honorable and faithful to the people's cause, but one who could be depended upon to see through the deep schemes and wiles of the adroit and able agents of privileged wealth and political corruption, and who would be able to meet opposition with the courage, determination and intelligence that alone could secure final success in the great battle which has been so triumphantly inaugurated under the governorship of Mr. La Follette. It was the realization of the stern need of the hour which led Senator La Follette to advocate the nomination of Speaker Irvine Lenroot rather than that of Governor Davidson.

The Two Candidates.

In writing to us one of our valued correspondents from Wisconsin thus describes the situation:

"At the recent primaries, there were two candidates for the governorship. Both were La Follette Republicans and both had been his friends and supporters. Neither was suspected of the slightest insincerity. Both were of the common people, of unquestioned integrity, of irreproachable private life. Both had long served the state in high public positions.

"One of the candidates was Governor Davidson who has been governor since La-Follette resigned and went to the Senate. He is an honest Norwegian. The other candidate was Irvine Lenroot, who had been speaker of the lower house of the legislature. He is an equally honest Swede. There are some 60,000 Norwegian voters in Wisconsin. There are but 30,000 Swedish and Danish voters in

the state. This gave Governor Davidson the advantage in a more or less faint race prejudice. Then, too, there was a widespread feeling that he should have the office a second term as he had been governor only about a year. But in another respect, he had a still more marked advantage: The Stalwarts number from thirty to forty per cent. of the Republican party. They went almost to a man for Governor Davidson. Senator Spooner returned to Madison the day before the primaries and gave out that he should vote for Davidson. This would naturally have the effect of sending the Stalwart vote to Davidson. But it no doubt cost Davidson as many La Follette supporters. The rule now in Wisconsin, is to find out what Spooner wants and then not do it."

Senator La Follette declared for Speaker Lenroot on the 20th of July. Unfortunately for the cause of the people, the Senator's engagements out of the state compelled him to remain away from Wisconsin until the 14th of August, and during this period of over three weeks all the opposition forces of the state united in a concerted battle to secure the nomination of Mr. Davidson. A large proportion of the Norwegians were easily won by the cry that Davidson was not only one of their own people, but that he had made a good governor and had earned the right to a nomination. The number of persons who had been appointed to office by Governor Davidson were naturally anxious that he be retained in the governorship and worked enthusiastically for him; while thousands of others, all of whom were strong friends and champions of Senator La Follette and all for which he stands, felt that in this battle it was merely a choice between two good men and that the Governor deserved at least one election to the high office to which he aspired. These factors carried to Davidson's support tens of thousands of votes which in any battle between Senator La Follette and the Spooner-railroad-corporation-Stalwart machine would be heart and soul for the junior senator. On the other hand, all of La Follette's enemies united to a man on Davidson, not only because they feared Lenroot more than the Governor, but because they hoped that by winning the day for Davidson Senator La Follette's forces could be divided, even if they could not get Davidson to become one of their own number.

All the various resources of a powerful,

shrewd and unscrupulous opposition, including the railways and all the great corporations and trust interests, were either openly or covertly employed to influence press and people in favor of Davidson; while still another factor worked strongly for Governor Davidson, and that was the alliance with him of W. D. Connor, a millionaire lumberman who, it is said, aspires to a seat in the United States Senate. He is a politician of the kind that has been all too numerous in American politics in recent years. It is claimed that he strove to make an alliance with La Follette, but the effort proved a failure, after which he joined forces with Davidson.

After being absent from the scene of conflict during three of the most crucial weeks of the campaign, during which time the opposition had been enabled to incline various shades of public opinion generally in favor of the Governor, Senator La Follette entered the battle on the 14th of August, having only the time between this date and the 3d of September in which to cover the state and overcome the united opposition. Had he been in the state during the whole campaign he would unquestionably have carried the day victoriously for Mr. Lenroot, in spite of the odds, judging from the influence he exerted wherever he was heard; but he arrived on the scene too late. "If Bob could see enough of the people before the primaries he would carry them for Lenroot, but he has not the time," exclaimed a hostile reporter who heard him from day to day during the closing hours of the campaign.

The Stand Taken by Senator La Follette.

One of our Wisconsin friends, in answer to the inquiry as to the exact stand taken by Senator La Follette in the contest, replied:

"La Follette took the stand in all these speeches that the state is entitled to the services of the ablest man; that sentiment should not control any more than in the election of a railroad executive; that Lenroot was by far the ablest man; that if good government was once lost it would be hard to regain; that no party could stand on its record; that the vast movement now on is just begun, is economic, is irrepressible; that no backward step should be taken in Wisconsin, as it affected other states; that corporate power is now a menace; that men little understood this movement if they thought it meant simply writing a few

statutes and then waiting for results; that it is a high, inspiring struggle, onward, upward, but against immense forces; that he had enlisted for life in this contest for good government.

"The result was a natural one. It could hardly be expected that the farmer, the merchant, the laboring man could see the necessity for watchfulness, for the very ablest men in the state government. La Follette is keen, alert, and 'up against' the corrupt interests all the time. He knows what they mean and how they work. He has high ideals. The average voter knows little of corporate power and methods and thinks little of affairs of government most of the time. He cannot see why one man cannot be governor as well as another if he is honest."

Will The Cause of Reform Go Forward?

In answer to our inquiry as to the effect of the primaries on the programme of progress to which the La Follette Republicans are pledged, one of our correspondents writes as follows:

"The most important question to men outside of Wisconsin is whether the recent nomination of Governor Davidson means the defeat of the movement for good government in this state. Whatever answer may be given elsewhere, men in Wisconsin know that the movement here will not stop. It may be *delayed* but if it is delayed there will be a reckoning with the men thus responsible. A great responsibility rests upon the men whom the people *regarded* as competent to carry forward the work of constructive legislation. To stand guard over what has been done will not be enough. An advance must be made. Any alliance with the Stalwarts will be suicide. During the campaign new issues were outlined and new laws were promised by both candidates. During the past six years, the people have seen La Follette do things and they now insist that more things shall be done. If nothing is done, the contrast will be great and the inaction will be the violation and repudiation of the most earnest promises. Such inaction would do more than anything else to make La Follette the dictator of every nomination if he chose to exercise that power. No men would be quicker to deny that the recent primary election meant the defeat of the issues raised by La Follette than the men who may justly be termed La Follette-Davidson men

In fact this has been denied a thousand times in the recent campaign. They honestly believe that the movement will go on as well as before. Great numbers of prominent La Follette men took this ground previous to the primary election on September 4th. Whether their hopes and promises will be enacted into the laws demanded in the coming legislature next winter is quite another matter. There may be a delay of two years. But there is no doubt about what the dominant party will demand and will have. The party that elected La Follette in 1904 carried the state against the solid Stalwart vote by a plurality of 50,952. This party is almost a unit on the laws already passed and those demanded. Not a thing has occurred during the past two years to change their opinions on the movement in Wisconsin. On the contrary, the laws enacted making good government a reality in part, have made men more firm and more hopeful for the coming contest."

Senator La Follette's Prestige.

In answer to a question as to whether the result of the primaries would seriously impair Senator La Follette's prestige with the people, we received the following reply:

"The question of whether the people of Wisconsin have abandoned La Follette as their leader is of great importance to good citizens everywhere. It will be said over and over again that he has been discredited in his state. The people of Wisconsin ought to know best about that. His own supporters including almost to a man those who would not vote for his choice of a candidate ought to know whether they have abandoned his leadership. They declare as one man that La Follette is the one leader and that he shall remain the leader. Those who supported Davidson are more insistent on this than those who supported Lenroot. Nothing was more common during the recent campaign than to hear such men say: 'If Bob wants anything himself, I will in the future do all I can for him.' One man said: 'He is a man of such splendid ability that we can afford to let him make a mistake.' This well expresses the attitude of mind of almost every Davidson supporter. When the time comes to elect delegates to the National Republican Convention, people outside of Wisconsin will see how the people of Wisconsin regard his leadership.

"It cannot be denied that the last primary election will afford a coveted opportunity for

the public-service corporations, trusts and monopolies beyond the borders of this state to quote that election as marking the downfall of La Follette and of the reform movement. They will quote Wisconsin papers and Wisconsin men, all Stalwart, to prove this. That infamous sheet, the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, devoted to the grafters, the bribers, boodlers and gamblers, and especially to the interests of the two great railroads and of the Milwaukee street-car company, will be quoted by the public-service corporations everywhere. Spooner, the former attorney of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad company, the dispenser of their passes and the recipient of their gifts, will again quote Wisconsin which has repudiated him and flung with scorn from the Senate his friend Quarles. It can easily and truly be said that La Follette asked the voters here to do one thing and they would not do it. But one and all, the men of his party, still stand where they have always stood—for La Follette and his principles."

Evil Results Already Seen.

It is extremely unfortunate that Governor Davidson allowed his personal ambition to gain ascendancy over the best interests of the cause in the present crisis, in such a way as to give aid and comfort to the enemies of the people, and the evil results of this act are already in evidence in the defeat at the primaries of the able and incorruptible district-attorney, Mr. McGovern of Milwaukee, whose aggressive war on graft and bribery so terrified the criminals who under the old order debauched Wisconsin politics and legislated away the people's rights, and in the nomination for Congress of the unsavory fat-frying Babcock. Neither Davidson nor Connor would speak one word in favor of McGovern or against Babcock in the campaign, thus showing a willingness to betray the cause of good and pure government or civic righteousness and to sacrifice the people and deliver them over to their enemies rather than jeopardize their own personal interests.

Some of the fair-weather friends of Senator La Follette are saying that he has made a great mistake in coming out against Governor Davidson, but those who understand all that is involved in the present titanic struggle between the people and the corrupt feudalism of privileged wealth believe that the mistake was not made by Senator La Follette, but by the voters of Wisconsin, and that time will clearly prove this to be the case.

THE BATTLE BETWEEN PLUTOCRACY AND POPULAR RULE IN VARIOUS COMMONWEALTHS.

The Political Situation in New York.

THE POLITICAL contest in New York reveals a most amazing situation. Mr. Hearst was nominated on a splendid platform by the Independence League at one of the most popular, thoroughly representative and enthusiastic conventions of recent years. The platform called for most of the great fundamental democratic measures which the people are so loudly demanding and which the plutocracy is so determined shall not be granted. The enthusiasm created by the Independence League's convention and the reception of its candidates whenever they appeared amazed and alarmed the representatives of privileged interests in both the old parties.

Mr. Hearst immediately began a vigorous campaign. His strength with the people was unmistakable and there seemed every prospect of his drawing a very large proportion of the progressive Republican vote, as the more independent members of that party have of late come to see how absolutely the party has been controlled by corrupt bosses, who in turn are merely the tools of the Harrimans, the Ryans, the Morgans and other Captain Kidds of modern commercialism. That Mr. Hearst would poll a very large proportion of the rank and file of the Democratic vote went without question. Still, there seemed to be little doubt but what, if the plutocratic wing of the Democratic party could control the Democratic organization, the Republicans would be comparatively secure in their continued hold on the state government.

In greater New York the political conditions in the Democratic party were anomalous. At the last mayoralty election Ryan, Belmont, MacClellan, McCarren and Murphy worked hand in glove together for the spoils of office. In all probability they failed to elect their ticket, but through the aid of Parker and the Republican organization and officials they were able to prevent the votes being cast which would in all probability have proved Mr. Hearst to be elected mayor. The scandal of the election, however, was so great that a public outcry ensued and it became necessary, if

MacClellan should maintain a place in political favor, that someone should be sacrificed to appease the public clamor. Ryan, Belmont and MacClellan had secured from Murphy all they felt it was necessary to obtain. MacClellan enjoyed the fruits of the stolen election, and the Belmont-Ryan interests were in safe hands. There were many leaders in the Tammany organization who would be as willing servants of predatory wealth as Murphy had been, and probably far less exacting than this boss. It was decided to throw him overboard in the interests of respectability. The plans were carefully laid and MacClellan began to antagonize Murphy. The Sullivans, big and little Tim, were apparently won over to the MacClellan faction, and when all was ready war on Murphy was declared. The Tammany boss, however, was by no means willing to become the sacrificial lamb for the sins of MacClellan and his confederates. A bitter contest ensued. It was war to the death. Jerome, the shielder and protector of the great criminal rich; more humble in the presence of the great law-breakers than Uriah Heep; with an insatiable appetite for office that suggested the hunger pangs of *Oliver Twist*; and as willing as Barkis whenever an opportunity was offered for him to reach the public crib, was quick to ally himself with the Ryan-Belmont-MacClellan-McCarren aggregation and to declare his willingness to lead the party under the guidance of these "safe and sane" gentlemen in the coming contest.

The primary elections in New York were fought with unprecedented bitterness. Murphy found himself battling for life with many of his old lieutenants ranging with the foe, believing that Murphy's sun was setting. Naturally enough, Murphy's hatred of MacClellan knew no bounds. The mayor was holding his office by grace of Murphy, and there was nothing Murphy now desired more heartily than to see the mayor removed. Again, he found that a large proportion of the rank and file who were not ranged under the MacClellan-Jerome banner were strong supporters of Mr. Hearst, being laboring men and members of the various labor unions who remembered how for years Mr. Hearst had

fought consistently and unremittingly in the interests of labor.

Under ordinary circumstances Murphy would naturally have allied himself with Hearst, but Hearst had attacked Murphy more mercilessly than he had attacked any other man. He had caricatured him and cartooned him in every conceivable way; he had dressed him in prison-stripes. Still, finding himself between the devil and the deep sea, and with the vast majority of the Tammany members who were not against him favorable to Hearst, Murphy inclined to the latter.

After the primaries it was found that Murphy had not been overthrown. Then there was consternation in the ranks of the "safe and sane," and the *New York World*, a pretended Democratic organ which has been fighting most of the progressive democratic measures advocated in recent years, volunteered the prediction that the next Governor of New York would *not* be a Democrat, and that the next President of the United States would *not* be a Democrat; after which it had apparently gone to work heart and soul to see that its predictions were verified, as day after day it attacked Mr. Bryan, cartooned and ridiculed him, while assailing the popular demands of progressive democracy. The *World* was one of the first to become alarmed lest Murphy's influence might be cast for Mr. Hearst in the convention; so week by week it republished Hearst's cartoons and in every way possible sought to rouse Murphy against Hearst and make him fight with those who had determined upon his slaughter. This would enable the Democratic machinery to be held in the hands of the "safe and sane" grafting element.

When it had appeared probable that the MacClellan-Jerome-McCarren-Belmont-Ryan aggregation would control the convention it had been announced throughout their papers that it was the intention to read Mr. Hearst out of the Democratic party. He had accepted a position as leader of a third party, and it was claimed that he was no longer a Democrat. Mr. Hearst readily appreciated the peril of the situation and he did not propose to give up the fight in the Democratic convention without a sturdy struggle, especially as a large proportion of the rank and file throughout the state had instructed their delegates to fight for his nomination.

When the convention met the McCarren-Standard Oil-Ryan-Belmont association had

come to the conclusion that it would be worse than useless to nominate the discredited sham-reformer, Jerome. His brazen refusal to carry out his ante-election pledges in regard to punishing the great insurance criminals and others of the criminal rich, his persistent attempts to shield the wealthy criminals and to prevent the ice-trust and other aggregations that were oppressing the people from being proceeded against, had created such general contempt for him among decent and self-respecting citizens that his nomination was out of the question. In their extremity they were anxious to obtain the support of any prominent Democrat with a splendid record to be their figurehead. They therefore turned to Judge Gaynor. There was no positive evidence that Gaynor would agree to run, although McCarren claimed that he would. Mayor Adam of Buffalo was also spoken of, and desperate attempts were made to secure a majority of the delegates, so as to organize the convention. It soon became apparent, however, that the great number of Hearst delegates throughout the state would render it impossible for the Belmont-Ryan-MacClellan-Jerome-McCarren forces to contrail the convention, unless they could receive the Tammany votes controlled by Mr. Murphy, the man whom they had so recently and publicly declared to be marked for slaughter. Murphy, as can be easily imagined, was in no mood to surrender to the enemies who had not only betrayed him, but who would unquestionably replace him with another man of a similar character but less exacting as leader of Tammany Hall at the first opportunity. Moreover, as has been noted, a very large proportion of the Tammany members who had supported Murphy were outspoken in their demand that Hearst be the nominee. Under these circumstances Murphy inclined to Hearst, notwithstanding the fact that Hearst had so bitterly assailed him in the past.

It would be difficult to describe the consternation in the ranks of the plutocratic or corporation democracy when it was found that Murphy could not be won over to the Belmont-McCarren-Jerome aggregation. MacClellan and Jerome saw at once that in the success of Hearst would be their own downfall, as he would unquestionably remove them; the former as holding an office through fraud, and the latter for shielding the criminal rich and refusing to fulfil his oath of office. The spectacle of being without a place at the pub-

lic crib filled Jerome with dismay. He telegraphed to Saratoga, signifying his willingness to stump the state for Hughes if the Republicans would nominate Hughes, the only man who the corporation interests felt could possibly overcome the popularity of Mr. Hearst in the present temper of the people. Up to this time the Republicans had not thought seriously of nominating Hughes. Boss Odell had pushed him forward as his candidate, while President Roosevelt favored the discredited governor who had so long protected insurance corruption; but Higgins at the last moment declined to run, and the fight lay between ex-Governor Black and Lieutenant-Governor Bruce. When it became evident that Mr. Hearst would be the nominee even President Roosevelt realized that the only hope of the Republican party lay in the nomination of Hughes, and he seconded Odell in urging Hughes on the convention, with the result that he was promptly nominated with the old Republican ticket, including the discredited Attorney-General Myers, whose record is only less reprehensible than that of former Superintendent of Insurance Hendricks.

Mr. Hearst was nominated in the Democratic convention by a vote of 309 to 141; whereupon all the agencies controlled by Belmont, Ryan and the Wall-street aggregation of predatory wealth promptly prepared to bolt the Democratic ticket. With one accord papers and politicians owned by the corporations, which have been so zealously working to obtain Murphy's support for their candidates, began assailing Murphy as the betrayer of the party and pretended to be horrified at the thought of the triumph of Mr. Hearst rendered possible by the aid of Boss Murphy. Had Murphy thrown his votes for those who sought to knife him, he would have had no more criticism from the "safe-and-sane" element of the party than Patrick McCarren is to-day receiving at their hands.

Should the Republicans triumph, New York will be indebted to Mr. Hearst's candidacy for the selection of Mr. Hughes instead of a weaker and a more corrupt man. The present Republican nominee made a splendid record in carrying forward the magnificent work of insurance exposure rendered inevitable through the so-called "muck-raking" magazines, the *New York World* and the Hearst papers. But, on the other hand, Mr. Hughes is handicapped by having acquired

large wealth through being a corporation attorney. His prejudices and sympathies are therefore naturally with corporate wealth in its battle for essential supremacy over the struggling masses that are so thoroughly the victims of extortion and oppression. Moreover, the platform of the Republican party is a platform of reaction—a platform which meets with the applause of all the public-service corporations and predatory bands, while Mr. Hearst stands unequivocally, unqualifiedly and aggressively for public ownership, for the rooting out of corruption, and for the effective curbing of the cupidity of corporate wealth.

Immediately after the nomination of Mr. Hearst the reactionary element that had pretended to be the friends of Mr. Bryan, but which were in reality only using him to try and make a schism among radical Democratic forces, declared that Mr. Bryan's friends were preparing to knife Hearst and intimated that Mr. Bryan, while he would have come to New York to speak for Sulzer had he been nominated, would not appear for Hearst. Mr. Bryan promptly set all these unauthorized rumors at rest by enthusiastically declaring for Mr. Hearst and expressing the conviction that he would not only make a strong race, but, if elected, would prove an able and capable executive. He furthermore declared his willingness to go into New York and speak for Mr. Hearst if his managers desired him to do so.

The Republicans believe they will have an easy victory on account of the defection of the reactionary element in the Democratic party, which is probably stronger in New York than in any other state and which represents the great corrupt organizations which have so long been beneficiaries of corrupt legislation; while it is recognized on all sides that Mr. Hughes is by far the strongest man that could have been nominated on the Republican ticket. On the other hand, Mr. Hearst is making a vigorous campaign, and whether he is elected or defeated, the result of the action of the Democratic convention cannot be other than beneficial to the radical or progressive Democrats, for the reason that it will place the machinery of the Democratic organization in the hands of the progressive or truly democratic element of the party, and it will also force the plutocratic papers, which have only been pretending to support the democratic principles for the purpose of be-

traying the party, to take sides at this early date, which will render them powerless to do great injury to the cause of democracy in the coming presidential election. These things, it seems to us, are of especial importance to the cause of radical democracy.

The Political Situation in Massachusetts.

THE BATTLE between the plutocratic Democrats, led by the state machine under the guidance of Chairman Josiah Quincy, Mr. Gaston and Congressman Sullivan, and the democratic Democrats under the leadership of the incorruptible and fearless district-attorney of Boston, John B. Moran, has been waged with all the intensity that marks a struggle between two powerful factions battling for a coveted prize. The Quincy-Gaston machine has been as wholly committed to the corrupt public-service companies and monopolies as are Senator Bailey of Texas, Belmont, Ryan and Jerome of New York and Taggart and Sullivan of the National Democratic Committee. Indeed, the two men that this unsavory organization or machine insisted upon foisting on the Democratic party of Massachusetts spoke more eloquently than words and as impressively as their former acts had spoken of their brand of Democracy. This state organization upon nominating for governor Henry M. Whitney, so well known to the citizens of Massachusetts by the sinister power he has long wielded as the head of public-service companies and great corporations interested in special legislation, and widely known to the American people through the merciless exposures made by Thomas W. Lawson. The machine leaders were equally consistent in selecting as the ideal candidate to run with Mr. Whitney Congressman Sullivan. Sullivan's record, from his youth up, proves beyond question that he would have made an admirable running-mate with Mr. Whitney. He, it will be remembered, displayed his real character when he voted in Congress to pay himself or turn into his own personal pocket the fare to and from Boston on account of President Roosevelt's "constructive recess," a recess which only existed in the fertile imagination of Mr. Root and Mr. Roosevelt. Thus Sullivan voted to rob the American tax-payers of the amount of his fare to and from Boston.

It is needless to say that all the corporation-

controlled "safe and sane" Democratic journals of Massachusetts clamored for the nomination of Mr. Whitney; while the machine, with the backing of all the public-service companies, labored to its utmost to defeat the nomination of Mr. Moran, who is justly dreaded by the criminal rich, owing to the fact that he refuses to recognize any difference between crime when committed by the powerful pillars of society and when the work of men not bulwarked by ill-gotten wealth.

Mr. Moran and his friends had no money to spend in the campaign—not enough, indeed, to properly present his cause to the people, and, except the *Boston American*, no great newspaper advocated his nomination. He had, however, something of far more value to a political leader than the cash of men who were seeking to acquire wealth at the expense of the people. He enjoyed the confidence of a large majority of the most thoughtful men in his party. His record as district-attorney had proved that he not only promised, but that he fulfilled his promises; that he was independent, loyal and unafraid. Therefore at the Democratic primaries, held on the 25th and 26th of September, a majority of the delegates chosen were pledged to the nomination of Mr. Moran; so it seems highly probable that in spite of all the machinations of the corruptionists, the grafters and the machine Democrats, the fearless district-attorney will be the nominee for governor on the Democratic ticket.

Mr. Moran has already been nominated for governor by the Prohibitionists and the Independence League of Massachusetts, and whether or not he receives the Democratic nomination he will be a candidate at the polls.

Of course Massachusetts is overwhelmingly Republican, her majorities ranging from in the neighborhood of 50,000 to 100,000, and this year, if Mr. Moran is nominated by the Democrats, the Republican party will have the covert aid of all the corporation-owned Democrats as well as the powerful support of the alarmed plutocrats. Still, we believe the vote cast for Mr. Moran will indicate that in the old Bay State there is yet to be found a vast throng of men and women of courage, conscience and aggressive honesty who are faithful to the cause of the people and the principles of free government in the great battle now being waged between plutocracy and democracy.

Mr. Churchill and The New Hampshire Republican Convention.

THE REPUBLICAN contest in New Hampshire, to which we recently referred at length, afforded an inspiring illustration of what one young man, impelled by a lofty moral purpose, is able to do in a single-handed battle against one of the most powerful and corrupt combinations known to modern politics.

When Winston Churchill entered the battle in New Hampshire and began to expose the imperial sway exerted by the Boston and Maine Railroad over the government of the state through the money-controlled Republican machine, the old-line politicians no less than the railroad magnates displayed considerable amusement. They refused to take him seriously and determined upon the usual tactics of the corruptionists,—ignoring the charges when possible, and in other instances entering a general denial. Mr. Churchill, however, fortified his position by a vast array of incontrovertible facts, and the people rallied to his standard with such enthusiasm that the indifference and contempt of the masters of the multitudes was soon changed to uneasiness that ripened into alarm. It was not long before the railway and machine power was doing its utmost to neutralize the influence of Mr. Churchill. In this, however, it signally failed. The young leader soon had the conscience of New Hampshire awakened as it had not been awakened in decades. When the convention met, so great was the clamor for reform that the party felt compelled to adopt a platform substantially such as had been demanded by Mr. Churchill, and after the balloting for candidates began the young author-statesman steadily gained in strength, until it became thoroughly manifest that unless there was a union of the field against him he would be triumphantly nominated. Then it was that the tools of the Boston and Maine Railroad and all the predatory bands united and nominated a corporation candidate.

The work achieved by Mr. Churchill, however, has been greater than his most enthusiastic friends dared to hope when he entered the campaign. He has become unquestionably the most influential statesman in the commonwealth of New Hampshire,—that is to say, the man whose word on political questions would influence more voters than that of any other individual.

Why Robert Baker Should be Elected to Congress.

NOTHING has been more noticeable in the Congress of the past few years than the vigilance displayed by certain senators and congressmen for the interests of the railways, the trusts and other privileged interests that are fattening off of the earnings of America's masses. Our readers will call to mind how quick were Foraker, Knox, Spooner, Aldrich and other of the railroad senators to fight against the attempt even to secure a very partial relief for the American people from railway discrimination, extortion and evasion of law during the past winter. So also they will remember how quick were Senator Hopkins and Congressmen Cannon, Lorimer and Madden to labor with Mr. Roosevelt against legislation that the President's own commission had conclusively shown to be absolutely essential in order to protect the people from diseased and filthy meat and drugged concoctions sent out under fraudulent names. Moreover, when they failed to secure the defeat of the measure for the beef-trust, it will be remembered how Cannon and other henchmen of the poisoned-meat trust saddled the enormous annual expense of three million dollars on the voters of America, which every honest man must admit the beef-trust should have been compelled to pay, and which it would have been compelled to pay had not the so-called people's representatives been the real representatives of the poisoned-meat trust. These examples are purely typical. Every winter witnesses a number of similar examples of the supposed representatives of the people battling against the interests of their constituents and defeating needful legislation desired by the voters, simply because the real masters of the legislators—the public-service companies and monopolies—wish the people's interests sacrificed.

But while the interests are strong in that they possess a number of faithful watch-dogs ever alert, vigilant and active to serve their masters by preventing necessary legislation in the public interest, congressional life in recent years has shown few men in either house who could be properly termed watch-dogs for the people. Among those in Congress, however, who in recent years have been ever alert and watchful for the true interests of their constituents, no man has made a more splendid record than ex-Congressman Robert

Baker of Brooklyn. He proved himself a public servant in the truest sense of the term—a democratic Democrat who was ever fearless, aggressive and active in fighting for the basic principles of free government and justice for all the people.

At the last election he was naturally enough marked for slaughter by the corrupt McCarren machine, which he had fearlessly and persistently exposed and attacked; yet there is every reason to believe that he was triumphantly elected, though only to be counted out by the desperate and daring band that aided in the counting out of Congressman Hearst in the mayoralty election.

This year Mr. Baker is again running for Congress, and we bespeak for him the earnest and active aid of every patriotic citizen in his district. It is not enough that he should secure your votes. You should, in the interests of civic morality and just government, make his cause yours in the present crisis. You should show all your friends how important it is that the people be as faithful to their true servants as are the privileged interests faithful to their agents and tools in the various departments of city, state and national government. Congressman Baker should be reflected by such a rousing majority that the corrupt ring could not nullify the people's verdict.

PROFESSOR PARSONS ON A RECENT MUNICIPAL CONTEST AND THE TACTICS OF THE CORPORATION PRESS.

The Defeat of Municipal Ownership in Seattle.

MUNICIPAL ownership was voted down in Seattle, though the movement carried the best wards in the city. The machine was against it and all but one of the daily papers, and the plan was not as good as one could wish, nor were some of the men in the movement such as to inspire the confidence of the people. One man in particular, the city engineer who would have to carry out the plan, was obnoxious to many citizens who believe in municipal ownership, so that the mixture of issues and personal considerations prevented the vote from being a fair test of public opinion in Seattle on the question of municipal ownership.

FRANK PARSONS.

Delirium Tremens of The Corporation Press.

IN SOME parts of the country where the agitation for municipal ownership is specially vigorous, the corporation press, never very healthy at the best, is, under adverse circumstances and nerve-trying conditions, acquiring intellectual rabies and delirium tremens.

The latest case is that of the *Seattle Times*. The earnest movement for municipal ownership of street-railways in that city has been too much of a strain on the delicate constitution of that aristocratic journal, and it has

become decidedly hysterical, as is shown by this recent declaration which appeared in black-faced type covering the whole upper part of the front page:

**"MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP
SPELLS WRECK AND RUIN
WHEREVER IT IS FOUND."**

It is easy for a corporation newspaper "to make such a sinner of its memory as to credit its own lie" (if we may so far impose upon the immortal William as to associate one of his keen remarks with a modern newspaper of the rascal type), but it is difficult to understand how a sufficient amount of ignorance and credulity could be cultivated anywhere in this country to give credence to such a colossal lie as that just quoted.

Detroit has cut the price of a standard arc from \$132 to \$60 a year and saved \$1,000,000 to the city in ten years by municipal ownership of a street-lighting plant. Birmingham figures that its municipal gas-works have saved the people \$6,000,000 in thirty years. Glasgow and Liverpool have cut the fares in half, raised wages and shortened hours and turned large profits into the public treasury. Has municipal ownership spelled wreck and ruin in these cities? If so, their millions of inhabitants are suffering under a strange hallucination, for they regard their municipal plants as exceedingly successful, and they live

with these plants and do business with them every day, while the *Seattle Times* is about six thousand miles away.

Hundreds of other instances could be given. There are about 1,000 municipal electric-plants in the United States, and nearly all of them are laboring under the impression that they are successful. There are thousands of public water-works in the country, and they are strangely ignorant of the fact discovered by the *Times* that municipal ownership spells wreck and ruin. Great Britain, Germany, Switzerland, Italy and other countries have multitudes of public lighting and transit systems, and they are mistaking these masses of wreck and ruin for prosperity and progress and are adding constantly to the lists of public plants. In the last dozen years some fifty cities in Great Britain and thirty in Germany have adopted municipal operation of street-railways. No one except the *Times* has heard that all these are wrecks and ruins, or that any one of them is a wreck or ruin. Some few of them do not pay in dollars and were not expected to, being established under conditions that private companies would not undertake to meet, because there was no prospect of profit. But the public need was there and the municipality entered upon the work, not for profit, but for the public good, just as it builds and maintains streets and sewers, knowing also that they will pay in other ways far more than an equivalent of their cost.

Most of the public plants pay in dollars as well as in service, and most of them are well managed. Not all, of course. Municipal plants have to be managed by human beings as well as private plants, and both are liable to failure. The *Times* instances a few cases which it calls failures of municipal ownership, the leading example being the Richmond gas works. We are told on high authority in New York that the reason the Richmond gas-works were allowed to get out of repair was that George Gould, who controls the street-railways in that city, wanted to get possession of the gas-plant and acquired sufficient influence in the council to prevent the appropriations for repairs that were asked for by the superintendent of the works. Even if all that the *Times* and other corporation papers say about Richmond were true, it would only show a case of partial mismanagement, not wreck or ruin, for the works have more than paid for themselves in profits turned into the public treasury besides greatly

reducing the price of gas and paying double the wages per hour paid by the private gas-works in other southern cities, which latter fact is one of the main complaints of the corporation press.

The Toledo gas-plant, the New York ferry and the Glasgow telephone are also instanced by the *Times*. The Glasgow telephone has been a great success, resulting in great improvement of service and lowering of rates, as we shall show in a future number. Even in its sale to the post-office, which has been misrepresented by the corporation press, it won a great victory over the private telephone company, which was trying hard for precedence in the sale to the government. It was a race between the two to sell to the national government, which aims to absorb all the telephones in a few years, and the municipal plant won out.

We believe that telephone competition is a mistake, but it is entirely untrue to represent the Glasgow telephone as a failure or an instance of wreck and ruin.

The *Times* does not make good in any respect. We could give it points for its argument better than any it makes. It does not even mention the Philadelphia gas-works, or the Boston Fenway or printing-plant. But with all possible points the argument amounts to nothing; for there are vastly more failures under private ownership than under public ownership. The highest commercial authority in this country is quoted as estimating that ninety-five per cent. of all private enterprises fail. That seems almost unbelievable, but any one who will follow the lists of failures year after year will not be able to retain a doubt that the proportion of failures in private enterprises is far greater than in public enterprises.

Suppose we should write up the Baring Brothers and Black Friday and the long list of railroads that have been in the receiver's hands, etc., and top the thing with big headlines:

**"PRIVATE OWNERSHIP
SPELLS WRECK AND RUIN
WHEREVER IT IS FOUND."**

What would you think of it? Simply a lie. That's all. But not nearly so desperate a lie as the *Seattle Times* put out in its frantic tirade against municipal ownership.

FRANK PARSONS.

ALLAN L. BENSON ON PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

**Bankers Oppose Postal Savings-Banks:
We Also Understand That Burglars
Are Opposed to Having Police.**

IT WOULD be exceedingly poor policy for the government of the United States to establish postal savings-banks.

The bankers themselves assure us of the entire truthfulness of this statement.

There is something strange about our conception of the banking business.

When we want to draft a statute against burglary, we do not call upon representative burglars to give us advice.

But when we want to revise the national financial system, by which the people are robbed of dollars where the burglars take cents, then we must go to the bankers to find out how to do it.

And they give us their advice—freely.

Another deluge of this advice has followed the starting of a movement in Chicago to petition congress to authorize postal savings-banks. Acting as the spokesman of the bankers, the Boston *Herald* recently published an editorial showing conclusively, as it no doubt believed, that by actual test, the private banking system of New York had outdone the postal savings-banks of the United Kingdom. The "proof" consisted of the statement that the deposits in the postal savings-banks of the United Kingdom at the end of 1904 amounted to \$741,700,000, while the deposits in the savings-banks of New York at the end of the same year amounted to \$1,252,923,300.

Of course, the mere fact that in a country of virgin resources the people are able to save more than are the people of a country that resembles a squeezed lemon has nothing to do with the larger savings of some of the people of New York. We must believe, we presume, that the difference between the aggregate of the deposits in the savings-banks of New York and the postal savings-banks of the United Kingdom is due solely to the increased satisfaction that the New York depositors derive from doing business with the New York banks. Else, why make the comparison at all?

Yet these banker gentlemen who circulate their advice so freely through their newspapers

seem to believe that the people can have no possible interest in banks except in the rate of interest they pay. Basing their opposition to postal savings-banks on the assumption that the government would not pay as high a rate of interest to depositors as is paid by banks that are privately owned, they seek to close discussion of the entire question by deciding against government banks.

They never say a word about the increased security that the government could give—that's a matter of no possible interest to anybody. The Hipplees, the Stenslands and the Bigelows are not worth mentioning. Silence as intense is maintained concerning the possible advantage that might accrue to the people through the inability of privately-owned banks to turn over the savings of depositors to promoters of fraudulent corporation schemes.

In all respects, these banker gentlemen are exceedingly peculiar. They hear us talking about buying the railroads and other public utilities. Such idle dreams excite only their pity. We are informed that the government has not the money with which to buy even the railroads. Then in the next breath, they tell us that we do not want postal savings-banks, because the government never could find profitable, safe means of investing such huge sums of money. Yet these gentlemen, in their own business, consider railroad bonds both safe and profitable investments.

From the point-of-view of the banker, popular wisdom lies in lending money to the banks at three per cent. and borrowing it back at six per cent. What the people do not borrow back, the banks invest in railroad bonds and other securities and thus get their pound of flesh from the people by a different route. Any time the bankers become frightened, they call in their loans and precipitate a panic.

Over in New Zealand, they do not see it that way. The government of New Zealand controls the colony's own finances and New Zealand had no panic in 1893 when all of the rest of the world did. Over in New Zealand, they have postal savings-banks, and nobody ever loses a cent by reason of a bank failure. The whole credit of the government is behind every dollar of savings on deposit, and the government finds profitable use for the money

in extending its ownership of public utilities.

It should be explained, however, that the New Zealanders are advised by their private bankers that this is very foolish business. But New Zealand no longer lets private bankers shape its financial policy. It has learned better.

ALLAN L. BENSON.

The Detroit United Railway Company Bribing Detroit Newspapers to Get Its Street Railway Franchises Extended.

FOR THREE months, the Detroit United Railway company has been giving in Detroit an exhibition of the power of a public-service corporation to persuade newspapers to swallow their principles and betray the people in a crisis.

The Detroit United Railway company operates 187 miles of street-railways in Detroit. In 1909, the franchises on 65 miles of its tracks, including all of the main lines that reach the heart of the city, will expire and every two or three years thereafter, the franchises on 20 or 30 miles of tracks will expire until the last franchise passes out of existence in 1924. And inasmuch as the street-railway company has nearly \$12,000,000 of bonds that are to run until 1982, the company is exceedingly anxious to obtain an extension of its franchises.

Early in August of this year, George P. Codd, a Republican who had been elected mayor on his representation that he was in favor of the municipal-ownership of the street-railway system, startled the city by announcing that he had "forced" the street-railway company to accept certain terms for the extension of its franchises, and laid before the common council an ordinance embodying the "concessions" he had "compelled" the company to give. The mayor proposed to extend all of the company's franchises until 1924, the company agreeing to sell ten tickets for 25 cents from 5 o'clock until 8 o'clock in the morning and from 4.30 until 6.30 in the afternoon, with six tickets for 25 cents at all other hours and five cents for each cash fare. Under the franchises that are about to expire, the company, on most of its lines, sells eight tickets for 25 cents from 5 o'clock in the morning until 6.30 A. M. and from 4.45 P. M. until 5.45 P. M. These rates of fare obtain on all except what is known as the "Pingree Line" which differs from the others only in that six

tickets are sold for 25 cents during the middle of the day, the other lines charging straight five-cent fares in the middle of the day.

A rule of the common council prevents the council from finally passing any ordinance granting a franchise until it shall have been submitted to a vote of the people. The street-railway company therefore entered upon what it called a "campaign of education," in preparation for the elections to be held on November 6th. Half-page advertisements were daily placed in all of the newspapers in which the street-railway company gave all of the details of its business that it wanted the people to know.

What was the effect upon the newspapers?

Briefly, this: Before the franchise was brought out, there was not a newspaper in the city that dared openly to favor the granting of another franchise to the street-railway company. For a year, the newspaper with the largest circulation in Michigan had carried at the head of its editorial columns in large type this declaration of principles:

"No more street-railway franchises on any terms;

"Restoration of government by the people and not by private corporations."

Yet the newspaper that had so long carried this bold statement of its beliefs absolutely backed down in the face of the application for a franchise and the accompanying order for franchises. For days after the application was made all that appeared in its editorial columns pertaining to the matter was a jumble of words bulging with "nevertheless," "it may be," "on the other hand," "it is difficult to tell," and it finally wound up by telling its readers that every one would have to decide for himself how he should vote. So astounding was the conduct of the newspaper that its subscribers began to write to it to inquire what had become of its principles. Twice the newspaper was smoked out and attempted to explain but did not explain. In the latter part of September, the famous statement disappeared from its editorial page for two days and was then re-inserted with the statement that "the printer" had accidentally left it out and nobody in the office had noticed it. Everybody else in Detroit had noticed it much earlier and many persons had written to the newspaper about it. But even after the declaration of principles that were no longer principles had been re-inserted, the

editorials of the newspaper did not square with its professed principles. In an attempt to save its face, it printed an occasional editorial in criticism of the proposed franchise, but the editorials were ineffective, as they were meant to be. They merely represented assaults with a feather-duster.

Of the other three newspapers only one has fought the franchise. No other newspaper has openly declared that the franchise should be defeated. The rest pick at flyspecks in the proposed franchise, while printing the railway company's advertising and printing all the letters it can induce broken-down politicians and others to write. It should be explained, by the way, that the street-railway company pays the newspapers for printing all the letters from "citizens" that they can get.

And all of this in the face of the fact that the people were unquestionably opposed to the franchise when it was first submitted and will be opposed to it to the end unless misled by the silenced newspapers. When the franchise was first brought out, the newspaper that had long carried the declaration against "any" franchise took a straw vote on the street-railway question among all classes of citizens. The newspaper's reporters went up and down streets, polling the vote of everybody, went into the big down-town office-buildings and into the factories. Three thousand votes were polled, and the vote showed a nine to one majority against the franchise. Another indication of public sentiment may be obtained from the fact that as soon as Mayor Codd brought out the franchise, a candidate appeared against him for the Republican nomination for mayor—it having previously been conceded that the mayor would have no opposition—and another candidate joined the two others who were striving for the Democratic nomination. All of the Democratic candidates and the opposition Republican candidate made their campaigns solely on opposition to the granting of the franchise. It happened that the Republican who took the field against Mayor Codd was a physician who did not believe that it comported with his dignity to make a fight for the nomination, and he did not make a speech or a move during the campaign preceding the primaries, nor did anybody make a speech in his behalf. Yet it is significant that the opposition Republican candidate polled 10,713 votes while Mayor Codd, who conducted a strenuous campaign with the aid of the street-

railway company and was nominated, polled only 19,209 votes. Briefly stated, the Republican and Democratic candidates who opposed the franchise and made their campaigns on no other issue received a total vote of 29,689, while Mayor Codd received 19,209.

But it is not certain that the people will not be misled into voting for the franchise on November 6th. If the newspapers would make a fight the franchise could easily be defeated. But only one newspaper is fighting. The rest are doing something else.

That the newspapers that are not fighting the franchise have been bribed by the advertising the street-railway company has given them, and that the street-railway company intended the advertising as a bribe, is plain. For the first two or three weeks the company's advertisements contained alleged facts about its business that every newspaper in Detroit would have been eager to print as news, because the statements contained news value. But the company saw the advantage of offering to pay big prices for printing what the newspapers would have willingly printed for nothing if no money had been offered. And after the company had published all the facts it had to give, it filled up the advertising space it had bought with inconsequential drivel that could serve no other purpose than to keep the newspapers silent.

The franchise is vicious and ought to be defeated. The company that asks for it is tremendously over-capitalized and seeks to obtain the continuance of conditions that will enable it to pay dividends on its watered stock. In 1899, the late Governor Pingree sought to have the city take over the ownership of the system, the company, of which Tom L. Johnson was then the principal owner, offering to sell for \$17,500,000. Professor Bemis, at that time, appraised the physical property of the company at \$7,806,737. The rest of the proposed purchase price was to represent the value of the franchises. Since then the company has built only ten miles of new tracks, yet it is now stocked and bonded for \$28,007,000.

But even in the face of such robbery, what can the people do if their only source of information—the press and the public speakers—are packed against them?

And what becomes of republican institutions when the people are denied the facts that must guide them if they cast intelligent votes?

ALLAN L. BENSON.

Public Ownership versus Private Ownership of Public Utilities.

GENTLEMEN who object to the public-ownership of public utilities are making much of these facts:

That gross mismanagement of the Staten Island ferry under public-ownership has greatly increased the cost of operation without improving the service;

That Germany, which has made a success of the public-ownership and operation of railroads, has nevertheless solved the problem of operating a mileage which is approximately only a tenth of the mileage of the American railroads.

Those who are using the Staten Island ferry example as a bludgeon against public-ownership argue that it constitutes absolute proof of the impracticability of the plan.

Those who are citing the instance of the German railroads—as did the *New York World* in an editorial printed shortly after the return of Mr. Bryan from his world-trip—argue that while it is palpably possible for a government to own and operate a small system of railways like the German system, that it would be out of the question for any government to succeed at the management of so great a group of railways as our own.

But let's investigate these arguments.

Does any advocate of public-ownership contend that it would be possible to make collective operation succeed under the kind of management that would be afforded by the governing bodies that now control American cities?

Is it not one of the arguments of public-ownership advocates that such ownership would remove from office the aldermen, mayors and others whom franchise-holding and franchise-seeking public-service corporations now put into power to do their bidding?

Even the *New York World* admits that the administration that has wasted money in its management of the Staten Island ferry is an administration that is dominated by the traction company, the telephone company, the electric-lighting company and the other private monopolies that at election time resort to such desperate methods to count their candidates into office.

Is it at all *strange* that the official representatives of such interests—men who seek public office not to serve the people but to accept

bribes from corporations—should mismanage the Staten Island ferry?

Ought anyone to have expected anything else?

Yet must cities be denied, until their public bodies become pure, the opportunity that public-ownership affords to save the enormous profits that now go to private corporations?

When a physician finds in a closed room a man who has been nearly asphyxiated from escaping gas, does he decline to take the man from the room until he shall have regained consciousness and become stronger?

Are n't privately-owned public-service corporations asphyxiating our public bodies as effectively as gas can asphyxiate an individual?

And is n't it plain that our public bodies will never recover—never become pure—until we remove the cause of their impurity—the public-service corporations?

In any event who can refute the statement that if all of the public-service corporations were legislated out of existence by the taking over of their properties by the public, that their legislative and executive tools would simultaneously disappear, to the vast improvement of municipal official life?

Then why argue that the principle of public-ownership is impracticable because the Staten Island ferry is mismanaged by the MacClellan administration?

And why talk about postponing public-ownership until such time as we shall have ridden ourselves of corrupt administration?

We shall always have corrupt administrations so long as we permit the existence of the public-service corporations that find it profitable to corrupt public officials.

Nor should the fact be forgotten that public-ownership, so far as it pertains to public utilities, is essentially an anti-graft measure—a measure to enable the people to clear their councils and mayors' offices of corporation tools and get for themselves the legislation they really need. And beside this great achievement, any benefit that may come as the result of saving the profits that now go to private owners will be insignificant in comparison.

Taking up the contention of the *New York World* that while public-ownership of railroads has succeeded in Germany, it could not succeed in the United States with its vastly greater railway mileage, there is only this to say: It is the stock argument of the defenders

of things as they are. New Zealand can become mildly socialistic to her great profit and advantage, *because it is a small country*. Switzerland can prosper under the initiative and the referendum, *because it is a small country*. Any improvement in government, it would appear, is quite likely to succeed if only it be applied in a *small country*, or in a small way. But do none of these gentlemen ever take note of the fact that bad government always works as badly in a small country as in a large one? Have they forgotten that under bad government New Zealand, little though it was, touched the bottom of the pit of misery? Then why contend that it is only bad government that works alike in small and in great countries while good government in all its phases can be applied with success only in small nations? As well argue that while it is possible for a small nation to feed and equip an army of 20,000 men that it would be impossible for a large nation to feed and equip an army of 1,000,000 men.

As a matter of fact, there is no reason for doubting that James J. Hill, or any one of a dozen other men could manage all of the railroads in the United States, and with an eye only to the public welfare, give better service than is now given by men working oftentimes at cross-purposes to secure for their own lines the greatest profits.

And with the public-service corporations eliminated from politics, as they would be under public-ownership, a man like Hill is

the kind of a man who would be chosen as the head of the railroad department.

ALLAN L. BENSON.

Mr. Bryan's Logic Must Make Him a Socialist Unless He or Someone Else Can Destroy The Trusts.

MR. BRYAN says that "private monopoly is intolerable and indefensible" and that "public-ownership should begin where competition ends."

The Socialists say the same.

Socialists differ from Mr. Bryan only in believing that competition cannot be and should not be restored—that coöperation, with the public as the coöperators is vastly preferable to any kind of private ownership.

Agreeing with the Socialists as Mr. Bryan does that public-ownership is preferable to private monopoly, the force of his own logic must compel him to become a Socialist unless he or someone else can destroy the trusts that already control every important branch of American industry.

The question thus arises: How long before the trusts will be destroyed or Mr. Bryan will become a Socialist?

And in speculating upon the possibility that the force of Mr. Bryan's own logic will compel him to become a Socialist, it may be well to remember that four years ago he believed the railroad question could be solved without the application of the principle of public-ownership.

ALLAN L. BENSON.

THE HEALTHY GROWTH OF COÖPERATION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

THE RECENTLY issued report of the Thirty-Eighth Annual Congress of the Coöperative Union of Great Britain shows the present membership of the coöperative societies, so far as returns have been given to the Congress, to be 2,259,479, an increase of over fifty thousand in membership since the report of the preceding year.

The sales for the past year amounted to £94,195,514, or considerably over \$450,000,000. The profits amounted to £10,458,163, or over \$52,000,000. This enormous sum that for the most part gives back to the co-operators, under the old *régime* would have gone to middlemen or to pay for the waste of

competitive warfare; and under conditions such as prevail in America it would go to further enrich trust magnates and monopolists. The coöperators of Great Britain are giving the world one of the most inspiring and important lessons for the incoming generation—a lesson in which practical wisdom is as clearly evinced as is the spirit of fraternity or brotherhood. Coöperation replaces the old *régime* of competitive war and waste on the one hand, and the union of the few for the exploitation of the many on the other, by a union of the wealth-creators and consumers for the mutual benefit of all.

"THE RAILWAYS, THE TRUSTS AND THE PEOPLE."*

A BOOK-STUDY.

I. WHY THIS WORK OUTRANKS ALL OTHER VOLUMES ON THE RAILWAY QUESTION.

THIS WORK, which is as authoritative in character as it is exhaustive in scope and treatment, is incomparably the most important book on the railways that has appeared from any pen. Never before have the facts germane to all phases of this great question been investigated at first hand in so extended and exhaustive a manner as was done by Professor Parsons. Before he set to work to prepare his book he traveled over the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, for the purpose of ascertaining from every authoritative source all facts and all views on each phase of the railroad problem that could be obtained from those in position to know. During the investigation he interviewed the most eminent railway specialists of the land and the working officers of various roads, together with persons in the different departments of the service; also shippers and others who had dealings with the railway companies. He interviewed statesmen and members of committees of investigation appointed by legislative and other bodies.

Next Professor Parsons went to Europe to obtain all possible facts of importance from the Old World. He spent several months in Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, France and other countries. Here again he obtained interviews from various leading authorities,—ministers of railways, officers of the leading lines, parliamentary leaders, economists, and the great shippers of England and the Continent. In his preface he points out the fact that materials for the preparation of the work "were gathered in the course of many thousands of miles of travel covering three-fourths of the United States and most of the principal countries of Europe. Libraries were consulted in every country visited, and railway ministers and managers and leading authorities almost without exception afforded every assistance in their power. Leading railroad officials of

twenty countries besides our own have been consulted and have given freely of their wealth of knowledge. Besides the Secretary and members of the English Board of Trade and Railway Commission, the Ministers of Railways in France, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Germany and Belgium, and the President of the Danish Government railways, the writer has talked with many railroad managers and others high in the service in all these countries, and also with leading officials of the railroads of Norway, Sweden, Holland, South Africa, New Zealand and Australia. The privilege of directly questioning men who have all the facts at their fingers' ends and vocal termini, is of inestimable value in research of this sort, and the writer wishes to render hearty thanks to all who have so cordially assisted him. Among these are many not directly connected with railway service but familiar with the economic, political or social aspects of the problem."

With all the facts obtainable in hand, as a result of four years of the most exacting and painstaking research, Professor Parsons set to work to prepare this volume. He was greatly embarrassed, however, because of the wealth of information he had obtained. Every phase of the subject investigated yielded enough important facts to constitute a volume. The work of condensing all this information, so that the most salient and vital facts should be retained, while treating the subject at once in an authoritative yet pleasing and popular manner, was a task that called for far more skill than most persons who write on social and economic problems possess. Happily for America, Professor Parsons brought to the work a trained and eminently judicial mind. His legal training and wide experience as an author of legal text-books, and his equally useful experience as a teacher, gained during his long service as a professor in the Boston University School of Law and in chairs in various other educational institutions, enabled him judicially to weigh the evidence, to sift, discriminate and marshal the important facts in a pleasing and attractive manner. The result is that we at last have an exhaustive and authoritative work that is ex-

* *The Railways, The Trusts and The People.* By Professor Frank Parsons, Ph.D. Price, \$1.50. (In paper, two volumes, price 25 cents per volume.) Pp. 644. Philadelphia: Equity Series, Dr. C. F. Taylor, Publisher, 1520 Chestnut street.

tremely clear and interesting while affording the most complete and satisfactory view of the railway question and the true relation of the railways to commercial enterprises, to the government and to the people, that has been published in any land.

II. THE SCOPE OF THE WORK.

The work is divided into two parts. The first division deals with leading and basic facts in the history of American railways and discusses in a detailed way the evils and abuses that have made the railway problem an overshadowing political and economic issue. The second part analyzes the railway problem in a brilliant and illuminating manner, showing how other nations have met and solved the question and overcome the great evils that have become rampant in America, where these evils had been permitted to spring into existence. This division of the work, as the author in his preface points out, gives "the history and results of various systems of railway management and control in other lands, discussing broad questions of policy, capitalization, safety, economy, rate-making, treatment of employes, political, industrial and social effects of public and private railways, and the remedies that have been proposed for the abuses and difficulties that beset our transportation system in this country to-day. The second part, in short, aims at the causes and the remedies for the transportation ills described in the first part and further elucidated by the additional facts brought out in the second division of the work."

In noticing this volume it will only be possible briefly to glance at a few of the subjects which are dwelt upon in a masterly manner, and to make short extracts from the work which will prove suggestive to thoughtful Americans and which will also, we trust, lead all our readers to secure the work, which we believe it to be the solemn duty of every patriot to carefully peruse.

III. RAILWAY CONSOLIDATION AND THE PART THE RAILWAYS HAVE PLAYED IN CREATING A FEUDALISM OF MONOPOLISTIC WEALTH.

After presenting in a striking and fascinating manner a pen-picture of the railway empire in the United States, Professor Parsons proceeds to discuss "Allied Interests," in which he shows how railway consolidation has progressed and gone hand in hand with the con-

centration of vast riches in the hands of a few all-powerful men. Here is shown trust concentration, with all the evils of monopoly, moving forward with irresistible stride, largely by virtue of alliance with the railways.

"Railroad consolidation began in 1853," says our author, "when ten little railways covering 297 miles between Albany and Buffalo were merged into the New York Central Railroad. Now the Vanderbilt system covers 22,000 miles; there is another system with 47,000 miles; another with 28,000 miles, etc.; and these systems are interlocking and merging into a Railroad Trust controlling nearly 173,000 miles of vital railways, or nearly all the important lines in the country.

"The formation of vast industrial trusts began in 1872, when the anthracite coal combination was formed by an alliance of producers and carriers and when the interests which compose the Standard Oil Trust first began to work in harmony with each other and use the power of their railroad allies to clear the field of competitors. To-day there are 450 to 500 trusts, with an aggregate capitalization, including the railroad and other franchise trusts, of something like \$20,000,000,000. And still more trusts are forming and the limits of existing trusts are being extended and their interlocking interests increased and intensified. They are reaching out after the land, and the control of market, labor, and raw materials. They are establishing international relationships aiming to monopolize the globe in their lines of business. And they are joining hands with each other.

"On the whole the situation seems to be this: The railways and other big franchise monopolies are coördinating with the great combines into a gigantic machine controlled by a few financiers and created to manufacture or capture profit for them. Events are moving toward a consolidation of interests that will give a handful of capitalists practically imperial power through the vastness of their industrial dominions."

The railroads have been one of the great fostering causes of monopoly.

"In Germany," observes our author, "I was told that the comparative immunity of Germany from such aggressive trusts and monopolies as those that prevail in the United States must be attributed chiefly to the fact that all producers and dealers are treated im-

partially by the state railways. In this country it is matter of history and legislative investigation that some of the trusts, the Oil Trust, Coal Trust, Sugar Trust, Beef Trust, etc., owe their development largely to railway rebates and special transit privileges. If a railway manager has an interest in a coal mine, iron company, or oil combine, he will be likely to give it advantages that will add greatly to its power of crushing its rivals. Nothing pays better in the organization of a trust or any great business enterprise than to have some strong railroad men in the combine, even if you have to make them a present of the stock. And when the same men own and control both the railways on the one hand and the coal mines, steel mills, etc., on the other, it is clear that all the properties will be handled as a unit to destroy rival interests, enlarge the profit and power and accomplish the purposes of the omnivorous owners."

Professor Parsons next proceeds to give a number of concrete and typical examples of how the trusts, by alliance with the railways, rob the people:

"These owners sometimes use their power in ways that seem detrimental and oppressive to people who are not represented in the combines. For example, a legislative investigation in New York brought out the fact that the Milk Trust of the Metropolis, in league with the railways, fixed the price to the consuming public at seven and eight cents a quart, while allowing the farmer but three cents. And Federal investigation has shown that the 'Big Four,' Armour, Swift, Morris and Hammond, constituting the Meat Trust, adopted a plan of indeterminate prices to the great confusion and loss of farmers and ranchmen raising cattle and hogs. If few cattle trains were coming, prices were put up. Farmers seeing the improved quotations would ship their stock. When the telegraph told the combine that many cattle were coming in they would put prices down. The cattle would soon eat their heads off if held in Chicago. There were practically no other buyers than the Trust for the great capital invested and the advantages which such immense dealers have in the matter of railroad rates and transit accommodations enabled them to clear the market of competitors. So the farmers had nothing to do but sell their stock to the Trust at whatever price it chose to fix. The resulting loss to the producers of a single Western State has

been estimated at fifty millions in a decade."

Two of the most deeply interesting and instructive chapters deal with "Railway Discrimination" and "Railway Favoritism" and how the railways foster monopoly, after which the author passes to a consideration of the "Railways in Politics." This chapter should be published in leaflet form and circulated by the millions. It shows in an overwhelmingly conclusive manner how the railways have become the real masters of government in so far as it relates to legislation touching transportation problems and how this rule is accomplished by graft and corruption at every stage, so demoralizing in character that immediate and positive remedies are imperatively demanded on ethical if on no other grounds.

"In Germany, Switzerland, Australia, and other commonwealths, the governments control the railways. In the United States to a large extent the railways control the government.

"After traveling through many lands, studying railway systems, gathering facts and opinions from ministers and managers of railways public and private, talking with leading men of all classes and interests, and meeting railroad delegates from all over the world at the International Railway Congress in Washington, the conclusion rolls into my consciousness and forces itself upon my attention, that this greatest of all republics is the only country on earth of any importance that is dominated by industrial interests in the hands of private corporations, among which the railroads and their allies are the chief.

"Government by and for the railroads has attained a high development in the United States. James A. Garfield said in the National House, June 22, 1874: 'The corporations have become conscious of their strength, and have entered upon the work of controlling the States. Already they have captured some of the oldest and strongest of them, and these discrowned sovereigns now follow in chains the triumphal chariot of their conquerors. And this does not imply that merely the officers and representatives of States have been subjected to the railways, but that the corporations have grasped the sources and fountains of power, and control the choice of both officers and representatives.'

"Wendell Phillips stated the situation years ago when he said, 'Tom Scott goes through

the country with three hundred millions at his back, and every legislature in his path gets down on its knees before him.' And the political power of our railway kings has not diminished with the expansions and consolidations that have given us railroad potentates with one thousand and even two thousand millions at their backs. Legislative bodies from city councils to Congress, administrative officers from sheriffs and assessors to governors, and judicial authorities from police judges to courts of last resort, are permeated, and in many cases saturated, with railroad influence.

"At the national capital and in more than twenty of our States I have studied railroad conditions. Everywhere I have found powerful railroad lobbies. In nearly every case the dominance of railroad influence in respect to legislation affecting transportation interests is a settled fact, except during spasms of popular upheaval. And in a number of States the government is little more than a railroad annex."

In the following we have one of the many concrete illustrations that crowd the pages of this volume and illustrate various points under discussion. In this special instance the typical illustration in question affords a striking example of methods or tactics employed by the army of railway henchmen in the Senate and House, to prevent the passage of any legislation which aims to protect and guard the people's interests but which will incur additional expenses in the railway system.

"The United States Constitution provides that *no United States Senator shall take any present or emolument from a prince or potentate*. Yet they are continually taking presents and emoluments from railway magnates, who are surely potentates if we interpret the law according to its reason and substance, as Blackstone says we must, and test the matter not by names but by looking to the actual power which is the essence of potentateism.

"To what lengths these railroad senators will go to carry out the purposes of their masters even in comparatively small affairs is shown by a story I had from the lips of one of the leading actors. In 1901 a bill requiring the railroads to report all accidents to the Interstate Commerce Commission passed the House and went to the Senate. It was pigeon-holed in the Committee on Interstate Commerce, of which Senator Cullom, of Illinois, was chairman. The Hon. R. F. Pettigrew,

Republican Senator from South Dakota, at last introduced a resolution discharging the committee from further consideration of the bill and ordering it placed on the calendar. Senator Cullom said this was a slight on his committee. Senator Pettigrew replied that the committee ought to be slighted, it ought to report the bill favorably or unfavorably, it did n't matter which, but report it so the Senate could get action on it. Senator Cullom said that if Senator Pettigrew would not press his resolution, he (Cullom) would get his committee together next day and report the bill. He did, and the committee reported adversely. A few days later Senator Cullom asked to have the bill recommitted, saying that the committee desired to suggest amendments. The recommitment was agreed to and again the bill was put in cold storage. After a time Senator Pettigrew put in another motion to withdraw the bill from committee. Senator Cullom said he'd get his committee together that afternoon. He did, and reported the bill with amendments calculated to kill it. But the dangerous amendments were eliminated by a rare combination of effort and good fortune. Day after day Senator Pettigrew held the Senate to the bill, while the railway people fought it. There were sixty or seventy private measures—jobs the senators wanted to get through. These local bills have little or no chance of going through if they are fought, so that in practice unanimous consent is necessary to pass them. Senator Pettigrew held up these private bills. It was very near the end of the session. Senators pleaded with Pettigrew to let their bills be passed and then they'd take up the Railroad Accident bill and vote for it. But Pettigrew said, 'No, I'll kill off every one of your jobs if you do n't act on this bill.' Finally the Senate struck out the dangerous amendments, leaving only some unobjectionable changes, and passed the bill the day before the close of the session, and Senator Cullom was among those who voted for it. The railway people thought it was too late for the House to act on the measure, accepting the changes, etc. But Senator Pettigrew had arranged the matter with Speaker Henderson. The Speaker said, 'When the bill comes back to the House, have some one move to accept the Senate amendments and I'll put it to a vote at once. I won't waste a minute.' This was done, and the bill passed and was signed by the speaker. Then it disappeared. Only four hours more of the ses-

sion and the bill could not be found. Senator Pettigrew sent a messenger to hunt it up. He looked long and earnestly, but in vain, till he came to a drawer which a clerk of the enrolling department said was a private drawer and could not be searched. The messenger said he would search it if he had to get the sergeant-at-arms to help him, so the clerk yielded and the missing bill was found tucked away back in that 'private' drawer. The clerk in question was a *protégé* of Senator Sewell, one of the Pennsylvania Railroad senators from New Jersey, who procured his appointment to the enrolling department. The astute railroad senator from New Jersey had coached his friend in the enrolling department to watch for the obnoxious bill and hide it away till the session was over and it was too late for it to be signed by the President of the Senate. Then it would die a natural death.

"If the railroads and their senators will use such methods to kill a little innocent bill to require full reports of accidents, what will they not do to prevent legislation of a really vital character?"

Of the sinister and subversive sway of the railways in politics Professor Parsons says:

"The railroads pack caucuses and conventions, dominate elections, control legislatures, commissions, and courts, get their men appointed on important boards and committees, choose national representatives, elect or defeat at will in many cases even United States Senators. They have their men on the State and National Committees of the great parties. They are charged with organizing their employés for political purposes and using their votes *en masse* so far as possible without coming into the open. It is even claimed that the railroads and allied interests have in several instances determined presidential elections, either by carrying the nominating convention of the leading party, or by organizing and instructing their employés, or by raising a massive campaign fund to buy up doubtful states.

"Henry Ward Beecher said in 1881 that five or ten men controlling ten thousand miles of railroads and billions of property, had their hands on the throat of commerce; and 'if they should need to have a man in sympathy with them in the executive chair it would require only five pockets to put him there.'

"This is probably true except when the

people are thoroughly aroused, or a leader of splendid powers and high character sweeps aside the ordinary plans and possibilities of political campaigns.

"The same principles apply within the states in the election of governors. A great leader like LaFollette can win in the teeth of the railroads, but as a rule the railroads are able to see that no one they have reason to believe opposed to their interests shall become the chief executive, and in a number of states the governors are men whose support the railroads can implicitly rely upon. Even governors who are naturally inclined to be independent are frequently paralyzed by railroad legislatures, or lulled into innocuous desuetude by railroad favors."

These are merely the opening paragraphs in a long and powerful discussion of this question, in which the author marshals a vast array of official and authoritative data that cannot fail to produce conviction in the mind of every reader capable of coherent thought.

A chapter of special value deals with "Watered Stock and Capital Frauds." "To railroad men from Germany, Denmark, Belgium, and other countries where the railroads are public property," says Professor Parsons, "nothing in our railway system is more astonishing—not even our railway favoritism and railroad politics—than the exhaustless freedom with which we allow our railroad manipulators to water and inflate the capitalization on which the people must pay dividends and interest."

No government having any serious concern for the rights and well-being of the people, and no government not dominated by privileged interests, would for a moment tolerate the systematic stock-watering that has disgraced America and rendered it possible for a few unscrupulous gamblers and railway magnates to levy extortionate passenger and freight rates. Only by this method of watering stock, which the government has culpably permitted, has it been possible for the exploiters to cover up the enormous dividends earned on the actual capital invested. But by the government becoming the tool of the railways and recreant to its trust, the public-service companies have been able to juggle with capital, water stock, and employ various methods to prevent the people from finding out to what an extent they are being robbed through extortion and indirect methods, for the benefit of gamblers and railroad manipulators whose interests are so

dear to the Spooners and the Baileys, the Forakers and the Danielses, the Knoxes and the Depewes, the Platts and the Cranes, the Lodges and the Aldriches, the Elkinses and the Keans in the United States Senate. That these gentlemen are thrown into a panic when any statesman demands that the nation shall own and operate the railways in the interests of all the people, instead of permitting the railways longer to own and operate the government in the interests of Wall-street gamblers and a privileged few, is not any more surprising than it is suggestive.

With a government like that of New Zealand, where the interests and concern of all the people are the supreme concern of the officials throughout the commonwealth, these guardians of corporation interests might easily find their occupation gone.

IV. GAMBLING AND MANIPULATION OF STOCKS.

The government displays unctious rectitude in its pretended abhorrence of gambling and the little gambler, the promoter of a lottery or game of chance is proceeded against with relentless zeal; but the most brazen, bare-faced and iniquitous of all gamblers,—the great Wall-street gamblers who systematically play with stacked cards and loaded dice and who use the railways of the nation as their playthings, are not only undisturbed, but Presidents, Senators and fat-frying national committeemen delight to entertain them, frequently defer to their views, and show them all the consideration which honorable and upright business men alone are entitled to. In his chapter on "Gambling and Manipulation of Stock" Professor Parsons lifts the lid and gives us glimpses of this nation-ennervating crime as it flowers to-day. Space forbids our quoting more than one or two characteristic illustrations as cited by our author:

"The tremendous frauds that may be accomplished through the manipulation of stock by cunning and unscrupulous railroad potentates find ample illustration in the history of the Erie Railway.

"In 1866 Mr. Daniel Drew, the treasurer of the Erie Railroad, and a noted Wall-street operator, received from the company (as security for a loan of \$3,500,000) 28,000 unissued shares and bonds for \$3,000,000, convertible into stock upon demand. Drew began to operate with Erie stock. He sold short,

and when it rose to 95 he converted his bonds, dumped 58,000 shares upon the market, bringing the quotation down to 50, realizing millions of dollars by the deal.

"Soon after this Commodore Vanderbilt began to buy Erie stock in order to get control of the road. The Erie ring fed the Commodore with Erie stock straight from the printing press as fast as he would buy it. Under a blank authority given by the board of directors the executive committee voted to issue at once convertible bonds for \$10,000,000, and so when Vanderbilt thought he almost had the Erie in his grasp, this mighty mass of 100,000 shares of new stock was hanging like an avalanche over his head. In one day 50,000 shares of new Erie stock were flung upon the market. Vanderbilt was buying. His agents caught at the new stock as eagerly as at the old, and the whole of it was absorbed before its origin was suspected, and almost without a falter in the price. Then fresh certificates appeared and the truth became known. Erie fell, the market reeled, and Vanderbilt had difficulty to sustain himself and avert a crisis. He began legal proceedings and the Erie ring fled to Jersey City, one individual carrying with him bales containing \$6,000,000 in greenbacks. Vanderbilt had absorbed 100,000 shares of Erie and Drew had captured \$7,000,000 of his antagonist's money. Erie had been watered and the Commodore's plan had failed. As he expressed it, he could easily enough buy up the Erie Railway, but he could not buy up the printing press.

"In July, 1868, Jim Fisk and Jay Gould came into full control of the Erie Railroad and sometime afterward a sworn statement of the secretary of the company revealed the fact that the stock of the road had been increased from \$34,265,300 on the first of July to \$57,766,300 on the 24th of October of the same year, or by 235,000 shares in the four months. This, too, had been done without consultation of the board of directors and with no authority but that conferred by the resolution of February 19th. Under that blank vote the stock of the road had now been increased 138 per cent. in eight months."

Professor Parsons is always just and careful to give due credit where credit is merited. "Our railway system as a whole," he observed, "must not be deemed fraudulently speculative. Stock jobbing is not the main purpose with most of our roads, though it is an element

more or less strongly developed or else an incident in all. The point is that our system leaves the door open to such practices and intensifies the prevalent longing for unearned gain by the prospect of the prodigious sums to be realized, and by the facilities afforded by the possession of irresponsible power."

He closes this chapter with some excellent observations on this form of gambling, of which the following are excerpts:

"What is the nature of these stock transactions? Is the winning of millions by betting on railway stocks with all who choose to take the offer, any different from winning thousands by betting in the Louisiana lottery? Is the buying and selling of large amounts of stock on margin in the stock exchange essentially different from buying and selling small amounts of the same stock on margin in the policy shop? Is it really any nobler to bet a million on the rise of stocks you know you can and will make rise than to bet a hundred on a game of cards with a sure thing in trumps and aces up your sleeves?"

"There is a difference in results, of course. The man who wins millions on the stock exchange is petted and admired, whether he fixes the game or not; but policy-shop people and card gamblers are not admitted to good society. . . .

"But with all the difference of tangible results to the actors, is there any real difference in the ethical nature of the proceedings? Is there any real difference in the effect upon the morals of the people or the ideals of youth, except that the giant gambler of the railway, with his colossal winnings, does more than the little man to make a speculative life seem more attractive than a life of honest labor?"

V. RAILROAD GRAFT AND OFFICIAL ABUSE.

If no other indictment could be fairly brought against the managers and manipulators of the railway system of America than that it is the most prolific breeder of graft, the fact that this demoralizing influence has become nation-wide and is in evidence everywhere where the trail of the railway power is found, would be sufficient reason for demanding the overthrow of the present régime. The graft-breeding character of the railway system has seldom if ever been more clearly or convincingly set forth than by Professor Parsons in his chapter on "Railroad Graft and Official Abuse."

"Scratch our railroad system almost anywhere," says our author, "and you'll find graft. 'Graft' is the street name, fast becoming the literary name also, for the fraudulent perversion of power or property to private advantage. Every chapter so far in this book has contained illustrations of railroad graft. There is graft in consolidation for the purpose of keeping rates above the fair competitive level and squeezing an unearned increment or monopoly profit out of the public. There is graft in the giving of free passes and rebates, excessive mileage, and elevator fees, midnight tariffs, favoritism in the distribution of cars, speed of transport, etc., private-car and terminal railroad abuses, and all the multitude of devices by which railroads give unjust advantages to favor shippers, or to localities and industries in which the managers or their friends or other persons with a pull are interested. There is graft in the building of giant monopolies which are simply fortresses of industrial and political graft. There is graft in the railroad lobbies, the manipulation of nominations and elections, the purchase of legislators, the packing of committees, the subsidizing of newspapers and other means by which the railroads seek to control politics and change the form of government in this country so that we may not have republican government or government by and for the people, but corporation government or government by and for the railroads and their allies. There is graft in the giving of stock to influential men, the watering and inflation of capital, and the manipulation of stock for gambling purposes. And there are many other forms of railroad graft that we have not yet described."

Page after page is devoted to recitals of facts and the giving of examples that may well alarm and arouse thoughtful people. The Professor shows the multitudinous methods in which dishonesty and graft are practiced by the railway companies. One that is most common and which should interest every voter, as it affects his pocketbook, is thus alluded to:

"One of the commonest forms of railroad graft is the evasion of taxes, or arranging matters so that the public will have to pay a part or the whole of the share of taxation that should rest upon the railroads. This is accomplished in many states by procuring under-assessment of railroad properties so that the companies pay only a half, a third, or even a twentieth of the tax they would pay if

assessed at the same ratio to real values that is applied to small property holders who have no free passes to give the assessors nor any other pull with the powers that be. Sometimes railroads even secure entire exemption from taxation for a term of years, as in Vermont, or in perpetuity, as in New Jersey, where 'one-quarter of the property of the state belongs to the railroads and is exempt from taxation', compelling the people to pay \$2,000,000 annually in taxes that ought to be paid by the railroads."

VI. THE POST-OFFICE SCANDAL; OR, WHERE
THE RAILWAYS SYSTEMATICALLY PRACTICE
ROBBERY BY EXTORTION.

Nowhere is graft more brazenly practiced than in the carrying of the United States mails. Nowhere does the bare-faced robbery of the American people exhibit at once the depths of moral turpitude to which the government itself has fallen and the absolute and imperious power exerted by the corrupt railway interests over the recreant public servants that are seen in the contracts with the railways for mail service. The postal deficit is a deficit only because our railways are owned by private parties on the one hand, and because the government is also the servant of these unscrupulous interests on the other. In his chapter on "The Railways and the Postal Service" Professor Parsons lays bare this unholy alliance on the part of a department of government with the railways which is a confession that the government is the tool of the interests.

"Another and most grievous form of graft," says the author, "consists in excessive charges for the carriage of the mails. While the railways in other countries carry the mails for nothing or at cost, our Government has to pay much higher rates than private shippers. The railway tax on the transmission of intelligence is one of the worst handicaps resulting from our transportation system. For hauling mails the railways receive from the Government from two to four times as much as they get from the express companies for equal haulage, more than twice what they get for carrying commutation passengers and excess baggage equal weights and distances, two to five times their charges for first-class freight, twelve times what they receive for some of their dairy freight, and sixteen times what they get for the mass of common freight."

Professor Parsons cites at length from Professor Henry C. Adams of Michigan University, the statistician of the United States Commerce Commission, giving Professor Adams' tables, after which he continues:

"On these estimates the railway receipts from the express between New York and Boston would average 50 cents per hundred, and 38 cents for first-class freight, against 89 cents for the mails; New York to Chicago, 75 cents freight, \$1.25 express, and \$3.56 mail; New York to Atlanta, \$1.26 freight, \$2 express, and \$3.50 mail; Chicago to Milwaukee, 25 cents freight, 30 cents express, 34 cents mail per hundred (this seems fairly reasonable); New York to San Francisco, \$3 freight, \$6.75 express, and \$13.28 mail (this seems very unreasonable); Atlanta to Savannah, 61 cents freight, 87 cents express, and \$3.17 mail (more unreasonable still).

"These and other data too numerous for insertion here indicate that as a rule railways receive for express 50 to 100 per cent. more than for first class freight, and for mail 100 to 300 per cent. more than for express.

"A specific case will show more clearly the relation between railway receipts from mail and express. The New York Central gets 40 per cent. of the gross earnings of the express company operating over its line. The result is the following relation between mail and express for the route from New York to Buffalo, 439 miles.

"Railway earnings per year for 125 tons of mail daily.....	\$1,447,840
"Railway earnings per year for 125 tons of express daily.....	436,250

"Railway officers claim that the value received from the express should be put somewhat above the 40 per cent. contract division of earnings because the express performs some 'gratuitous' service in the handling of railway packages, etc., but even make full allowance for this and all other claims of the railroads in relation to such comparison, as Adams does on page 22 of the 'Railway Mail Pay' report, the railway value from express would only be \$570,312 in the above statement, against \$1,447,840 from the mail without counting receipts for postal-car rentals or value resulting from the stimulation of traffic due to the mails.

"The census of 1890 affords the means of a very broad and instructive comparison. From that census we learn that the express companies paid the railways \$19,327,000 for

carrying 3,292,000,000 pounds of express matter, or 6-10 of a cent a pound. The same year Postmaster-General Wanamaker reported the weight of the mail, paid and free, to be 365,368,417 pounds, or 1-9 of the express weight, and by no means all of this was carried by the railways, yet they received \$22,102,000 for less than a tenth of the weight the railways hauled for the express companies for several millions less money. The rate per pound on mail was fully ten times the rate per pound on express. The average haul for express is estimated at 25 to 50 per cent. less than for mail. So that the ton-mile rate for mail appears to have been at least five times as much as for express, according to the data of the census and the Postmaster-General. Since 1890 the express companies have carefully refrained from allowing the census people or any other public authorities to acquire the facts necessary to a broad and accurate comparison.

"The express companies carry magazines and newspapers 500 miles and more at a cent a pound and the railways get less than $\frac{1}{4}$ a cent a pound, or two cents a ton-mile. That is not all. Any general express agent will tell you that the company will shade the rate for a large shipper. For example, *The Cosmopolitan* is carried from New York to Boston, 219 miles, for 18 cents a hundred, or less than 1-5 of a cent a pound. This is at the rate of 1.6 cents per ton-mile for the express company and $\frac{1}{4}$ of a cent a ton-mile for the railways, a rate about 1-16 of the average mail rate and 1-9 of the lowest mail rate on the lines where the volume of mail is greatest. The railways charge the government about 3 cents a pound for hauling second-class matter, according to Professor Adams, and 8 cents according to Postmaster-General Wilson, but the same stuff for the express companies for less than a tenth of a cent a pound. And if the railways had any serious objection to such rates they would hardly have permitted them to continue all these years, but would have provided against them in their contracts with the express companies.

"The mail rate ought not to be higher than the railway rates on express or excess baggage, and should probably be lower than the average excess baggage rate. It is traffic, steady, homogeneous, easily handled, and admits of economy from every point of view. It does not entail any such expenses for storage, loading and unloading, etc., as pertain to baggage.

Station expenses are eliminated. There is practically nothing but the cost of haulage. Wellington, our highest authority in railway economics, says that only 70 per cent. of railway expense is due to transportation. On this basis the railway mail rate would be about 1-3 less than that charged for excess baggage, or about 4 cents per ton-mile instead of 12.

"The following table presents the case from the standpoint of probable total cost on the various bases we have discussed.

"100,000,000 TON-MILES OF MAIL.

"At average railway express rates would cost perhaps.....	\$5,000,000
"At average excess baggage rates would cost perhaps.....	6,000,000
"At average freight rates would cost about.....	800,000
"At average freight rates, making correction for difference of dead load,	8,000,000
"At average passenger rates, making correction for difference of dead load.....	8,000,000
"At actual mail rates (1898).....	\$4,754,000

"In whatever way the subject is regarded, the railway mail pay seems many millions too large."

But the case of high-handed robbery against the American tax-payers, in which the American government is *particeps criminis*, does not stop with excessive charges for carrying the mails.

"In addition to the regular mail rates the government pays an extra charge for postal cars averaging \$6,250 a year per car, although the cost of construction of cars is but \$2,500 to \$5,000 each. For two 30-foot apartments in two combination cars, each carrying one ton of mail, the railways get no car rental; nothing but the mail weight rates; but for a 60-foot postal car with an average load of two tons of mail, heated and lighted like the compartments, and with the same fixtures as the afore-said compartments plus a water tank, the roads receive \$6,250 a year special car-rent in addition to full rates for the weight of mail carried. This means \$5,368,000 a year for the rental of cars worth about \$4,000,000.

"The total pay received by the railways from the Government on account of the mail was \$44,499,732 for the year ending June 30, 1904. Out of a total expenditure of \$152,362,116, a part of the mail pay, viz., \$5,368,000, was paid as rentals for postal cars in addition to

excessive rates for the mail carried in the cars. The express companies do not pay rentals for use of express cars, neither does the Government pay for the use of postal apartments. There is no reason why it should pay rental for postal cars. The whole of this \$5,368,000 therefore should be cut out. As the remaining \$39,000,000 is paid on the basis of a rate at least two or three times greater than that received by the railways for the carriage of express, it is clear that the total railway mail pay should not exceed \$20,000,000 and, probably should be less than \$14,000,000 a year.

"The excess of \$24,000,000 or more which the Government now pays the railways for carriage of the mails is much more than sufficient to account for the postal deficit. For 1904 the Postmaster-General reported the deficit as \$8,812,769. The year before it was \$4,586,977. Sometimes it has been less than \$3,000,000 and at other times more than \$10,000,000. But there has been no year in which the excess railway mail pay would not have covered the deficit and left many millions of surplus besides, surplus enough to have justified the large extension of the free delivery system, the gradual establishment of the postal telegraph, and the introduction of the parcels-post, such as the nations of Europe enjoy."

How different is the action of a plutocracy or a government dominated by privileged wealth from that of a true republic in such matters as this is seen by a comparison of the course of our government with that pursued by Switzerland before that republic took over the railways.

"In Switzerland, where the roads were in private hands, the Minister of the Railways, in answer to my question, said: 'On the great railways the government pays nothing for the mails; their concessions require them to carry the mail free. On the small lines, if the dividends fall below $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. the government pays the fair cost of carrying the mails; when the road attains $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. it must carry the mails free.' This is the law relating to private railways."

If this whole discussion could be read by the millions of American voters, the great peril that has arisen from the people permitting a body of men to corrupt government and control it, to the detriment of all the people, would soon be a thing of the past. The great need of the present is the forcing home upon the consciousness

of the easy-going masses of the grave facts that will compel conviction—facts that will prove how they have been betrayed and how the great public opinion-forming agencies are systematically blinding the more thoughtless to the truths of the situation; and we know of no book published in recent months so well calculated to do this as *The Railways, The Trusts and The People*, and perhaps no chapter in this book would accomplish more in this direction than this discussion on "The Railways and the Postal Service."

The next six chapters are devoted to "The Express," "The Chaos of Rates," "Taxation without Representation," "Railways and Panics," "Railway Strikes," and "Railway Wars." All of these discussions merit careful reading. They furnish an amazing and disquieting revelation and are pregnant with truths that it is of the utmost importance all thinking Americans should be cognizant of.

VII. ESSENTIAL ANARCHY; OR, THE SYSTEMATIC DEFIANCE OF LAW BY THE RAILWAYS.

Next our author takes up the subject of "Defiance of Law." Space prevents our giving more than two brief excerpts from this very important chapter.

"The railways and their allies," says Professor Parsons, "are chronic breakers of the law. It is part of the business of the ordinary railroad company to have the laws affecting transportation made to order so far as possible, and if not possible, then to defy, evade and nullify so much of the law as seriously conflicts with their purpose. Even in the process of manufacturing legislation according to their wish, they violate the most sacred principles of law and justice. The whole putrifying mass of election frauds and legislation bribery, some specimens of which were analyzed in a former chapter, is the result of defying laws intended to protect the purity of the ballot and defend the government against corruption. And the discriminations that permeate the railroad system from end to end, giving favored shippers an unfair advantage over their rivals, constitute another most dangerous defiance of the laws of the land, both statute and common, state and National.

"Long after the Interstate Commerce Act was passed forbidding such discriminations, President Stickney, of the Great Western Railroad, quoted with approval the statement

of another railway president that, 'If all (railroad officers) who had offended against the law were convicted, there would not be enough jails in the United States to hold them.'

"I pick up the last report of the Interstate Commerce Commission and find that 568 complaints have been entered this year (1905) against the roads for violation of the Interstate Commerce Law. In 65 cases formal suits were instituted, involving directly the rates and practices of 321 railroads. Since the commission was established, in 1887, more than 4,580 complaints, formal and informal, have been filed, and about 860 suits have been brought for breaches of this one law and its amendments.

"Passes and rebates are constantly given in defiance of law, and the decisions of the Federal Commission are treated with contempt. Soon after the commission was established under the law of 1887, the independent mine-owners of Pennsylvania appealed to it. The Commission decided that the rates charged by the railroads were unreasonable and ordered them reduced. But the railroads ignored the decision, and two years afterward Congress found that the rates were 50 cents a ton higher than the Commission had decided to be just.

"Over one-third of the orders of the Commission have been completely disregarded by the railroads. Many times they have carried the matter into court, and by some technicality or defect of the law, or other contention (including the merits of the question in some cases) they have nearly always succeeded in nullifying the more important decisions of the Commission.

"In March, 1893, a Federal law was passed requiring the railroads to equip their trains with automatic couplers and air-brakes before the end of 1897. Some railroads complied, but most of them asked for an extension and some had only 20 per cent., 8 per cent. and even 6 per cent. of their cars equipped when the time expired. The law was contested in the courts and it was nearly twelve years before a decision (October, 1904) of the United States Supreme Court was obtained sustaining the constitutionality of the safety law."

After devoting considerable space to "Nullification of the Protective Tariff," "Railway Potentates," and "The Failure of Control," the author concludes the first part of the work by a brief but very thoughtful chapter on "The Irrepressible Conflict," in which he says:

"Why are our railroads burdened with evils

so many and so great as those we have found clinging to our railway system?

"Can we not discover the cause and remove it?

"Is not the main cause to be found in the antagonism of interest between the owners and the public, together with the vast power the ownership and management of these great monopolies confer?

"If this is the tap-root of evil, how can it be destroyed?

"Clearly the antagonism of interest between the owners and the public can be abolished by public ownership, which makes the owners and the public one and the same, and there does not seem to be any other way of uprooting the fundamental cause of disturbance in the railroad world.

"But may not the cause of evil, though left alive and in possession, be hedged in and controlled by regulative measures so as to prevent any serious consequences? Regulation can put more or less check on anti-public activities; the question is whether it can operate with sufficient effectiveness in a case where the anti-public interest is so vast and so powerful, without proceeding to lengths that amount practically to taking the roads, or the essential powers of ownership in them, for public use without compensation.

"So long as the roads are private property and managed by agents selected and paid by the private owners, the companies will be operated so far as possible for private profit and in the interest of the owners. Every law that attempts to interfere with this creates a new occasion and new motives to evade or nullify the law, or control the legislative and administrative machinery of government and regulate the regulators in the interest of the companies.

"Besides the political dangers incident to attempts at controlling these powerful monopolies, regulation is wasteful and only partially effective. You have one set of men to do the work and another set of men watching the first and trying to make them manage the roads in accord with your orders and contrary to the orders and financial interests of the men who employ and dismiss them and pay their salaries."

The last half of the work is quite as important as Part One, and in some respects even more so; for the evils of the railway system in America are coming to be generally recognized by intelligent people, while, owing very largely

to the pernicious activity of the army of editors, writers and others beholden to public-service corporations, the public has been systematically misled, often in the most shameful manner, in regard to the probable effectiveness of all common-sense and rational remedies proposed which are fundamental in character; and no opportunity has been lost in attempting to confuse the general reader in regard to facts that would long ago have been accepted and acted on, as they have been accepted and put into practice in lands wherever privileged interests have not gained a dominating control over both the press and the government officials.

Part Two contains ten chapters, which appear under the following titles: "The Problem," "The Supreme Test," "Lessons from Other Lands," "The Aim," "Contrasts in General Policy," "Management," "The Rate Question," "Railway Employés," "Industrial, Political and Social Effects," and "Remedies."

We had hoped to be able to give some of the salient facts which crowd this section of the work, but our review has already exceeded our limit and we can only state that in our judgment no honest-minded man can peruse this masterly work without realizing not only the extreme gravity of the evil, the overshadowing character of the problem and the imperative demand that it be promptly and fearlessly faced, but also that along the highway of popular ownership and operation alone is found the solution to the problem; the solution that will so change the order that the railways will be made to serve the interests of all the people instead of conserving the selfish aims of a ring of Wall-street gamblers and anarchistic law-breakers who have corrupted and are corrupting the government in all its ramifications and the business ethics of the nation, while lowering the moral ideals of the rising generation; a solution that has been vindicated wherever put into operation, proving even far more successful than its friends had predicted, and which has never been attended by any of the dire evils that the corrupt railway magnates and their henchmen predict would follow if our people took over the ownership and operation of the railways.

VII. A WORD ABOUT THE PUBLISHER OF THIS WORK.

We cannot close this review without saying a few words about the publisher of the work, Dr. C. F. Taylor, for we are not of those who

believe that the high-minded, unselfish apostles and servants of liberty, just government and civic righteousness should go unrecognized until the clouds fall on their coffin-lids. And in America to-day, among the chosen few who thoughtless of self and with brain and soul consecrated to the cause of pure, just and free government are striving tirelessly for the cause of human advancement, Dr. Taylor deserves a foremost place.

Years ago he commenced a systematic educational propaganda in his journal, *The Medical World*. Later he and Professor Parsons, in discussing various ways and means for furthering popular education of the people on political and economic issues, conceived the idea of publishing *The Equity Series*. To this work Dr. Taylor has contributed his money without stint, seeking not to gain wealth, but to educate the people to think fundamentally and to awaken the masses to the peril of advancing plutocracy, while showing the way out of the social quagmire. Among the important works that have already appeared in this series are the following:

Rational Money, The City for the People, The Telegraph Monopoly, The Story of New Zealand, Direct Legislation, and The Railways, the Trusts and the People, all by Professor Parsons; *Elements of Taxation*, by N. M. Taylor; *The Organisation and Control of Industrial Corporations*, by F. E. Horack; *The Land Question from Various Points of View*, by various writers; and *Politics in New Zealand*, a pamphlet containing the most important of the political portions of *The Story of New Zealand*, edited by Dr. Taylor.

The influence of several of these works on leading statesmen, economists and thinkers has been very pronounced, while the effect of many of them on the more progressive and thoughtful in the rank and file of our citizens has been equally marked. It is just such self-sacrificing and patriotic labors for the great cause of true democracy as Dr. Taylor is carrying forward that will turn the scales for freedom and justice in the crucial hour to which the nation is hurrying. His work is marked by that fine spirit of lofty altruism and love of justice that led Morris and other of the Revolutionary patriots to stake all earthly possessions for the salvation of the people's cause. Among our apostles and leaders of progressive democracy we know of no two men more single-hearted or more dominated by the spirit of justice and civic righteousness than Professor Parsons and Dr. Taylor.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

Man the Social Creator. By Henry Demarest Lloyd. Cloth. Pp. 280. Price, \$2.00 net. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company.

TO KNOW Henry Demarest Lloyd was to love him, to see with some of the glory of his vision, to partly feel with the incisive keenness of his insight, to move upward with the pulsing power of his aspirations, to be inspired by some of the splendor of his passion for man, for his brotherhood, for the social organism. Actually giving his life at the call for a speech for social justice, he has passed from us and we can never again here meet that gentle yet valiant and knightly spirit. But he, being dead, yet speaketh and liveth, and his spirit can and will inspire others perhaps unborn.

Of the half dozen books that he wrote, the posthumous one, *Man the Social Creator*, recently published by Doubleday, Page & Company, is the fullest and finest revelation of his rare spirit. We may mourn that his book entitled *The Swiss Sovereign* and dealing more particularly with the development of the Initiative and Referendum in that model republic, was so much in his brain as to be now lost to us, but we must rejoice that Jane Addams of Hull House and Mrs. Anne Withington, his sister, could from notes, addresses, letters, etc., prepare this book which is really Mr. Lloyd's philosophy of living, his final message to his time.

It is a book of optimism. Friends coming close to Mr. Lloyd know that the misery and waste of our time and system often bore so cruelly on his tender spirit as to make him seem a pessimist, almost a violent revolutionist, but in this book, the real nature of the man with the broad sweep of his vision and his abiding faith asserts itself in an optimistic, a creative work. This begins in its opening where he says:

"Man is a creator, and in his province is the creator and redeemer of himself and

society. . . . Man is not to be a loving animal but is one. From the simple hearthstone up to the magnificent Capitol, man has always organized his love. This he is about to do now in the new territories of contact opened by the industrial revolution."

And it only ends in this last sentence which is:

"The sore consciousness of our world of to-day, of its evils and greed, is the sure sign that we are travelling into a new conscience, and through it into a new and finally unconscious happiness of brotherliness in labor. No man can be truly religious who believes in the God of yesterday or rests in the God of to-day. There is no salvation save in the God of to-morrow."

The fundamental ideal of this book is, to use his own words, that "the modern wealth production which is bringing all men into propinquity, has for its sure end making all these men lovers." And from this contact and the love generated by it is to come a new organism, or rather a consciousness of the organism which is already here, a consciousness that we are members one of another; that we belong to a social whole which is larger and finer and greater than any of its units and to which we owe all loyalty and service. And out of the consciousness of social unity will grow the social conscience, for as he puts it: "The sudden and vast expansion of modern business has made the coöperative commonwealth a physical fact. Now comes the next expansion—that which makes the coöperative commonwealth a moral fact."

The very titles of the eleven chapters show the development of his thought. They are as follows: "The Discovery of Social Love," "Social Progress always Religious," "Mere Contact Making for Spiritual Union," "Social Love Creating New Forms of Social Life," "The New Conscience," "New Conscience in Industry," "New Conscience Transforming Politics—Killing the Party Spirit," "The New Conscience Manifesting Itself in Educational Methods and Aims," "A New Political

* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

Economy Predicting a New Wealth," "The Church of the Deed," and "The Religion of Labor."

As a whole the book is a germinal, thought-provoking book. It is deeply religious and ethically lofty. It is written in Mr. Lloyd's luminous, eloquent style, with many flashing epigrams and keen strokes of wit. Occasionally the thread of the thought is not quite as smooth as if Mr. Lloyd had lived to finish it, but the work of the editors is exceedingly well done. Probably no two people in more complete sympathy with Mr. Lloyd's thought and work could be found than his sister and Miss Addams. Altogether it is a book which everyone interested in the development of our country should not only read but own, study and mark.

ELTWEED POMEROY.

American Character. By Brander Matthews. Pp. 40. Cloth. Price, 75 cents net. Flexible leather, boxed, price, \$1.50 net. Postage, 8 cents. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company.

THIS is an extremely important and timely contribution to the virile literature of the day. A French critic in interviewing Count Tolstoi made a severe arraignment of the American people—an arraignment which Count Tolstoi did not admit to be just, but it did not surprise the great Russian. Professor Matthews' reply to this arraignment was primarily prepared and delivered before the alumnae of Columbia University and is marked by the care that one would naturally expect in a discussion intended to be delivered before the very thoughtful. In this respect it is in pleasant contrast with the many hastily written essays that flood the present-day press.

One may not agree with Professor Matthews at all times; but for the most part the views expressed are not only well-considered but we think they are sound. We are glad to note that the author frankly admits many of the evils that form the basis of the Frenchman's too sweeping generalizations and that his views on them are such as to make for a nobler manhood. We do not entertain quite such optimistic views as does Professor Matthews as to the early social ostracizing of all the Captain Kidds of modern finance who have acquired their fortunes largely by injustice and indirection; yet we do believe that a moral renaissance is slowly dawning and that there is suffi-

cient moral virility in the American people to enable them to overcome the giant-like power of the criminal rich and restore the Republic to its old moorings by bringing the people to a recognition of the importance of the old ideals that were the impregnable tower of strength and the glory of the Republic when the United States was the moral leader of the world.

The District Attorney. By William Sage. Cloth. Pp. 296. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

NOT SINCE Robert Herrick's *The Common Lot* has there appeared a finer study of present-day American life than *The District Attorney*. Mr. Sage has written a strong, virile romance, compelling in its hold over the imagination and giving a startlingly realistic picture of existing political and commercial conditions in our great metropolis.

The hero, a splendid type of the new American manhood that is coming more and more to the front in our political life, is the son of the head of a powerful trust. His father has given him a fine legal education in order that he may aid him in building up his business to even huger proportions and that he may be fitted to assume the leadership when the father's period of active labor shall be ended. Richard Haverland enters enthusiastically into his father's proposition that he shall begin his work at once, but his first glimpse of the methods by which his father's great wealth has been acquired fills him with aversion and he tells him that he can have no part in the merciless crushing of all competitors which is the fixed policy of the great combination. His father argues with him, but to no avail. They separate, although the young man still visits his home occasionally. He takes up the practice of law and marries the daughter of the man who has longest held out against the power of the great trust of which Samuel Haverland is the head. It is up-hill work at first, but gradually he begins to attract attention. Finally he is nominated by the Independents for District-Attorney and is elected. He proves to be a man who takes his high office seriously. Reports of bribery and corruption come to his ears. He acts promptly, beginning with the small offenders and following the trail until at last it leads to his father's closet business associate, a man who has just been elected to the United States Senate. He prosecutes and convicts him. His father's health is beginning

to fail and he sends once more for his son, making a final appeal to him to give up the work to which the people have called him. This he steadfastly refuses to do, and one of the most dramatic chapters in the book is that which describes the final struggle between the old captain of industry and the young champion of the people's rights.

The character of Samuel Haverland is exceptionally well drawn, although all the characters in the story are real and convincing.

AMY C. RICH.

The Undying Past. By Hermann Sudermann. Translated by Beatrice Marshall. Cloth. Pp. 382. Price, \$1.50. New York: John Lane Company.

THIS is a gloomy but powerful psychologic study which also gives a fine realistic picture of life on the great landed estates of Prussia.

Three characters stand out in bold relief; Leo Sollenthin, the hero; Ulrich Kletzingk, his friend; and Felicitas, the wife of the latter and the former mistress of Leo.

Leo, years before the opening of the story, had killed in a duel Felicitas' first husband, ostensibly over a game of cards, but really because his attentions to Felicitas had become known to the husband. Sollenthin then left the country for several years, and at the opening of the story has returned to find that his dearest friend, Ulrich Kletzingk, an idealist and dreamer with fine and exalted ideas of honor, has wedded Felicitas, knowing nothing of the real cause of the duel between her former husband and Leo and believing her to be the embodiment of purity and virtue. Felicitas is at heart a courtesan. Not content with the devotion of her husband, she tries again to throw the old wiles around Leo, and succeeds in a measure. The ghost of by-gone days stands as a haunting presence between Leo and Ulrich; the "undying past" ever throws its shadow over the present.

A novel dealing with the events which grow out of such conditions cannot be other than unpleasant throughout; although the gloom of the story is somewhat relieved by the sweet and simple character of Hertha and her unselfish devotion to Leo. At the very end of the romance a tiny ray of light is allowed to break through the darkness and we see a prospect—faint, it is true—that Leo may at length be able to lay the ghost of his former deeds and become once more a normal, healthy-minded man such

as nature intended him to be, worthy of the friendship of the poet and idealist, Ulrich.

AMY C. RICH.

Blindfolded. By Earle Ashley Walcott. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 400. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is a mystery-romance displaying considerable ability on the part of the author in construction, plot and counterplot. It is fairly well written and is, we think, the best story of the kind that has appeared in recent months, though for readers who demand the element of probability in fiction it, like most of the present ent-day mystery tales or detective romances, will hold little interest, for the demands on the credulity of the reader are almost as great as those made by *The Arabian Nights*. *Blindfolded* is an ambitious attempt to do for twentieth-century metropolitan life what the most daring romantic novelists have essayed in dealing with less familiar and more remote feudal periods. Often the reader will be strongly reminded of the D'Artagnan romances of the elder Dumas; not that there is here the wealth of imagination or the painstaking regard for historical details and verities, or the fine descriptions that have given more than ephemeral popularity to *The Three Musketeers* and their companion stories, for here we have the nervous haste and scorn of detail and absence of wealth of description that are peculiar to our present-day novels and mystery and detective tales, and there is also lacking the power of imagination that gives peculiar fascination to the Dumas romances; but in other respects the many points of analogy are striking. In the place of D'Artagnan in the loyal service of the Queen of France, we have the hero, unceremoniously, through the murder of his friend, made the knight of the brilliant and immensely rich wife of Doddridge Knapp, the king of the Street in San Francisco. Mrs. Knapp is also the mother of the beautiful Luella, the heroine of the tale. In the place of the companions of D'Artagnan, we have his faithful guard of mercenaries surrounding him day and night, who, however, do not prevent the mercenaries of the powerful double of Doddridge Knapp from working great mischief and occasioning no end of exciting and often tragic episodes, in which there are enough hair-breadth escapes to satisfy the most exacting novel reader. The plot revolves around a mysterious child, for the possession of which the disowned brother of Doddridge Knapp,

who passes under the name of Lane, is battling against Mrs. Knapp. The love romance that runs through the tale is subordinated to the master-theme, but is sufficiently prominent to lighten the story and give to it additional interest.

The Challenge. By Warren Cheney. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 386. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is a well-written, spirited love-romance somewhat conventional in construction, but concerned with scenes and life but little exploited by novelists, thus presenting a freshness and interest that relieve it of the monotony which characterizes so many melodramatic romances.

The scenes of the story are laid in a fur-gathering post in Alaska during the Russian occupation. The commandant of the post, his aide, the hero of the story, the blood-signed brother of the hero, the heroine and two other women, a malevolent priest whose sinister figure darkens most of the tale, and the evil-minded father of the heroine who seconds the priest in much of his mischief-making, are the central characters of this romance which abounds in spirited and frequently highly exciting episodes. Often, as is wont in this class of novels, the outlook seems very dark for the hero and the maiden of his thought, but in the end the clouds roll back, the sun shines, and all is well. There are some very strong situations and finely-drawn scenes in the work, which on the whole is far above the ordinary present-day story of this character. It is a novel that will please lovers of romantic melodramatic fiction.

Stories from Dickens. By J. Walker McSpadden. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 376. Price, 60 cents.

Stories from Scottish History. By M. L. Edgar. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 340. Price, 60 cents.

Tales from Herodotus. By H. A. Havell. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 290. Price, 60 cents. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

IT WOULD be difficult to speak too highly of these works for the young. They are all precisely the kind of books that all normal children enjoy. They are nothing if not interesting,

and no boy or girl with any taste for reading, who once commences one of them, will abandon it until the contents of every page have been enjoyed. But they have far more than this to commend them. They are literature such as is seldom enjoyed by the young of the present day when hastily-written stories are considered good enough for children; while they will serve to whet the child's appetite not only for the best in romance, but also for historical knowledge. Thus they will become as it were the floral-decked ante-room to the stately temples of literature and history.

The *Stories from Dickens* take up the life-tales of children in Dickens' great books, telling them as nearly as possible in the great master's own language. They are stories of the most famous of Dickens' boys and girls, taken out of the great panoramic sketches of life as he saw and painted them. In this work we have "The Story of Oliver Twist," "The Story of Smike and His Teacher," "The Story of Little Nell," "The Story of Paul and Florence Dombey," "The Story of Pip as Told by Himself," "The Story of Little Dorrit," and "The Personal History of David Copperfield."

The *Stories from Scottish History* are not a whit less interesting, and for many children they will hold even greater fascination than those from Dickens, for these are taken from the wonderful historical stories by Sir Walter Scott which he wrote for his grandson. They throw the same fascinating spell over the child's imagination that the great masterpieces of Scott have so long thrown over the minds of adult readers. They deal with only three centuries of Scottish history from the days of the famous struggle for Scottish independence under Bruce and Wallace, to the union of the crowns. These stories will do very much toward stimulating the child's interest in the history of Great Britain while conveying a vast amount of important historical matter relating to some of the most stirring days in the history of Scotland. It is well, however, for the reader to bear in mind the fact that Sir Walter Scott was a Tory and his historical tales are sometimes strongly tinged with the deep reactionary prejudices he entertained.

The *Tales from Herodotus* are equally interesting and valuable. It is difficult to imagine the child who could fail to feel the enthralling spell in these marvelous tales told by the father of history, who was a natural story-teller, possessing something of the child-mind with a child's faith that we are constrained at times to

call credulity. The historian's tales in this book deal very largely with the Greek struggle for liberty, and they will prove as helpful and stimulating as they will fascinating to the children fortunate enough to enjoy their reading.

Common American and European Insects and Common Butterflies and Moths, two manuals prepared by William Beutenmüller, Curator of the Department of Entomology, American Museum of Natural History, New York. 16mo., pocket size, muslin. Each, 25 cents net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

IN THESE two admirable manuals are represented in natural colors the common butterflies, moths, beetles, bugs, etc., of America and Europe. The names, both scientific and common, are given. These works have been prepared under the supervision of William Beutenmüller, Curator of the Department of Entomology, American Museum of Natural History, New York. The manuals are valuable handbooks for all persons who would add to their knowledge of insect life when on vacations or travels in the country. They are small and can easily be slipped into the side pocket; and as the butterflies and other insects are reproduced in their natural colors it will be easy to quickly and accurately identify them by their scientific and common names. Such books are of great value in broadening the culture of people who are ever ready to acquire knowledge.

The Essentials of United States History. By William A. Mowry and Blanche S. Mowry. With maps and illustrations. Cloth. Pp. 434. Price, 90 cents. New York: Silver, Burdett & Company.

THIS is without exception the best brief history of our country for young readers that we have seen. As its author indicates, it is concerned with the essentials of history, but, what is rare in such a work, the essentials are presented in so clear and interesting a manner as to appeal to the imagination of the child and hold his interest in a compelling way. Moreover, the work is instinct with what should be a dominant note in twentieth-century civilization—the spirit of peace and brotherhood. Here we have set down the great triumphs of

peace, which are too frequently ignored by writers in order that they may devote undue attention to war and military exploits.

"The class-room," as our author well observes in his preface, "should be free from the spirit of militarism, and the pupils should see clearly that glory is not confined to the battlefield, nor patriotism to the career of the soldier. Attention should be given especially to the growing tendency among the nations to avoid wars and to settle all international difficulties by arbitration. Nowhere better than in the history lesson can we cultivate the spirit of philanthropy and good-will for the whole human race."

With this work in hand, any parent or teacher who takes real interest in the child's education can make the history of our country as fascinating as romance. We take pleasure in strongly recommending this book to all readers who have in their charge the care and guidance of the young.

The Unwritten Law. A novel. By Arthur Henry. Cloth. Pp. 401. Price, \$1.50. New York: A. S. Barnes & Compnay.

THIS is one of the best specimens of the realistic novel, which we have seen, dealing with American life. The author has taken a section from present-day metropolitan life, as it were, and with the accuracy of the camera has revealed conditions as they actually exist in the various stages of life. More than this, he has brought into his work the artist element of imagination, which in pictorial work marks the distinction between a photograph and a great painting.

The story deals with the life of typical Americans, and especially that of certain children, following them step by step, through sunshine and gloom, through victory and defeat, through success and failure, through honor and shame, and in so doing it gives a wonderfully vivid, if somewhat somber and at times tragic, picture of present-day life in the great American cities. It is a truer reproduction of contemporaneous cosmopolitan existence than are most historical essays that claim to represent things as they are, and being instinct with the higher realism—that subtle convincing something which makes the creations of a man of genius palpitate with life—the work holds the interest of the reader from cover to cover.

The Tin Diskers. By Lloyd Osbourne. Illustrated. Boards. Pp. 128. Price, 50 cents. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

THIS is a bright, breezy love story written with no other object than to entertain. It is artificial, but very ingenious; and, though not wanting in the elements of improbability, it is perhaps probable enough to satisfy the general reader who wishes a fascinating story which will enable him to delightfully while away a couple of hours, or who is in search of some diverting tale to rest the tired brain.

In the story the heroine, a daughter of an American trust magnate, goes into a seeming decline after the death of her mother. Her father, acting on the physician's orders, sends her to Europe. She is accompanied by an eccentric and miserly aunt as a chaperon. In London the trouble begins when the aunt reads the offer, in a newspaper, of one thousand pounds to any one who can find a tin disk hidden in the ground in a certain part of the city. The aunt immediately becomes a disk-searcher or "diskier," as the hunters are termed. The search is to be carried on between midnight and morning and the police are arresting the diskers whenever they find them trespassing on private land. Very exciting episodes occur, the culmination being reached when a private park is invaded by the diskers and the heroine is caught by the son of Sir George Morse-Galkyn who proposes to send her to the police court in the morning. He relents, however, and the love romance begins.

The Tin Diskers is one of Mr. Osbourne's best short stories, and this will be sufficient guarantee to satisfy his host of admirers that the tale is well worth the reading.

The Watermead Affair. By Robert Barr. Boards. Pp. 127. Price, 50 cents. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

THIS excellent short story by Robert Barr is, ethically considered, far more valuable than Lloyd Osbourne's *The Tin Diskers*, for it incidentally impresses many important truths and it illustrates the rising of a naturally fine nature, drugged and deadened by wealth and a soul-destroying environment, into the estate of responsible manhood, under the stress of poverty.

The story deals with a young nobleman who has been prodigal with his wealth, giving

and loaning lavishly while indulging his tastes and vanities without stint. He has a passion for automobiles. No chauffeur in England can better manage a complex machine than John Trumble, Seventh Earl of Watermead, who, when he finds himself thrown into bankruptcy for a time, promptly accepts a humble position as chauffeur for an old philanthropic physician. This brings him into social contact with a certain beautiful but very proud young woman, the daughter of a venerable clergyman. A love romance and a happy ending comprise the larger part of the volume and are most charmingly set forth. It is an excellent story for those in search of a bright, brief and pleasing little romance.

The Cynic's Rules of Conduct. By Chester Field, Jr. Boards. Pp. 97. Price, 50 cents.

The Cynic's Dictionary. By Harry Thompson. Boards. Pp. 95. Price, 50 cents. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

THESE two little books are extremely bright and will delight the very large number of people who enjoy clever, keen, humorous and satirical epigrammatic utterances. There have recently appeared many volumes of this character. Some have been thoroughly witty, but many have lacked the saving salt of genuine humor and originality, so they are therefore not worth the reading. These books are, however, among the very best of this class of publications, scintillating from cover to cover with mirth-provoking utterances. That the reader may gain some idea of the works, we give the following extracts from *The Cynic's Rules of Conduct*:

"Remember that your wife's wardrobe is the Bradstreet in which women look for your rating."

"It is not good form for a young girl to go to the theater with a gentleman, unaccompanied by a chaperon. On the other hand, it is not good fun for her to go to the theater with a chaperon, unaccompanied by a gentleman."

"When you step on a lady's toes make some offhand remark about her feet being too small to be seen. This is older than the cave-dwellers; but it still works."

"Do n't forget to tell her that she's 'not like other girls.' It always works, whether you spring it on the belle of the village, the girl with a hare lip or the bearded lady at the circus."

"It is a mistake to regard your linen as the leopard does his spots."

"If a man's worth doing at all, he's worth doing well."

The following extracts are from *The Cynic's Dictionary*:

"*Conservatism* is radicalism in its dotage."

"*Alimony*—The grass widow's pension."

"*Amateur Farming*—A form of extravagance practiced by men who do not wish to die rich."

"*Banquet*—A fifty cent dinner that you pay five dollars for."

"*Caution*—The brake that stops a career from running up-hill to success."

"*Confession*—Owning up when you are sure to be caught."

"*Curiosity*—Paying a thousand dollars to see your appendix."

"*Civil Service*—Something you tip a waiter for and do n't get."

"*Cozy Corner*—Any corner that does n't contain a chaperon."

"*Engagement Ring*—Matrimony's promissory note."

"*Furious*—A word expressing the pleasure a girl experiences when she is kissed."

"*Gossip*—The counterfeit coin of conversation."

"*Rouge*—Face suicide."

"*Ridicule*—The pin that pricks the bubble of egotism."

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

CIVILIZATION-BUILDERS AT WORK: In this issue of *THE ARENA* we publish the opening paper in a series of very important contributions that will add greatly to the interest and value of this review during the coming year, dealing with representative builders of a nobler civilization and the practical work they are achieving. Two things are all-important at the present time: one is the fearless unmasking of the civilization-destroying influences; the other, the proper emphasizing of the civilization-building work that is being carried forward and descriptions of means and methods for meeting and overcoming the present evils. In the carrying forward of both these works *THE ARENA* will strive to lead. There are at the present time many great workers and fundamental thinkers who are laying broadly and firmly the foundation for a better civilization. One of these practical way-showers is N. O. NELSON, whose work is so luminously and fascinatingly described by Mr. EADE. The fine illustrations that accompany the paper also illustrate an important and attractive feature which will mark *THE ARENA* for the ensuing year. Fine illustrations, when they are demanded to properly illustrate an article, will be employed.

that belong to this group and which we hope to present in early issues will be papers by Hon. EDWARD TREGGAR, Secretary for Labor for New Zealand, and Hon. J. HENNIKER HEATON, M. P., the most eminent of English postal experts.

Richard Seddon: Speaking of Mr. TREGGAR reminds us of the study which we present in this issue of New Zealand's great Prime-Minister whose untimely death last June has taken from the ranks of progressive democracy one of the ablest and most efficient statesmen of modern times. We have given a somewhat extended notice of this master-builder of a liberal commonwealth, because his life is an inspiration to the young; because his work affords a striking illustration of what a courageous, incorruptible and truly democratic statesman can achieve for the good of all the people; and finally because it is our conviction that in biographical sketches of the great leaders and way-showers of democracy, especially when they give their ideals of government, is found one of the most valuable aids to the cause of popular rule.

Studies of Social Conditions in Foreign Lands: In MAYNARD BUTLER's very thoughtful paper presented in this issue under the title of *Concerning Those Who Work*, *THE ARENA* gives the first of a series of highly important authoritative studies of social and political conditions in foreign lands. Our Berlin correspondent will continue a series of contributions dealing with conditions and movements, fundamental and vital in character, in the German empire. Among other important contributions

Polygamy and the Constitution: THEODORE SCHROEDER, one of the strongest and most aggressive progressive thinkers of the day, contributes a very timely and important paper on *Polygamy and the Constitution* to this issue of *THE ARENA*. Mr. SCHROEDER went to Utah prejudiced rather in favor of than against the Mormons, believing that they were being persecuted for their religious belief and that the charges against them were grossly exaggerated. After a residence of some time in Utah

and a very careful study of the whole situation, however, his views underwent an entire change. His long residence among them and his exhaustive study of the literature of the Mormons no less than of conditions as he found them render his paper of special value.

The Consumption of Wealth: We have received many letters asking for a clear, simple exposition of the ideals of Socialism,—a paper at once reliable in character and yet so plain as to be intelligible to “the man on the street” who has little time for abstract discussions or fine-spun theorizing. Such persons will, we think, find Mr. HITCHCOCK’s contribution entitled *Consumption of Wealth: Individual and Collective*, a timely and helpful paper. The author is an able and well-known Socialist of Massachusetts.

The Miraculous Conception and the Zeit-Geist: In this issue we present a somewhat lengthy and exhaustive reply to the thoughts presented in such papers as Mrs. TRASK’s *The Virgin Birth* and the article entitled *Heresy in the Episcopal Church*, which appeared in the October number. Dr. BUSHBY is a ripe scholar and presents the old-time orthodox views, we think, as ably as it is possible for them to be given. Owing to the fact that the orthodox papers are all open to such contributions as Dr. BUSHBY’s we do not feel it so important to give such views as we do the newer visions of our wonderful age, vibrant with what it seems to us is a loftier and truer faith, because the new message is denied a hearing in the church papers; yet for the sake of giving our readers the ablest possible reply to the new scholarship we present Dr. BUSHBY’s scholarly contribution.

Unrecognized Insanity: We wish to call the special attention of our readers to the important paper on *Unrecognized Insanity*, by Dr. PETERSEN. The author is one of the leading physicians of New England, a man who for years in America and Europe has made a special study of nervous and mental phenomena, especially in abnormal states. He is one of the most authoritative authors in the New World on hypnotism as a therapeutic agent.

Shall Educated Chinamen Be Welcomed to Our Shores? In Mrs. GOUGAR’s contribution our readers will find a thought-stimulating argument against the admission of the educated Chinaman which merits careful consideration, owing to the author’s travels in China, the Philippines and other Oriental lands, where she has made a special study of Chinese life. This gives special value to her views, though personally we confess they are not altogether convincing to us.

The Railways, The Trusts and The People: We hope every reader of THE ARENA will carefully peruse the extracts given in our book-study of Professor PARSON’S great railway work which appears in this issue. There are some startling facts given in these quotations that all thinking Americans should be cognizant of, especially at the present time when the struggle between the railways and the people is being carried forward in the battle at the polls.

Direct-Legislation in Maine: THE ARENA proposes to keep its readers fully posted in regard to every progressive step taken in the great campaign for wresting the government from the boss and the privileged interests and restoring it to the people by securing Direct-Legislation. This month our special correspondent from Maine, Mr. ABNER W. NICHOLS, who is the leading Direct-Legislation worker in the Pine-Tree State, presents an excellent account of the favorable outlook for the cause in Maine.

Our Story: In pursuance with our plan to publish each month some good short story that will interest all members of the family and lighten somewhat the pages of the magazine, we this month present a unique original story entitled *The Woman With the Knitting*. It is a tale very strong in human interest and highly suggestive in its illustration of how honest legislators are frequently made the dupes of the criminal interests which seek personal or special legislation.



Photo. by Deeg, Jefferson City, Mo.

HON. JOSEPH W. FOLK

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.

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NATIONALIZATION OF RAILWAYS IN SWITZERLAND.

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS, Ph.D.,

Author of *The City for the People*, *The World's Best Books*, *The Story of New Zealand*, *The Railways*, *The Trusts*,
and *The People*.

FOR FIFTY years Switzerland tried private ownership of railways, but with the dawn of the twentieth century the thoughtful Republic began to nationalize the roads and have now for several years had public ownership and operation of all the principal lines except the St. Gothard, which will be taken over in 1909, the government having already given notice of purchase to take effect at that time.

The policy of government ownership of railroads was decided upon by direct vote of the people in 1898. The question of national purchase of railways was twice voted upon under the popular referendum. In 1891 the vote was as follows:

For purchase	130,500
Against purchase	290,000
Majority against purchase	159,500

A little more than six years afterward, in February, 1898, the question of national ownership of railroads was again submitted with the following result:

For national purchase	384,392
Against purchase	176,511
Majority for public ownership	207,871

The change in six years from a two-thirds vote against public ownership to a two-thirds vote in favor of public ownership was due chiefly to a thorough discussion of the subject in the press and on the platform, and to a more complete and better considered plan for nationalizing the railroads backed up by a vigorous cabinet argument or "Message of the National Council to the Federal Assembly Concerning the Purchase of the Principal Lines of Swiss Railways" (March 25, 1897). Consul-General James F. Du Bois, in his report to the United States Government (February 21, 1898, *U. S. Consular Reports*, vol. 56, p. 584) says: "Never before in the history of the Republic has such a bitter contest been waged, and never before has the Government received such a large majority." The big majority for public ownership was a surprise even to the warmest friends of the measure. The *Züricher Post* said the next day: "The most audacious optimist had not the remotest idea of the possibility of this result; we anticipated only a majority of 50,000 in favor at the most."

What was it that convinced more than

two-thirds of the Swiss people that it would be best to nationalize the railways? Had they suffered from the abuses that mar our railroad history? Had the railroads dominated their governments, state and national, built up giant trusts and monopolies by discriminating rates and transportation favoritism, compelled the people to pay dividends on watered capital, and seriously disturbed the fair distribution of wealth? No; the most vital railroad abuses we suffer from were practically unknown in Switzerland. There was no fraudulent stock, no rebate system, no railroad lobby at the national capital. The best-informed authorities in the universities, and even Dr. Zemp, the Minister of Railways, never heard of a case of discrimination; and political corruption had been very rare.

Professor Borgeaud, one of the foremost authorities in Switzerland, was inclined to think, when I first put the question, that the railways had not been guilty of bribing legislators or exerting corrupt influence on legislation through lobbies or otherwise, a fact which is due, it is said, to the existence of the referendum, which makes it practically useless to spend money for corruption, since a moderate percentage of the people may demand a vote on the franchise or other measure and give the voters a chance to turn it down at the polls in spite of boodle legislation. Afterward, however, the professor called my attention to one case, "the only one he knew of," where the vote of the Canton of Vaud was necessary to the fusion of the Jura Berne and the Swiss Occidentale under the Simplon Company. The Canton owned a lot of the railway shares and nothing could be done without its vote. Vesser, a man of great political influence, was offered an option on a block of stock, if he would carry the measure. The offer was worth about 30,000 francs to him. He took it and carried the bill, which, apparently, was not against the public interest anyway. The bribe became known, and within three days Vesser had to resign

his office, a result "brought about by the moral pressure of his friends and the public and by the bombardment of the press, the papers of his own party joining in the attack."

The Government from early years had exerted a strong control over the railways. Under the law of July 28, 1852, charters were granted by the Cantons, but must be approved by the Federal Assembly. The railways must carry the mail, including the parcels-post, free of charge; also the "railway-post officers" and postal clerks must be transported free. Soldiers and accoutrements of war must be taken at one-half the lowest regular rates. Special regulation was left to the Cantons or States.

In 1872 the Bundesrat submitted a new law, with a report characterizing as "a specially great evil the inability of the individual Cantons to assert their authority against the greater railway companies," which had resulted in difficulties over the establishment of new lines or their transfer, the regulation of rates and time-tables, and "the arbitrary action of the companies in cases of liability."

The railway law of December 23, 1872, subjected rates to the complete control of the Federal Government, and opened to Federal inspection all acts and contracts relating thereto. A time-limit was placed on the corporate life granted in the charters, and franchise rights were made transferable only with Federal consent. Railways were required to submit a detailed and accurate account of the expense of construction. The Government reserved the right to order the establishment of stations, double tracks, and other facilities. The provisions as to free carriage of the mails were reenacted. An annual franchise tax in proportion to net profits was provided for, and many other important points were covered.

These and other laws that will be referred to, together with the repurchase provisions of the charters, held the railways pretty well in check as compared with ours.

Still there were plenty of reasons for the change to government ownership which seemed convincing to the Swiss. They believed that it would be better for the people to have the roads owned and operated by the public for the benefit of the public, than to have them owned and operated by private corporations for the benefit of private stockholders. The battle was fought on the broad principle of the superior social, economic and political value of public ownership of public utilities, as compared with private ownership even when honest and efficient. In the great discussion that filled the country to the brim, one of the winning strokes was the posting in the inns and public places all over the country the ringing words:

"The Swiss Railways for the Swiss People."

This became the motto of the movement with the common people and had much to do with the big vote of more than 2 to 1 in favor of the measure.

From the argument of the Message to the Federal Assembly already referred to, and from conversations with the heads of government departments, including Dr. Zemp, the author of the nationalization law and the first Minister of Railways under it, and Emile Frey, ex-President of the Republic and head of the International Bureau of Telegraphs and Telephones, and a large number of business and professional men in Geneva, Berne, Basle, and Lucerne, I condense the following statement of the main reasons that led to the nationalization of the railroads:

1. "The railways should be managed for the people, not for the profit of private owners." This point in varying forms was emphasized over and over again as the fundamental argument and the basis of the movement.

2. "The rates would be lower."

3. "The service would be better. The Government would be more occupied with the interests of the public than the company's."

4. "Considerable economies will be effected by the consolidation of the roads under public management."

5. "Unity of the system is essential to the best results, and the united system must not be subject to speculative management."

6. "The private operation of railways puts too much power in the hands of the managers."

7. "The Nation would be better able to open new lines where they are needed. The companies do not develop the out-districts. They have refused to build new railways to villages where they think the business may not pay, although there is great need for the roads."

8. "In their pursuit of dividends the companies have sometimes even neglected proper repairs and precautions for safety, so that bad accidents have resulted."

9. "The Government will be more liberal with employes than the companies, as is shown by its treatment of the employes of the Government post and telegraph. It will adjust differences with employes in a better spirit, and we shall not have strikes of railway employes blocking our traffic."*

10. "We do not want our railways owned by speculators, and especially we do not want our railway shares owned by foreign capitalists."

11. "The capital of the railways should

*There had been a great strike on one of the railroads, the Swiss Northeast, in 1897, which helped to convince the trades unions of the necessity of public ownership. The men won the strike and got the increase of wages they demanded, but they did not like the attitude of the companies nor the methods they were compelled to resort to for the settlement of difficulties. Guyer Zeller, president of the Swiss Northeast, used his power despotically, and a large body of people were heartily sick of the high-handed arrogance of the Northeast management. This little experience of what a bad manager might do, and the inconvenience and injustice of the railway strike as a means of settlement convinced many beside the workmen that some better method than corporation management was necessary. I was told with great emphasis that "for two whole days the entire traffic of the Northeast Railroad was stopped, and the business of the public blocked." I wondered what these people would think of one of our giant strikes when business is blocked for weeks.

be gradually extinguished instead of being piled up, as the companies are doing. Provision has been made in Germany and Belgium for the amortization of the capital about the middle of the twentieth century, and the French railways are to come to the State free of debt about that time. We also must extinguish the capital charges on our railways, so that rates may be reduced as nearly as possible to the cost of operation."

12. "National ownership of the railways will tend also to a closer national unity. This is important, for by reason of differences of race, etc., the union of interests among our States is none too strong."

13. "The success of the German roads affords a strong example of the value of State ownership." "We are all convinced," said one of the foremost men in Switzerland, "that State management of railways has been a good thing for Germany."*

The farmers were for nationalizing the railroads. They complained of inferior service and high rates on agricultural products. They objected to stock speculation and to the holding of Swiss railroad stock by foreign investors. Capitalists, not only in Switzerland but in Germany, Austria and France, speculated in Swiss securities, and the common people held, as stated to me by one of their leaders, that "financiers have no right to speculate with interests of a national character." The Farmers' Alliance was for the purchase, and the trades unions, including the powerful union of the railway employés, were for it. Several of the most prominent labor leaders of the country told me that fully three-fourths of the workingmen voted for the law. Commercial and business

interests were largely for it, also, and the President of the Swiss Union of Commerce and Industry wrote a strong pamphlet in favor of it.

The opposition was mainly of two sorts, capitalistic and racial. The capitalistic opposition did not expend its strength wholly in argument. Tremendous pressure was brought to bear upon employés and others more or less dependent on the owners and managers of the railways and allies, to prevent the signing of petitions for the referendum and voting for the measure at the polls. The strongest adverse influence, however, was the opposition of the French-Swiss to any further additions to the power of the National Government. The French-Swiss constitute about one-third of the population and the German-Swiss two-thirds. Increase in the power of the central Government means an increase of German preponderance and awakens French opposition. The French also are naturally more individualistic and less inclined toward public enterprise than the Germans. In some of the smaller Cantons the objection to centralization was very strong even among the Germans because they feared it would increase the relative importance of the big Cantons, Berne and Zurich.

Party politics was practically eliminated from the discussion. Dr. Zemp, the leader of the Conservatives, joined with the Liberals in demanding the transfer of the railroads to public ownership, and the nationalization act was drawn by him and supported with all his power. So it was easy for Conservatives to join with the Liberals in voting for the law, and party prejudice, was a very small factor in the result.

In the charters of the roads and the

*Although the nationalization of railways in Prussia was most frequently referred to, the movement in other countries helped to convince the Swiss. Belgium after long trial of both public and private roads had adopted in 1870 the policy of State railways, and had made a decided success of it. Austria, which at one time sold its roads under the stress of financial need for military necessities, had

returned to State ownership, and by the law of December 14th, 1877, inaugurated a new epoch of State railways. States bordering Switzerland on the north—Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden—and other German States had successfully operated their railways for many years. All these things had their influence on Swiss thought.

general railroad law provision had been made for national purchase on giving three years' notice, and paying twenty-five times the average net profits for the ten years preceding the announcement of purchase, or the construction value, whichever rule produced the larger sum in any case, deduction being made for any sum necessary to bring the road up to standard condition. In anticipation of the possibility of national purchase, the Government had passed "accounting laws" in 1883 and 1896 subjecting the railway companies' accounts to rigid regulation and inspection, so that the books would show the real costs of construction and the real net profits justified by the earnings, instead of possible fictitious values. The consequence was that the Government was able to buy the roads at a fair price.

The total value for the five railway systems named in the Nationalization Act, at twenty-five times the average net profit for ten years, was \$189,735,000, and the construction cost down to May 1, 1903 (and May 1, 1909, for the St. Gothard), was estimated in the Message at \$197,911,000; or, excluding the St. Gothard, \$158,361,000. The total indemnities actually paid for the four railways now in Government possession was \$186,075,000, about twenty-eight millions more than the lowest preliminary estimates, and thirteen millions above the preliminary estimates excluding the question of depreciation. The claims in respect to that amounted to \$14,897,000. The difference between the preliminary estimate and the price paid was due to compromises in relation to the question of depreciation and to changes of condition through expenditures for new construction, etc., during the time between the estimate and the payment. The Jura-Simplon, for example, in the years from 1897 to 1903, down to which the construction cost had to be calculated, spent some 20,000,000 francs (including the subsidies from Italy, etc.) in tunneling the Simplon.

The indemnities do not appear excessive. Take the Jura-Simplon, for example, the road in respect to which far the greatest increase over the preliminary estimate took place. The Government report for 1902 shows that in December of that year the actual cost of the Jura-Simplon had been \$73,260,000, or \$1,210,000 more than the indemnity actually paid. The bonds amounted to \$51,230,000 and were assumed by the Government as they stood. In addition the Government paid \$20,820,000 in 3½ per cent. bonds. The stock of the company, December, 1902, was \$21,863,000, so that the shareholders got a little less than par. The stockholders of the Northeast got 102, or a shade above par, for their shares, and the other roads, except the Central, also got a little less than par in 3½ per cent. bonds. Under the effective Federal regulation and inspection of accounts established by the Government the sum total of the stocks and bonds of the five companies was less than their cost, but this was not the case with the Central, whose stocks and bonds amounted to twenty-six millions (or nearly 20 per cent.) more than the construction account, January 1, 1897, and this construction account was itself regarded as too high. The profits of the Central had been so good that the indemnity valued at twenty-five times the average net profits amounted to considerably more than either the construction account or the total of stocks and bonds, so that the road received a very liberal compensation. The Government assumed its \$27,000,000 of debt and paid \$15,000,000 in 4 per cent. bonds for its 100,000 shares—\$150 a share (par value \$100). This gave the company a compensation which at 4 per cent. would yield the same income (6 per cent. on the face of the shares) that had been received by the stockholders on the average for the ten years preceding 1898. On the proposition of 1891 the Central shareholders would have received \$200 a share instead of the \$150 they did receive in 1901.

The Government dealt liberally with all the companies; did not insist on the full deductions it thought it had a right to, preferring to come to an amicable agreement rather than enforce at law the full measure or strict letter of its rights. Moreover, the nation got possession of the roads at an earlier date than would have been possible without an agreement, owing to the time-limits fixed for purchase in the charters.

The title to the Central and the North-east vested in the Government January 1, 1901. The former managers and employés were continued in place, and the roads were operated by the companies' staff on behalf of the State until January 1, 1902. Even when the State took the direct control as little change as possible was made in the staff or the ranks of employés. The Union was transferred January 1, 1902, and since then the Republic has operated directly the three systems: Central, Union, and Northeast. January 1, 1903, the Jura-Simplon passed into the possession of the State, and the four railway systems were coördinated into one, including nearly the whole of the primary railways in one Government system under direct management of the Republic.

The results of public ownership and operation have been most satisfactory to the Swiss people in general though not satisfactory in all respects to some corporation men and French, English and

American visitors who regard the matter from the corporation point-of-view and do not see anything much in a railway system but the dividends.*

The Swiss management has not aimed at dividends but at service. It made large expenditures to put the lines in good condition and make the needful extensions. Most of the roads were single-track. The Government double-tracked all the important lines, rebuilt road-beds, tracks and stations, and put new cars and locomotives in place of a lot of old rolling-stock, which was sent to the junk heap. Train service was increased, wages were raised and rates were reduced, the Government taking the lowest rate in force on any road and making that the standard rate for all the roads.

The service on the Swiss railways will not compare favorably with ours; neither will their stores, farms or factories for the most part; but the Government railway service is better than the company service was in Switzerland. I studied the railways on the ground before they were transferred to public management, and I have just been through the country again and can testify to the great improvement that has taken place through the unification of the railway systems and reorganization and development of the service.

Local conditions make rates high in Switzerland. They are not so high as they were under the company *régime*,

*Although considerable economies were effected in some directions, the large expenses above indicated have prevented the balance-sheet from having a pleasing appearance to one who has a craving for immediate profits. After two or three years more of necessary improvements and extensions the roads may make a favorable showing to the commercial eye as well as to the human eye. The financial results are already satisfactory to one who is not burdened with an appetite for monopoly profits. Interest on the bonds has been provided and more than \$330,000 has been set aside each year for the sinking fund that is to extinguish the capital in less than sixty years.

While discussing State railways a few months ago with Acworth, the great English railway writer, who is strongly opposed to public ownership, the conversation turned to Switzerland, and Acworth said: "Switzerland has made a mess of it."

"What are your reasons for that conclusion?" I asked.

"She paid more for the roads than she expected to. Then she lowered rates, raised wages, shortened hours, extended the lines and increased the staff, and spent large amounts on improvements. The consequence is that the financial showing is not as good as that made by the companies."

This seemed to me a correct statement of the facts, but considering the reasons for the less favorable balance-sheet, which the famous Englishman stated so clearly and concisely, I am not able to follow him to his conclusion that "Switzerland has made a mess of it." If the sacrifice of profit for a few years in order to lower rates, extend lines, improve the service and elevate labor conditions, is "making a mess of it," there are several people in America who would like to have a similar mess made in our railroad field.

but higher than the rates in most other countries because of the short hauls, high grades, light traffic and other adverse circumstances. The average ton-mile freight rate was 2.84 cents under the companies just before the transfer. The rate just given me by the Railway Minister is 2.56 cents. These rates seem very high compared with our average ton-mile rate but it must be remembered that they include the express; that Switzerland is a nest of mountains; that the soil is poor, the resources small and the traffic light, and that there are no rebates or secret rates in Switzerland to cut down the average rate.

The average passenger rate was 1.54 cents a mile under company management and 1.35 cents under public management. The third-class rates, on which about nine-tenths of the people ride, average only a shade over a cent a mile (1.12 cents). Commutation tickets are sold for $\frac{1}{4}$ of a cent a mile third-class, and tickets for workingmen and school-children are $\frac{1}{2}$ of a cent a mile (1 cent a mile second-class and $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents if you want to go first-class, which is entirely unnecessary, as the other cars are very comfortable). Circular tickets are sold at low rates for touring the country. Monthly tickets can be had allowing you to travel without limit on any of the railways of Switzerland at \$11 third-class, \$15 second and \$22 first. For a six months' ticket you pay \$45, \$59 or \$104, according to class. If you used your ticket pretty steadily you could, on day-trips alone, travel for a tenth of a cent a mile on the monthly, and less than that on the semi-annual.

The principles followed in making rates are the same as those on which the best company systems base their rates except in one respect—the rates are made for public service, not for private profit. Distance and cost form the foundation of the rate system, upon which such special adaptations are erected as may be required to meet the needs of commerce, agriculture and industry, and con-

form to the value, bulk and other conditions of the traffic, aid education and the working-classes, and facilitate social and business intercourse.

Perhaps the most interesting and important of all the changes made in connection with the nationalization of railways in Switzerland is the establishment of a system of administration that guarantees the independence of the roads and protects them from every political influence. For this purpose the railway management was placed in a general directory of five or seven members, and five circuit or division directories of three members each, and along with these executive bodies the law established deliberative councils representing general public and commercial interests. The "administrative council" is a national board of directors for the railways elected by the States, and the circuit councils represent agriculture, trade, and industry and the general public interest. This system has worked excellently. The railway administration is absolutely free from the taint of party politics, and the roads are operated on sound economic principles for the benefit of the whole community.

The people of Switzerland have the railways in their own hands in a triple way. 1. Through the operation of the roads by their own agents and managers. 2. Through the supervisory, advisory and regulative powers of the councils representing national and state interests, agriculture, commerce and manufactures. 3. Through the general supervision and legislative control of the regular Government elected by all the people. And back of it all is the splendid power afforded by the initiative and referendum which permits any question that may arise to be called before the people themselves for direct and final decision at the polls.

The leading lessons of Swiss railroad history are:

1. That it is entirely practicable to put the administration of the railroads above

party politics and secure their efficient management as coöperative business enterprises. The railways of the United States are private property and are in politics up to the neck. The railways of Switzerland are public property and are not in politics at all.

2. That there may be ample reason for the nationalization of railways, even

where there is no stock-watering or discrimination or railroad lobby.

3. That the extension to national affairs of the referendum principle which is the heart of our famous New England town-meeting system makes it very easy to nationalize the railways or accomplish any other purpose the people may desire.

Boston, Mass. FRANK PARSONS.

CHILD-LABOR.

By ELINOR H. STOR.

IN THE University Library at Berkeley, California, is a piece of statuary representing Liberty breaking the chains that bind the limbs of a kneeling negro child. It is a striking thing, but I said as I stood looking at it the other day, "O, Liberty! you have not yet done all there is to do, while there are two million white children in the United States working in mines, mills, factories, stores, saloons, in every branch of trade, threading the streets through the long hours of the days and nights, and living under conditions that are foul, unsanitary and degrading, in a bondage more bitter, and fraught with far more baleful influences in the life of the nation than any black bondage that ever existed."

The life of the little negro children was free, and they were fed, housed, clothed, —there was for them no anxious care about to-morrow. The black children were never *put out* to work under such conditions as we find among the white children who toil in these mills, mines and factories, as is done with these children in the great cities of our christian land. This opening twentieth century, rich as it is in the heritage of the century just gone, finds us in the midst of the most abject slavery of white children—slaves in the power of greed and selfishness intrenched in "Vested Rights," and exacting a blood tribute from the

weak and helpless. Call not one Lincoln, O, Liberty! but many Lincolns to your side to help all together to make this Union a true "union of all who love in the service of all who suffer," in the safeguarding of these little ones who are the future of our Country. Free the children with that freedom which is guaranteed to all, give them their rights to "Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

A young man wrote to Lincoln asking for advice about organizing a political club. The answer which came back is exceedingly apropos to our own time and its needs. "All get together, let everyone do something—the thing he can do best. Some rent a hall, some attend to the lighting, some speak, some sing, and holler! everybody holler!" Here is the work all cut out—"Everybody holler!" It needs perhaps, but that the meanest of us should say, "Either I must do this thing or none will," and the face of the world would be changed.

Two causes are daily increasing the importance of the study of child-labor in the United States: one the growing number of children who work, beginning at the age of infancy, the other the growing conception of the value of the child as an individual. It was said during the Civil war that in order to swell the ranks of the army "they robbed the cradle and

the grave." It looks as though something of the same kind might be in operation to-day, in order to satisfy an unnatural greed, when one reads that in New York a child only eighteen months old has been found at work that its mother might add fifty cents more a week to her wages. (This was confirmed by Dr. Daniels, of the New York infirmary for women and children, who said that a child one year and a half old had been brought in for treatment.) After some days the mother came and took the child away, saying she needed it to help her in her work. She made *passementerie* trimmings, and the child rolled tiny balls of paste to which the mother attached the beads for a variety of trimmings used in the millinery and dressmaking trades.

The small hands of children who are only three, four and up to eight years of age, are making violets, roses and other artificial flowers, in places that are a constant menace to public health and this is also true in the manufacture of all kinds of articles from hair ornaments to baby clothes, in the same rooms with diphtheria, tuberculosis, small-pox, scarlet fever,—all contagious diseases. Tired children these,—with weary bodies and aching heads—working far into the night, and all day on Saturday and Sunday! The result of this—arrested development,—incapacitated minds,—diseased bodies,—bad morals: the gift of child-labor to our nation.

Women and children have been found living in basements, keeping soul and body together by folding paper-bags,—from one hundred thousand to one hundred and fifty thousand a week, and the price for this work dropping from seven cents down to four cents a thousand! Little girls are at work in sweat-shops who ought to be in the kindergarten; they are pulling basting threads and sewing on buttons. Juliet Tompkins says that last summer a party of Americans traveling in Italy were aghast at the sight of a child of six, plodding steadily between a small quarry and an unfinished

house, bearing upon her head with each trip, a stone weighing not less than twenty-five pounds. The child could not lift it alone, but some one would poise it for her, and some one else would take it off at the other end of the line. The face under the stone was grave and uncomplaining, all expression of child-life was lacking; the back showed a deep incurve. The Americans exclaimed indignantly, and were full of protest. "You do n't see such things as that in America, thank God! A child cannot be treated like that there!"

Not long ago a child of six walked down an avenue in one of our great cities, carrying on her head a load of sweat-shop pants weighing not less than twenty-five pounds. She had to walk a long distance to reach the tenement she called home, climb four flights of stairs, and then her work was just beginning, where the light was dim, and the poverty of her surroundings unspeakable. She trudged back and forth many times in the week, but no one had noticed her, no one had been horrified! There was no expression of public indignation. Children *can* be "treated like that in America" and the poor children are not complaining. To whom shall they complain? For it is only here and there that a heart is touched when it beholds the pathos, the tragedy of this waste of child-life, who see in these stunted, dwarfed, deformed "Images ye have made of me," a menace and a scourge ever more threatening,—dollars turned into disease and crime. Since 1903 there has been some attempt to stir public sentiment to secure better laws, or to enforce those already in existence, but every and any attempt for betterment finds the greatest obstacles in the indifference or ignorance of the public mind, or in the downright opposition of private interest, and the slow growth of civic consciousness to the extent of this evil system, built upon the shoulders of these little children.

The Federation of Women's Clubs has taken up child-labor. The Consumers'

League has made it their definite work, and the Child-Labor Committee, organized last year in New York city, stands sponsor for the twenty-nine million children under sixteen years of age, who are in need of such protection, educationally, industrially, physically and morally. The chief purpose of this Child-Labor Committee is to develop a national sentiment for the protection of children, and to make the power of public opinion felt in all localities. This organization realizes that child-labor is the mortgaging beyond redemption, the health, both in a moral and a physical way, of generations yet unborn, and that this is not a question of sectional, but of national importance; for while the proportion of child over adult-labor is large in the South, in the aggregate it is greater in the North. In both, it represents children not as individuals, but as dividends! The Italian Consul in looking into conditions as they related to the Italian laborers in New Jersey, found women and children living in absolute poverty and slavery. In the glass works, there are children, some as young as six years,—others eight and ten,—working, or rather being worked under the most shocking conditions. In the woolen mills he found two hundred children under legal age. The employers said they had met the legal demands, which was manifestly untrue, for the children were but little more than babies; and yet they were worked the long hours which tax the endurance of men.

Jane Welch has told of seeing children bright and precocious taken from school at the age of eight and ten years and put to work in order that thirty or forty cents a week might be added to the wages of parent or guardian. These wretched little ones spent their nights and days carrying pails of water on their heads, shearing fag ends off glass bottles, carrying bottles and chimneys from white-heated ovens, until every vestige of childhood was wiped out. There were no childish voices, no quick ears, no keen eyes; they were stamped with animalism.

Mr. Peixotto says this is true in San Francisco. When the Consul remonstrated with parents, he was met with, "But we must all work or we shall all starve together."

Bishop McVicker, of Rhode Island, said, that when a class came before him for confirmation he noticed their small size and puny appearance. They seemed rather young to be confirmed, but the minister to whom he spoke said: "It was not because they were so young, but because they had had no chance to grow." A visitor to the coal-breakers where children are worked, gets this apology from the superintendent or foreman; not for facts which make you ashamed of your race—not for the destruction of child-life, but,—“It's a pretty bad place for your good clothes!”

In a large Western mill a small girl was seen by a visitor bending over a machine, face flushed, arms flying, every nerve quivering, working at top speed; she was earning seven dollars a week on piece-work. The visitor asked, "What will she be earning five years from now?" "Oh," said the superintendent, "I presume we shall have another girl by that time!" We all presume so. Said another mill-man where they employ young children, "Look into the faces of these boys and you will see they are not fitted for anything else. You must be careful how you play the part of providence to people born to another kind of life. I shall oppose every effort made for improved legislation." Another reason given by child-labor employers is that these little fellows are so nimble with their fingers, and know how to take care of themselves; and the fact that a boy of twelve, working for fifty cents or sixty cents a day, can do as much or more, that is, in some parts of glass factories, and in coal mines than a man who would be paid one dollar a day—explains quite clearly this callous and inhuman attitude of the employer.

Mrs. Van Vorst says that she got this *why* from the wife of a wealthy cotton-

mill employer, when she (Mrs. Van Vorst) suggested that better things might be done for these Southern children than to keep them at work in the mills; that they might be freed from night work, and given schools and holidays and some recreation. "Yes, it might be done," was the reply, "by concerted action; but for my husband alone, it would be ruin!" "Not ruin, but a reduction," suggested Mrs. Van Vorst. "No, ruin!" was the answer flashed back. "To compete we must have our sixty-six hours a week!" And it is upon such a system of dishonor, dishonesty and lies that child-labor is built. For deaf is the ear to this bitter cry, and blind their eyes to this degradation wrought by their own hands—and yet, "A child's sob in the silence curses deeper than a strong man in his wrath."

In the textile mills the statistics show that as the number of women and children who work, has increased, the number of men has steadily decreased, and wages have gone lower and lower. Cotton cloth, violets, roses, ornaments, bottles, tobacco—every trade becomes a tragedy, and shows us pictures of little children who do not know how to laugh or play. The peril is that child-labor is so deeply rooted already. Legislation is imperative; its stringent enforcement an absolute necessity. There are laws in the industrial states—fourteen years being the rule; but their lax interpretation is notorious. In many cases the law is made to be but a screen, and this wrong done to childhood does not call for half-hearted interest, or shuddery sentimentality. It calls for action! Free the children! is the clear command of sound common-sense, as well as humanity. Stunted bodies, deterioration in morals and mentality, is the curse which follows the failure to protect the children, and furnishes the army of idiots, indigents, incapables and criminals, who become a drain upon the nation's very life. Does it pay?

The National Suffrage Association, at its last meeting, laid its chief emphasis

upon this waste of children. Emerson defines Civilization as "The power of good women to create public opinion." And any effort that good women can make is a powerful aid; but while they discussed this child-problem, the greatest of all problems, by day, and while they are sleeping by night, it is still calling for solution. The premature use of the child is the destruction of the future citizen. This traffic in child-labor is an evil for which we as a nation are directly responsible. Not less than eighty thousand children—mostly little girls—are employed in the textile mills, where a twelve-hour day is the almost universal rule. Mrs. McFadden, Jane Addams and Mrs. Van Vorst, have seen little children at work at half past ten at night, who were so young they did not know their own ages. In these fine mills in South Carolina they found little girls four or five years old at work in the spinning room. Think, if you can, of a little girl only eight years old, so small that she has to stand on a stool to reach her work, running a speeder which has to be replenished and kept in motion at the same time. She has also to clean and oil the machinery by climbing under it at the risk of her life and limbs. It is no uncommon occurrence for a child's hand or arm to be caught and crushed to a pulp. In the spinning-room the hair of the children was white with lint from the frames. They did not know how old they were, but a girl standing near said some of them were five, some seven. A beautiful girl with big gray eyes and hectic cheeks, told Mrs. McFadden that she was eight, and added, "I have only worked one year." Think of it! The long hours of night toil, where these little babies fall asleep at their tasks, and are awakened by having cold water dashed upon them. Not a moment spared for sleep or food, no cessation of the maddening racket of the machinery, the foul air and hideous heat breeding disease, swollen glands and a horrible form of dropsy prevailing. A physician who had made a special study

of child-labor, says that ten per cent. of those who work in these mills contract consumption. The flying lint forms an excellent cultivating medium for tuberculosis; the close atmosphere and stifling heat and the other extreme, the chill night air, develop pneumonia and consumption follows quite naturally, which justifies the statement of the woman who said, "I suddenly never did see such a place for dyin'! I reckon there's a funeral every day."

The number of accidents, the danger to life and limb is appalling. Tired with the long hours, dazed with the noise and loss of sleep, is it any wonder they grow careless of danger from belts and bands? One doctor, and there is testimony from many others, said that he had personally amputated more than one hundred fingers belonging to baby hands. A cotton merchant said that he had frequently seen children with fingers, thumbs and sometimes the whole hand gone, and this crime goes on. Children are literally being fed to machinery in mill, mine and factory; in glass works they are brutalized, in tobacco factories they fall fainting, poisoned by the strong odor of the tobacco. There are children in the coal mines of Pennsylvania and other coal-producing states, where the law says that fourteen years shall be the legal age at which a child may be given work; but we find them as young as six everywhere. Mill and mine compete with the school for the children. Certificates produced by the employers show that, as one of them said with a laugh, "All these kids must have been born on the same day; they are always exactly fourteen." Their real ages are far below the requirements of the law, which is violated over and over. On these breakers where the boys are employed the dust rises in clouds that hover over the buildings long after the day's work is done, and so darkens the place where they work that they wear miners' lamps in their caps to enable them to see the coal at their feet. Pathetic little figures, nine, ten, eleven and twelve—

bending over their tasks with aching backs, and hands cut and bleeding, they must learn to control the nausea caused by the thick dust which coats the lining of throat and lungs, and later on results in tuberculosis and miners' asthma.

If, in a moment of forgetfulness, the natural tendency of children to play crops out, the boss is behind them to strike them with stick or stone and stop such unbusiness-like recreation. Here children sprag cars and tend the chutes, but no record is kept of the number killed or maimed for life. There are five hundred and eighty thousand American children in the United States who can neither read nor write! One fine young fellow of eighteen said in a shamefaced way: "I can't read; I have been working ever since I was seven." This, in Pennsylvania is the usual thing. Everywhere in the competition between the school and employer—the employer wins.

In North Carolina there are fifteen thousand children at work in the mills, with wages decreased from thirty-two cents to twenty-nine cents a day. Twenty-five per cent. of the children of school age do not attend school. There is no legal protection whatever in some states. If the father choose, he may spend his time in idleness and in the saloons, living upon the scanty wages of his wife and children. Another bitter cry of the children against this parasitic system which preys upon the weak and the helpless. Where is their compensation for the injury done them—this *monstrous* injury—when the pay received for the child's labor is not enough to even feed him properly? The trades are growing, and the prosperity of the employer, too, is increasing; but it is upon the nation's most valuable asset, the children, who are stifled in mental growth and life is balked of its purpose; for if, as Burbank says, it is true in plant-life that "Weeds are weeds because they are jostled, cropped, trampled on, scorched by fierce heat, chilled with cold, starved for lack of proper nourishment," and if there is not a

weed alive that will not sooner or later respond liberally to good cultivation and persistent selection, why may we not hope as much from these child-weeds, who are foul-mouthed, profane, vicious and brutish because they have been "scorched, jostled, and trampled on"? Within them are all possibilities, for Jacob Riis says, and truly, "They are all God's children." This waste is unnecessary and unnatural, and an awful indictment when the frail energies of infants are used in the accumulation of wealth.

"Christ is our City,
Keep us in pity,
And our faces heavenward
Lest we grow hard."

Lest we forget these little ones, "God's children," who have the door of every opportunity shut in their faces, who are robbed of the hope, the aspiration, the "Uplooking and the light," which is theirs by right divine.

I would speak particularly of the messenger boys and the newsboys, for we have them here on our streets, and we also have young, very young, criminals in our city prisons and courts. We have forty-two thousand messenger boys in the United States, and many thousands of newsboys working under conditions and in environments so bad morally that the uniform has grown to be oftentimes a badge of dishonesty, graft, untruthfulness and a general lack of character. The hours are very long—longest at Christmas-time and Easter! At Christmas-time and Easter! What good-will, what thought of new life and hope springs up in the heart of the average messenger boy as these seasons come round? To him it only is more hurry-up, longer hours, less time to eat and sleep. Children have been found frozen to death on delivery wagons; they have been found—hundreds of them—under fourteen, working unlimited hours, "on duty continually for twenty, thirty, forty, and even seventy-five hours," their only sleep snatched on wooden benches in the office. They have been found paralyzed from over-

work. There are places to which boys of sixteen may not go. These are the places, where, so good people say, the Pariahs of society live; where the door closes upon decency and purity; but these tiny, tiny messengers know the "tenderloin" as we know the faces of those we love, or the streets upon which we live; where friendly invitations to eat and drink, presents and bribes from the easy-going who live here, quickly gain the good-will of the boys, for it is a common saying, "You can get a messenger boy to do anything for you if you pay him enough," "not to let the right eye tell what the left eye sees," as Thomas Lawson has so cynically put it. He takes tips on races and knows all other forms of gambling. It is notorious that these boys in street trades develop that mania. Another gift of the child-labor system!

The rush and excitement stimulate the lower nature with most disastrous results. A physician has said that the messenger service is best suited to feeble-minded men, and he added, "I can supply all they need."

Let us free the children from these vicious surroundings, from these late and long hours which cannot but produce moral as well as physical wrecks. Let us give them a showing in this mad rush we call life, to learn its better side. To us character is the cornerstone of all true success. Why not for them? I might go on giving statistics and showing you "Facts dressed in tights," as Mark Twain says; but one cannot put tired eyes, pallid cheeks and the languid limbs of children of five and six, in mill, mine and factory, into figures. I wish I could, for they are figures you hear and see, not the human units which make them, else we should never forget the sight of these wee toilers working ten, twelve, even thirteen and fourteen hours a day for a mere pittance, in a country which has established in its industries an eight-hour rule for men, North, South, East and West. It is a shame to our civilization and a crime against humanity!

A visitor to one of the large textile mills chanced to say that it was his birthday. "I am forty-two years old to-day." A tired, hollow-eyed child standing near him said, drawing a long breath, "My! but I should think you'd be awful tired of living!" Think of that from the lips of a little six-year-old child! Victor Hugo said he had seen the suffering of men and women, but until he saw the suffering of children, he knew not the awful meaning of that word! A picture, just a picture I saw one day in an illustrated paper in a Broadway window, keeps itself before my eyes. I want to show it to you. It is a wild, wintry day. The street is piled deep with snow. In the foreground is an elegant carriage. The groom is holding the door open that a woman, young, beautiful and richly-dressed may enter. In her arms, cuddled up safe and warm is a dog, an aristocratic, bewashed, beribboned, long-eared, hand-tooled affair in the dog line. Near by is a tiny newsboy, with ragged clothes fluttering in the fierce wind, worn shoes through which show the naked little feet, face pinched and wan with suffering, eyes wistful as he looks at the wealth and comfort of the fortunates, and he is saying,—every bit of him is saying,—as he clutches his bundle of papers tighter, "I wisht I was a dog." Must not this wish find utterance oftentimes on the lips of the little white slaves who toil in the mills, mines and factories, and on the streets through long hours of days and nights, as wretched and forlorn as he?

Is there not a social responsibility somewhere? Aye! coming closer—an individual responsibility. May Mary Livermore's prayer find an echo in our hearts. "If it is to be a question of supremacy of freedom or slavery, I pray God it may be settled now, and not left to our children, and Oh, may I be a hand, a foot, a voice, an influence in this cause of freedom and my country!" It is a cause which has its claim upon humanity. A claim of justice and mercy. It is a claim which is up for settlement, it will

have to be paid sometime and with accruing interest, and in a way of which those who look ahead do not even like to think. It is a claim of children who fall fainting in the streets and in the school-rooms, from starvation, though they work, while dogs are fed and cared for with a tender solicitude which these little ones never know. A claim of the children who do not know happy hours or play-time, even as voiced by a tot of four or five, "I used to play when I was young!" A claim of the five hundred and eighty thousand American children who do not know how to read or write! A claim upon the mother-heart of our Country. If it were your child? Upon the chivalry of the men in defense of the weak and helpless little ones. The benefactors of the human race are those who have thought high thoughts about it, and have crystallized those thoughts into high and noble deeds. Great reforms have come by each doing his part with a consecrated purpose; such as Lord Shaftesbury on behalf of the enslaved women and children of England; John Howard and Elizabeth Frye bringing about a reformation in the treatment of prisoners; Pinel braving ostracism, ridicule and hostility to prove that humane treatment would work wonders in the cure of insanity. Jacob Riis, Josephine Lowell, Jane Adams and others whose names you know. A mere handful it is true, where so many are needed to help do what they can to better the condition of these infant toilers whose fate is precisely that same bitter bondage of the children of fifty years ago, when Lord Shaftesbury did his part, and over one hundred years after Democracy defined its principles of "Equal rights to all, and special privileges to none."

Let us take a step onward toward "That divine, far-off event, which we sing about and talk about, but do not to any extent work about," when shall be set over against that old doctrine of Cain, "Everybody for himself and the devil take the hindmost," this, "All for each and each for all!"

There is a great painting by an Italian master, who died before the picture was finished. It was taken and completed by his pupil, and bears this inscription: "The work that Titian left unfinished, Palma reverently completed and dedicated to God."

The work for freedom was left unfin-

ished. Let us reverently complete it and dedicate it to God—this work for his children—and so shall come into these barren lives, "the tender grace, not of a day that is dead, but of a day yet to be born, with the Golden Rule grown natural."

ELINOR H. STROY.

Oakland, Cal.

WILLIAM WHEELWRIGHT: THE YANKEE PIONEER OF MODERN INDUSTRY IN SOUTH AMERICA.

BY PROF. FREDERIC M. NOA.

PART I.

IN THE enterprising City of Valparaíso, the chief commercial port of the progressive Republic of Chile, there is a beautiful statue to the memory of William Wheelwright, the modest and fearless Yankee pioneer of modern peaceful commerce, industry and enlightenment in South America. The name of this great benefactor of humanity, who, as we shall presently see, wrought a wonderful revolution of peace, is a beloved household word throughout Spanish and Portuguese-speaking America, but, as yet, his own state Massachusetts and his own native country the United States have almost forgotten that he, one of the greatest of Americans, ever existed, and no stately national monument has ever been erected "in the land of the brave and the free," in recognition of his transcendent merits.

William Wheelwright was born in Newburyport, Massachusetts, March 16, 1798. He inherited, from a long line of ancestors, those sterling qualities of deep religious intensity, lofty ideals, undeviating purity of character, and inflexible devotion to principle and duty which have made the Puritans of Great Britain and America such a tremendously regenerative, vital force in the history of the world. Far back in 1636, soon after the settle-

ment of Newbury, his ancestor the Rev. John Wheelwright sought religious freedom in New England, but found no tolerance in Boston, as he had become an advocate of the heresies of Anne Hutchinson, and was accordingly disfranchised and banished from the colony by the General Court. Subsequently, he was allowed to return, and settled in Salisbury, Massachusetts, where he died in 1679. His descendants were men and women of strong, rugged character, who lived in various parts of Maine, New Hampshire and Massachusetts, and, by their industrious, well-regulated lives, contributed, with unassuming simplicity, towards the upbuilding of the communities in which they dwelt. Some of them were teachers, others shipmasters, and not a few rendered valuable military service in the various wars of New England against the French and Indians of Canada.

When, at length, the Thirteen United Colonies of North America, from Maine to Georgia, revolted from the tyranny of George III. and the British Parliament, and declared their independence in 1776, Abraham Wheelwright, of Newburyport, Massachusetts, the uncle of William, the future industrial regenerator of South America, rendered important services to the patriots. He saw service in the Continental Army under Captain Enoch Putnam, assisted in the fortification of

Dorchester Heights, crossed the Delaware with the Northern Army under Washington, aided in the capture of the Hessians, took part in the battle of Princeton, and February 15, 1777, was discharged from service. His restless energy led him, however, to engage as a privateersman, on his own account, on the high seas, and many were the adventures he encountered, being more than once captured and imprisoned by the British, but finally escaping back to America.

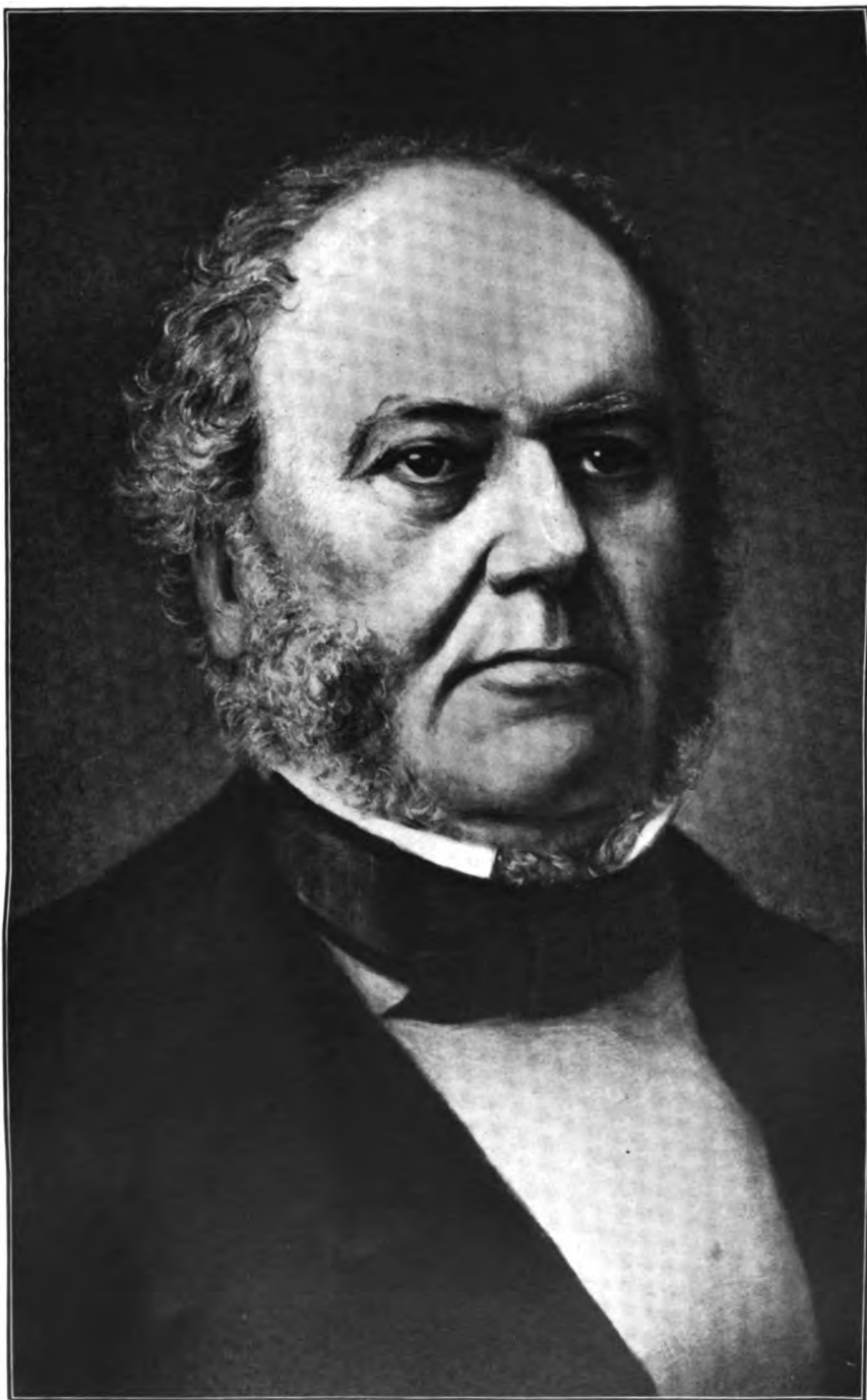
After the war, in partnership with his brother Ebenezer, he established a large and profitable business with the West Indies. He died April 19, 1852, at the advanced age of ninety-five.

From the foregoing, it will be seen from what sturdy stock William, destined to be the most illustrious of all his family, sprang. His father, Ebenezer, a shipmaster in his early life, was a man of intense earnestness and his mother Anna (Coombs) Wheelwright possessed the highly practical yet religious nature of her Puritan ancestors.

The environment surrounding young William Wheelwright, from his earliest infancy, was well fitted for preparing him for his future career. He passed his boyhood in the fine house, on the commanding hill of the "Old Indian Ridge," on High street, Newburyport, built, two years after his birth, by his father, in 1800, but now remodeled and occupied by the Hon. John James Currier, the local historian. Here, in those early days, could be seen a wide, unobstructed view of the Parker river, with the wharves and warehouses and vessels of the growing and thriving port on its right bank, the thick woods of Amesbury and Salisbury, on its farther bank, and the Atlantic in the distant east, Parker river being really the mouth of the Merrimack and a narrow arm of the ocean itself. Behind the house southward and westward, stretched a wide sweep of hills and valleys, still, in our own time, retaining much of the charm and loveliness of the primeval wilderness.

The Newburyport of Wheelwright's boyhood days vied with Boston and Salem as a commercial port, in spite of a sandbar which blocks its free access to the sea. Its substantial merchants carried on an extensive trade with Mexico, South America and the West Indies, and were the owners, captains, and not infrequently, builders of the compact sailing-ships with which they braved the terrors of the deep, not a few of these staunch vessels, of from five hundred to a thousand tons, being wrecked in tempests of the ocean and never being heard of again. Although Newburyport has completely changed its industrial activities and is now chiefly a shoe city and imports quite large amounts of coal from Philadelphia, the warehouses of the old international maritime port are yet standing on the water-front, and one may see high spacious rooms in them, twenty feet square. In the lower part of the city, there are many straight, narrow, yet scrupulously clean streets, with peaked, gable and projecting-roofed houses, both externally and in their interiors carrying the mind back, long before the American Revolution, to the British colonial régime. In the upper part of Newburyport are broad avenues shaded on both sides by noble trees, and where quite a number of large houses, the homes of its long-deceased merchant-princes, may be seen, with their antique furniture, their landscape wall-paper, and their high rooms, with five to six windows apiece. On every hand, there are reminders of the old days of shipmasters and sea captains when the town was an important *entrepôt* of international commerce.

Newburyport, although one of the lesser cities of New England, has always enjoyed a deserved reputation for the exceptional public spirit of its inhabitants. Its cemeteries contain the names of the Danas, Pillsburys and those of other families who have furnished philanthropists, statesmen, heroes, lawyers, journalists and captains of industry who have notably contributed towards making the



WILLIAM WHEELWRIGHT

This photograph is taken from the oil painting in the office of Mr. James E. Whitney, Boston, from a negative courteously loaned by Mr. John W. Winder, of Newburyport, Massachusetts, Secretary of The William Wheelwright Scientific School Fund.

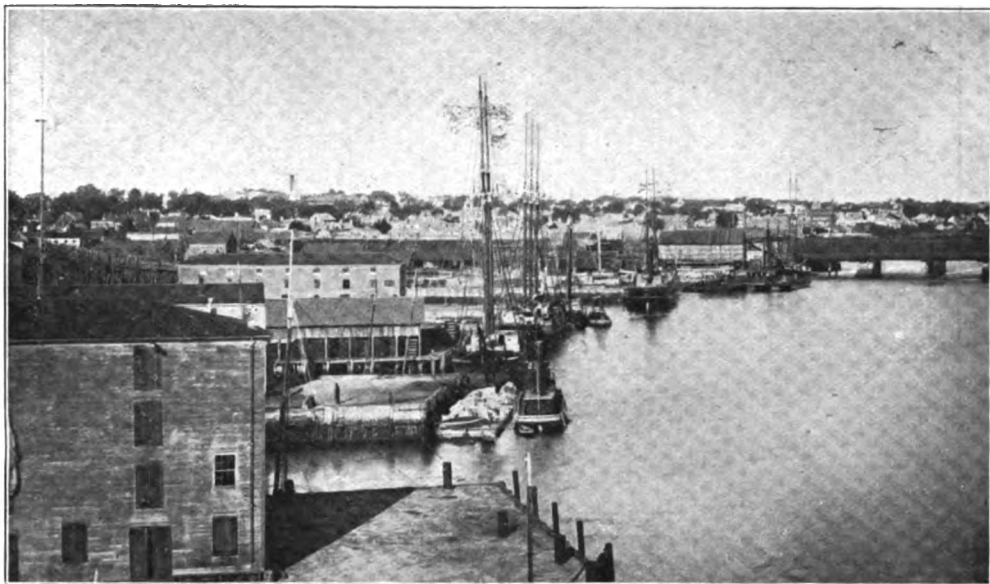


Photo. by Reed, Newburyport, Mass.

WATER-FRONT OF NEWBURYPORT, MASSACHUSETTS.

United States the splendid and great republic which it has become. Locally, Newburyport is indebted to Captain Bromfield for the beautiful broad avenues of elm and other trees that impart a special charm to her best quarter, as he left a special fund to be perpetually devoted to that beneficent purpose. One of the noblest, however, of all Newburyport's sons is William Wheelwright's contemporary, the elder William Lloyd Garrison, born December 10, 1805, whose unswerving devotion to the principle of equal rights made him face mob violence, persecution and ostracism until he had awakened the deadened conscience of the American people, broken the shackles of millions of human beings, and rendered forever impossible the continuance of the curse of African and negro slavery. He died in 1879.

The influence and example of Garrison, the *Liberator*, doubtless helped to mould the character of William Wheelwright, no less an emancipator of millions of his fellow-creatures, who successfully implanted modern enlightenment and civilization in the vast Latin-American

continent, from the Rio Grande of Texas and Mexico to Cape Horn, at the extreme southern extremity of South America. Fortunately, this latter revolution was peaceful and was accomplished without the shedding of a single drop of human blood.

Young William early developed such a strong love of the sea that his parents wisely directed his natural bent. With their consent, he shipped as a cabin boy on a vessel bound for the West Indies, and in three years rose rapidly through all the grades, until he became a captain in 1817, at the age of only nineteen years. He had previously passed through the experience of a shipwreck in the Bahamas, the ship taking fire and all on board having a narrow escape with their lives. The leaky boat in which they embarked had to be bailed out with their hats. Wheelwright, on this occasion, very nearly lost his life in saving a drowning, intoxicated sailor. On reaching shore, they traveled a long distance through the tall grass, until they came to a plantation, where they were kindly cared for. A second voyage to the West Indies was hardly

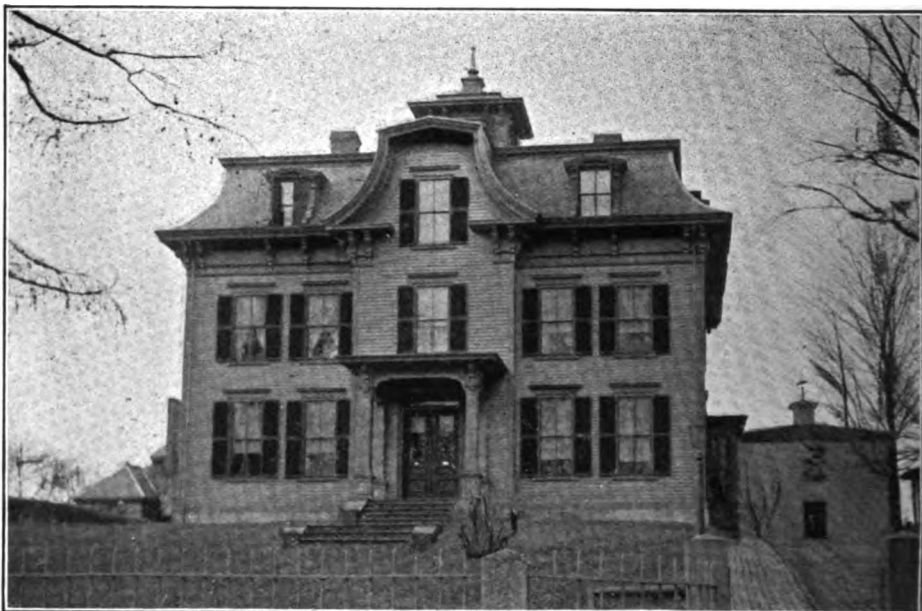


Photo. by Reed, Newburyport, Mass.

THE WHEELWRIGHT HOUSE

On the famous "Old Indian Ridge," High street, Newburyport, Massachusetts, in which William Wheelwright passed his boyhood. The house was originally built in 1800 by Ebeneser Wheelwright, the father of William. It is now occupied by the Hon. John James Currier, the author of "Auld Newbury" and the local historian of Newburyport.

more fortunate: he was taken ill and barely escaped with his life. It was only in 1817 that he had his first prosperous voyage, as captain of a bark bound for Rio de Janeiro. On the return trip, he was viciously attacked and nearly assassinated in his berth by a mutinous sailor, and scarcely escaped with his life, his assailant being overpowered with the aid of the mate. On another occasion, an ever-vigilant Providence preserved him for his future great work of redemption in South America, through a summons from his father, which prevented him from embarking in the ship "Pilgrim," some of the officers of which were his friends, and which, sailing for her destination, was never heard from again.

The critical turn which determines the controlling destiny and dominant career of every remarkable character occurred in Wheelwright's case in 1823, at the age of twenty-five. It was in that year that William Bartlet, Esq., a famous merchant

of the period, placed him in command of the ship "Rising Star" bound from Newburyport for Buenos Ayres. When, after a long passage, this sailing vessel reached the mouth of the broad estuary of the river La Plata, it stranded on what is known as the Ortiz bank and became a total loss. The crew, with the exception of one man, succeeded, after desperate rowing, for a day and night, in saving themselves, and made their way to a settlement of Indians, whose good-will they secured by offering some of the muskets which they had saved from the wreck. It was no fault of the youthful but dauntless captain that the ship had been destroyed, and the owner, Mr. Bartlet, offered him another vessel if he would return. Our hero, however, perceived that he had a mission to perform in South America, on the Atlantic and South Temperate shore of which he had been so strangely cast. He was to become, in the language of his Argentine



Photo. by Reed, Newburyport, Mass.

THE BRICK WHEELWRIGHT HOUSE

On the "Old Indian Ridge," Newburyport, Massachusetts, long the residence of the Hon. A. C. Titcomb. This house was built in 1806 by Abraham Wheelwright, the uncle of William, a man of rugged integrity, great energy, and famous as a shipmaster and soldier.

biographer, Señor Alberdi, "a new Hernando Cortés, who remained in the land of his shipwreck, to conquer its soil, not by arms but by steam, not for Spain but for civilization, not for all-absorbing North America, but to assure to South America the sovereign possession of herself."

Great minds rise superior to disaster. It was even so with young Wheelwright, who found himself a penniless stranger in a foreign land. He repaired to Buenos Ayres where he made his situation known. He says in one of his letters, written at the time, that he was disconsolate and lonely in a distant country, without resources or friends, and adds: "After the loss of my ship I became weary and worn out with misfortune. Distance and active business I hoped would in some measure obliterate painful memories."

Fortunately, the desired opportunity soon came. He was offered the position of supercargo in a ship going to Valparaiso, and gladly accepted it. After a

tempestuous voyage southward through the dangerous Straits of Magellan, and thence northward up the Pacific coast, he arrived at his destination. His discerning eye and trained powers of observation quickly perceived the terrible lack of lighthouses, docks and other indispensable improvements for the safety of life and property in South America and for her industrial development.

It was a difficult and trying position in which the daring North American pioneer found himself, when he arrived at the chief seaport of Chile. Ten thousand miles separated him from his Massachusetts home in Newburyport. Years passed before a ship bound for Salem, Massachusetts, brought tidings of him to his parents and friends. The projects of which he was dreaming for the benefit of the vast southern half of the New World met with no favor in the backward South America of those days, not yet emancipated from the thralldom of three centuries of Spanish misrule. He came to her



Photo. by Reed, Newburyport, Mass.

THE WHEELWRIGHT HOUSE

Now known as the "Old Ladies' Home," also on the "Old Indian Ridge," High street, Newburyport, Massachusetts, purchased in 1841 by William for the use of his mother, and occupied, after her decease at a serene, ripe old age, for many years by his sisters Susan and Elizabeth. It has two large rooms the walls of which are papered with rare and beautiful landscape papers, showing ships, Spanish architecture and tropical trees and scenery.

shores just at the moment when the great Liberator Bolivar was bringing to a close the wonderful and titanic fifteen years' Latin-American war for independence. On the 9th of December, 1824, Bolivar's brilliant second in command, General Sucre, gained the splendid victory of Ayacucho, in the lofty Andes of Peru, thus assuring forever the political freedom of Latin America, and the stability of the Monroe doctrine. The Spanish garrison of Callao, however, still tenaciously defended that important Peruvian seaport, and surrendered to the patriots only in 1826.

Three of the greatest military geniuses of history, Bolivar, San Martin and Sucre, conferred the boon of political liberty and independence upon South America, but her inhabitants were still enveloped in the darkest barbarism and ignorance, and, in their blind groping, were waiting for a leader to bring them into the light of modern civilization. It seemed as

though Rivadavia, for a short time Supreme Director of Argentina, might become that leader, but Rivadavia, with his great projects for connecting the principal rivers of South America by wide navigable canals, was a hundred years ahead of his fellow countrymen. He was deposed and the Argentine territory was distracted, for twenty years, by a frightful reign of anarchy and terror.

It was providential, for the redemption of South America, that William Wheelwright was cast upon her shores through a shipwreck. He was a stranger who had no personal ambitions to serve, and who had no selfish interest in her territorial conflict of races and in her suicidal internal strife that was causing civilization in that portion of the world, to tremble in the balance. His lofty aim was to lift her out of her awful degradation, and to teach her, by practical object-lessons, the inestimable value of industry, religion, morality and enlightenment. He

fortunately gifted with rare tact and firmness and commanded the respect of the worst tyrants with which the South American republics were afflicted. In 1824, he was appointed United States Consul at Guayaquil, Republic of Ecuador, then the most important port on the Pacific coast. His house became an asylum for political refugees during the civil war distracting that country.

In 1829, he paid a flying visit to his native Newburyport, and, on February 5th, married

Miss Martha G. Bartlet, the daughter of Edmund Bartlet, Esq. Their honeymoon was a very uncomfortable voyage to Panama, where, as a compensation, Mrs. Wheelwright received flowers, fruit and other tokens of appreciation from the people. An equal ovation awaited them at Guayaquil. His long absence from that city caused him to lose, through the mismanagement of others, all his personal property, valued at \$100,000, and he had to begin business anew. A few years later, he was further tried by domestic affliction, for, Mrs. Wheelwright returned, in 1835, to the United States, with her two children, Maria Augusta and Mariana. The severity of the sudden change to the northern climate of Massachusetts killed the younger, who died December 18th.

Meanwhile, Mr. Wheelwright had removed to Valparaiso, Chile, then an insignificant, exposed port. Its trade was languishing, as it had only fifteen thousand inhabitants, hampered by the old restrictive Spanish regulations, with its custom-house in the interior, ninety miles distant, at Santiago. He now perceived that the psychological moment had come for revolutionizing Valparaiso,

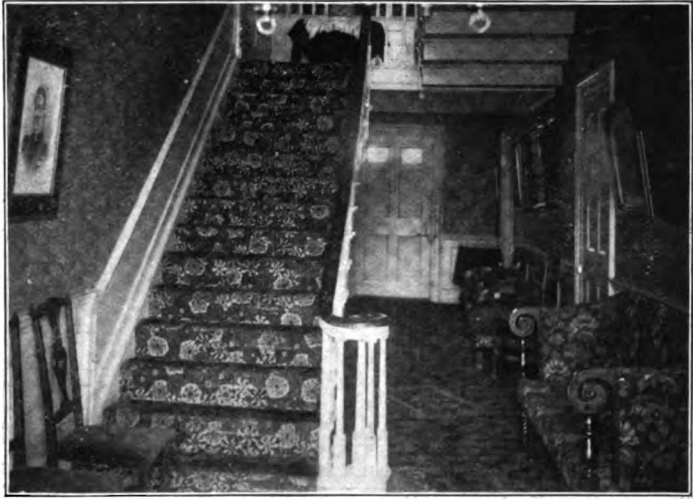


Photo. by Reed, Newburyport, Mass.

HALL AND STAIRWAY IN THE WHEELWRIGHT HOUSE,
NOW THE "OLD LADIES' HOME," NEW-
BURYPORT, MASS.

and making it the great Pacific emporium of South America which it has since become. He had already, as a merchant and navigator, spent several years exploring the thousands of miles of the western coast between Valparaiso and Panama. He witnessed, in 1830, the dissolution of the unwieldy Colombian Union of Northern South America, founded by General Bolivar, into the separate republics of Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador. The dissolution meant the rise of Valparaiso, and the inevitable decay of Guayaquil as a seaport, where Wheelwright had held the commanding position of United States Consul, then equivalent to that of being ambassador. He was favorably regarded by all the rulers and most prominent public men of the Latin-American States of the Pacific, and he exerted a tremendous influence over them. Among the friendships he thus formed was that with Andres Bello, the learned Venezuelan, and both took up their abode in Valparaiso, in 1829; the mission of Bello being to establish schools in Chile, while that of his North American contemporary was to develop commerce, industry and public improvements in the same country.



Photo. by Reed, Newburyport, Mass.

BEAUTIFUL AND RARE OLD LANDSCAPE WALL-PAPER
In one of the rooms of the Wheelwright House, now the "Old Ladies' Home," Newburyport, Massachusetts. Notice the tropical life, scenery and Spanish architecture.

Wheelwright and his family soon became the most popular of all in Valparaiso. A brother of his opened a private academy for young ladies, and to this day the highest families of Chile remember with gratitude that courtly, patient Puritan schoolmaster of Valparaiso.

Wheelwright found the cities and towns of Chile in very much the same dilapidated condition in which the American army found those of Cuba, at the close of the late war with Spain. They were unhealthy, dirty, badly paved, worse lighted, generally deprived of good drinking water, and lacking in everything necessary to attract useful and sturdy immigrants. He at once set to work to remedy this state of affairs. He established a kind of waterworks, by means of which he furnished pure drinking-water to such houses as desired it; the water being introduced through iron pipes such as were in use in the cities of the United States and Europe.

His next public improvement was introducing and successfully establishing gas-lighting in the city of Copiapo, Chile. He brought about the same beneficent reform in Callao, Peru, where he also established a system of good waterworks.

To the cities on the Pacific slope of South America, with their houses built of inflammable materials, and liable to be destroyed and set on fire by earthquakes at any moment, he conferred an inestimable boon by providing them with abundant water, of the best quality. He rendered the extensive arid deserts of Peru and Chile at least inhabitable by providing apparatus for distilling water from the salt waves of the Pacific. He established in many localities kilns for the

manufacture of bricks by powerful machinery. He made navigation safe by means of lighthouses and buoys off many ports on the western coast of South America. He engaged in constant voyages of exploration along that coast, for the purpose of verifying or discovering natural products useful for commercial exploration, such as coal, saltpeter, borax, lime, copper and other minerals and substances which now constitute so large a portion of the industrial prosperity of South America. It would be impossible to enumerate the many improvements due, in Valparaiso alone, to his initiative and influence, and one need not wonder that the grateful people of Chile venerate the memory of their great Puritan benefactor, and that a splendid statue of Wheelwright stands in front of the Mercantile Exchange of that city.

The greatness of this North American pioneer was now to be revealed in a most striking manner. He conceived the idea of a fine line of fast steamships which should bind together the ports of the western coast of South America, over a stretch of three thousand miles, from Valparaiso to Panama, where British steamers on the Atlantic side of the Isth-



Photo. by Reed, Newburyport, Mass.

THE TOMB AND MONUMENT OF WILLIAM WHEELWRIGHT,

The Yankee Pioneer of South American Commerce and Industry, Oak Hill Cemetery, Newburyport, Massachusetts.

The inscription on the front of the monument is as follows:

IN LOVING REMEMBRANCE OF WILLIAM WHEELWRIGHT, ESQ., BORN IN NEWBURY PORT.
DIED IN LONDON, SEPTEMBER 26, 1873, AGED 75.
MARTHA C. BARTLET, WIFE OF WILLIAM WHEELWRIGHT, DIED AUGUST 30, 1888, AGED 84.
THEIR WORKS AND THEIR DEEDS PRAISE THEM.

On the left façade of the monument, there is a scroll with a wreath of flowers hanging over on the right side, and the words:

MARIAN WHEELWRIGHT, BORN IN VALPARAISO, CHILE, OCTOBER 18, 1835. GEORGE WILLIAM WHEELWRIGHT KRELL, BORN IN NEWBURY PORT, NOVEMBER 23, 1860, DIED AT SEA, ON BOARD THE ROYAL MAIL STEAMER MAGDALEN, DECEMBER 17, 1862.
MARIA AUGUSTA WHEELWRIGHT, WIFE OF PAUL KRELL, BORN IN VALPARAISO, DIED AT OATLANDS, ENGLAND, FEBRUARY 11, 1866.

On the left façade, there is a broken white marble pillar, twined round with ivy leaves and flowers, and the inscription:

WILLIAM WHEELWRIGHT, JR., BORN IN NEWBURY PORT, MAY 29, 1840, DIED AT KEW, NEAR LONDON, OCTOBER 18, 1862.

mus could swiftly reach Europe itself, thus bringing South America into intimate and frequent touch with all the great European commercial emporiums.

The project he proposed seemed so impracticable, in those days, that even the British minister resident in Lima, Peru, instructed his servants not to admit "that wild visionary Wheelwright" if he should call again. It would be difficult to enumerate the obstacles he encountered. All this has been exhaustively explained in Señor Alberdi's Spanish biography, an excellent English trans-

lation of which, under the title of *Life and Industrial Labors of William Wheelwright in South America*, was published, in 1877, by the late Hon. Caleb Cushing, of Newburyport, Massachusetts. The outlook for support among South Americans, who would be incalculably benefited by the innovation proposed, was most unpromising. They inherited a deep-rooted conservatism, the result of centuries of the old Spanish régime, which made them cling tenaciously to their traditional, slow methods of doing things. Moreover, only recently eman-

cipated from the yoke of Spain, and torn by internal strife and a terrible conflict of races, the Latin-American Republics fell a prey to anarchy and the awful excesses and exactions of native tyrants. The whole atmosphere of South America was surcharged with the militant spirit. Native dictators and adventurers of the worst type rose to power through revolutions and by force of arms, only to be swiftly deposed by other adventurers fully as bad and irresponsible.

Such was the gloomy prospect when Wheelwright, in 1835, first broached his project. He was fortunate in having been, for many years, the American Consul at Guayaquil, where his position as the chief representative of the powerful and neutral United States commanded universal respect throughout South America. His genial courtesy, strong will-power and rare tactfulness gradually smoothed away all difficulties, and he had, moreover, a thorough command of both Spanish and English. He applied first to Chile, as that republic had the most stable and enlightened government. The Chilean authorities, by a law dated August 25, 1835, granted him all the con-

cessions he solicited for his exceptional enterprise. He now proceeded overland through the lofty Andes, at imminent risk of his life, to Potosi, Bolivia, witnessed a battle, and won the reluctant

assent of the government of that republic to his proposed line of Pacific steamers. A concession from Ecuador was obtained in 1837, but it was to last only four years, and a restriction was added, forbidding the company from engaging in the coastwise trade. Wheelwright was planning to have his new Pacific line touch at all South American ports, from Valparaiso to Panama, where a corresponding steamship line, on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus, should carry commerce to and from Europe. The co-operation of Colombia, then owner of the Isthmus, was indispensable. This seemed a matter of course, as that extensive country is bathed by both the Pacific and Atlantic.



STATUE OF WILLIAM WHEELWRIGHT

Erected in Valparaiso, Chile, in 1876, by popular subscription.

Colombia is, however, a republic the greater part of whose territory is inland and consists largely of the towering mountain-chains of the northern Cordillera of the Andes. Bogotá, the capital, is on an elevated plateau of 8,000 feet, and to reach it from the coast, even in

the present twentieth century, requires an arduous, rough-riding journey on muleback, of fully three weeks. In those sublime gigantic Andes, the liberator General Bolívar had gained, at a height of fifteen thousand feet above sea-level, some of his most brilliant victories over the Spaniards. On one public occasion, he declared that "the glory of having carried aloft the standard of liberty into these frigid regions totally outweighs all the gold that lies at our feet." Señor Alberdi justly remarks that this language, translated into that of the economist, simply means that provincial isolation is better than free intercommunication with the civilized world, and it furnishes the key to the singular conditions which ultimately rendered inevitable the secession of the present Republic of Panama from Colombia, so that the Panama canal might be constructed by the United States.

One can now understand why the narrow-minded congress of Colombia rejected, for several years, Wheelwright's proposals, although the president of that republic was sufficiently enlightened to perceive clearly their tre-

mendous commercial advantages. An additional obstacle was the fact that a French company operated a fleet of sailing vessels and dreaded any curtailment of their

exclusive monopoly. Experience, however, the most costly yet efficient of all teachers, at length convinced the French company of the folly of opposing modern progress, and they consented to an amicable arrangement with Wheelwright. Still another difficulty had to be overcome as Colombia adhered to the old Spanish restriction of taxing very heavily the transport of mail and merchandise overland across the Isthmus of Panama; but at length the United States succeeded in negotiating a treaty with that republic, by the terms of which free transit was perpetually assured.

Wheelwright, by overcoming South American opposition to his revolutionary innovations, had gone a long step towards the consummation of his enterprise, but

completely lacked the capital to carry it forward. The question arose: In what quarter could he find such financial backing? He turned at first to his own native country, but Americans, with the fatal



SILVER TROPHY

Presented to Mr. William Wheelwright, Chief Superintendent of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company, by the commercial community of Valparaiso, Chile, as a testimonial of their appreciation, January 15, 1842.

The inscription on the trophy is as follows:

PRESENTED BY THE COMMERCIAL COMMUNITY OF VALPARAISO TO WILLIAM WHEELWRIGHT, ESQ., CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT OF THE PACIFIC STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, AS A TESTIMONIAL OF THEIR RESPECT AND ESTEEM OF HIS CHARACTER AND THEIR ADMIRATION OF HIS MERITS.

Valparaiso, Jan'y 15th, 1842.

Reproduced by the courtesy of Mr. James E. Whitney, Boston, Treasurer of the William Wheelwright Scientific School Fund.

blindness which has ever characterized them in their commercial dealings with Latin America, looked coldly upon a project which promised no immediate returns in profits or dividends. He was obliged, therefore, to endeavor to interest British capitalists.

Armed with official concessions, not great to be sure, but indispensable for his purpose, and with a carefully prepared, luminous pamphlet, illustrated by his own map of the Pacific coast of South America, Wheelwright, in 1838, crossed the oceans and presented himself in London and Glasgow. His winning personality and convincing arguments secured him at once a favorable reception throughout Great Britain, and he won the friendship of Sir Clements R. Markham, the eminent geographer, and of many other noted British public men. The entire press of London freely published his communications, which they cordially supported in long leading editorials. It happened, also, fortunately for his cause, that the Hon. P. Campbell Scarlett had just returned to England from a long journey of several thousand miles across the pampas and Andes, from Buenos Ayres to Valparaiso, and had published a scientific book entitled *South America and the Pacific*. As an appendix to his work, in two volumes, Mr. Scarlett added a memorial, addressed to the Foreign Office, on the advantages of making use of the Isthmus of Panama as the most rapid highway of communi-

cation between Europe and the Pacific ports of South America. Wheelwright's ideas coincided so much with his own that Mr. Scarlett inserted into his book the former's pamphlet entitled *Statements and Plans*.

Reflecting men throughout Great Britain were soon convinced that the advantages of the Panama route, by vessels propelled by steam, over the dangerous circuitous Straits of Magellan, effected in sailing ships, delayed by the calms of the Pacific, were too obvious to be longer neglected. It was self-evident that it was not worth while wasting from one hundred to one hundred and twenty days in reaching Valparaiso, Lima and Guayaquil when the voyage could be accomplished by steam, by way of Panama, in from forty-six to sixty-two days.

As a result of his propaganda, Wheelwright soon secured the coöperation of leading British capitalists, and a company was formed, in London, under the name of "The Pacific Steam Navigation Company," which readily obtained a royal charter of incorporation, and of which the directors appointed Wheelwright *Chief Superintendent*. A capital of \$1,250,000, divided into five thousand shares, was subscribed. Two sister steamers, the "Chile" and the "Peru," of 700 tons and 150 horsepower each, were built by Messrs Charles Young & Company, of Limehouse, England.

(To be continued.)

Malden, Mass. FREDERIC M. NOA.

GOVERNOR JOSEPH W. FOLK.

BY THOMAS SPEED MOSBY.

Pardon-Attorney for the State of Missouri.

MORE peculiarly and distinctly, perhaps, than any other man of equal prominence in the public life of America to-day, Governor Folk of Missouri is known by his works.

Folk is a man of few words and tremendous accomplishments. He seldom talks about what he is going to do, but does it and lets the world talk about it afterwards.

Such was his character as Circuit-Attorney of the City of St. Louis, where he convicted more men of political crimes than were ever before convicted at any one time and place in the entire history of the world, and such has been his subsequent record as Governor of the State of Missouri.

First of all, Folk is a firm believer in the force and efficacy of the constitution and laws of the State of Missouri and of the United States. Although a profound student and an advanced thinker, and not in any sense retrogressive or ultra-conservative, his policy throughout has been to first enforce the laws we have before casting them aside as worthless and rushing into the wilderness of new policies and systems of government. He has always taken his oath of office seriously, and, indeed, literally. Having sworn to uphold and enforce the laws and to discharge the duties of an office he has always performed those duties to the letter.

Folk has become known to the American people not as a theorist or a political leader. He has, in the course of his speeches and lectures said many things which have been widely quoted; but his *doings* rather than his *sayings* have made him known. When he speaks he usually speaks from experience, not from speculation or hearsay. He never has "dreams" or sees "visions." Plain, practical, sober-minded; not fanciful, empirical or inconsiderate in thought or deed, this plodding man of the people has started a moral wave which has moved forward with the force of an avalanche in the political life of the United States.

When Joseph W. Folk began his work for the purification of St. Louis he was laughed at as an impractical dreamer. Up to that time, indeed, the utterance of the late Senator John J. Ingalls of Kansas, that "honesty in politics is an iridescent dream," had been, consciously or unconsciously, accepted as a fact. Reformation seemed impossible. When the anti-boodle prosecutions were begun in St. Louis many of the greatest journals of the

United States declared that the work of renovating the politics of our great cities was a hopeless task. They hooted at the idea that convictions could be secured.

But Folk plodded on, saying little and doing much, and he succeeded. Newspaper comment began to change. Public opinion grew more hopeful. Then the moral wave began to spread; first through the State of Missouri, where it swept all before it, then rapidly across the continent, and even beyond the seas. Early in 1904 a law-enforcing official in Honolulu was referred to in a local newspaper there as "the Joe Folk of Hawaii."

Nominated and elected Governor of Missouri, Folk carried his gospel of law-enforcement into other States. He was prominent in the Ohio campaign which elected Governor Pattison and overturned the power of "Boss" Cox in Cincinnati. In the same campaign he entered Pennsylvania and in Philadelphia, erstwhile the "corrupt and contented," he was given the greatest ovation ever given a political speaker in that city. And the election returns showed that the hearts of the people had been aroused.

Wherever he has traveled, from Boston to San Francisco, multitudes have assembled to hear him present the "Missouri Idea," which he has defined as "the idea that citizenship in a free country implies a civic obligation to enforce the performance of every public trust by holding every public official to strict accountability before enlightened public opinion for all official acts."

But the message he brings to the American people is no new gospel. It is as old as Sinai. He electrified the public conscience simply by showing that all was not lost; by simply showing that righteous government and righteous administration of the affairs of government, was but a matter of honesty and courage.

This was not a new gospel; it was merely a forgotten truth, which, in our struggle for the material things of life, we of America had forgotten.

We knew that honesty was the best

policy; but it remained for Folk of Missouri to teach us that, after all, in his own phrase, "Honesty is the best *politics*."

The concrete results of the great moral wave are now coming to be understood and acknowledged. The average of honesty has been rising, and its rise dates from the time when Folk came upon the stage of public affairs. All this has been conclusively shown by an article from the pen of Mr. Philip Loring Allen, in a recent number of a well known periodical.

In his New York speech welcoming Mr. Bryan, Governor Folk said:

"We are on the threshold of the greatest political awakening this nation has ever known. It marks the beginning of a new age. The next few years will be distinguished as the time in which industrial problems are solved, the reign of the special privilege brought to an end, and the doctrine of equal rights fixed in national politics and in the conscience of mankind. Only a few years past, bribery was considered merely conventional. Legislative halls were made dens of thieves, and the touch of the unclean dollar of privilege was over all. Dishonesty in public life was either unnoticed, or else regarded with despair. Then a dormant public conscience was aroused to the necessity of stamping out the offense that strikes at the heart of free government. The energies of this public conscience have been extended from the domain of the public wrong-doer to that of the private wrong-doer, and are probing into the workings of rascals of every kind. The insurance investigations have sent forth their message, the rebate revelations have been seen and heard, and innumerable grand juries have drawn aside the curtain and revealed the anarchs of corruption and greed in their bacchanal of avarice.

"The regenerated conscience of the people has been assailing these abuses one by one, and has now commenced to attack the deeper evil of privilege. No one ever heard of a legislator being bribed to give

equal rights to all the people. It is always for the purpose of obtaining special privilege for the few. Graft cannot be fully done away with until special privileges are exterminated and the doctrine of equal rights becomes the standard for governmental action."

When Folk says that privilege is the source of graft, every man in America knows that it is true, for he speaks upon the subject with the authority of expert knowledge. In his boodle prosecutions he learned from actual experience that every graft may be traced directly to some special privilege.

In the speech above referred to the Missouri Governor announced the following epitome of democracy:

"In this epoch, so important to American liberty, we ask the people to set up no new gods; we ask them to follow no new paths which may lead into the quicksands of dishonor and despair. Our safest and surest guide is still the old maxim, that there shall be "equal rights to all; special privileges to none." With this maxim as our chart, we cannot lose our course; with this rule for our guidance, the infamies of privilege in every form will be destroyed, and unto all men there will be restored the equal right that belongs to each, the fair and equal opportunity of every man to live and labor upon the earth which God has given to all, and to enjoy untrammelled the gains of individual industry."

What grander concept can there be, of human government? It is indeed the soul of a great man and a great democrat, that speaks for "the free and equal opportunity of every man to live and labor upon the earth which God has given to all, and to enjoy untrammelled the gains of individual industry"—how suggestive of the spirit of a John Bright or a Henry George!

Here are no meaningless words; nothing for mere ornament, show or rhetorical effect. When Folk speaks, he speaks

advisedly and to the point, and he is every bit in earnest; just as he was when he laconically accepted, from a St. Louis politician, the nomination for circuit-attorney—"I will accept, but I will obey my oath of office." And the world knows how well he obeyed that oath!

As Governor of Missouri he has driven the corporation lobby from the State capitol, abolished the practice of legislators and appointees of the governor riding on free railway-passes, forced the passage of a law extending the statute of limitations in bribery cases from three to five years, has taken the police out of politics in the large cities of Missouri, forced the passage of a law penalizing race-track gambling and enforced that law to the letter, incidentally driving the largest race-track syndicate in the world out of business although it enjoyed the protection of local county officials. He has closed the wine-rooms and gambling-dives of the great cities, driven out the panel-workers and stamped out grafting from the police departments of the great cities of his State. He has so conducted the elections through his election commissioners in the great cities that no cry of fraud has been raised after any city election held under his administration. Most remarkable has been his enforcement of the law requiring the Sunday closing of dram-shops.

The great brewery syndicate which, allied with the retail liquor dealers of the State, represents a capital of some three hundred millions, determined that the law should not be enforced. No Missouri Governor had ever before attempted its enforcement. The idea was laughed at as impracticable and foolish. The enormous campaign funds which backed the would-be violators of the law won over many newspapers and politicians; but Folk, backed by the moral sentiment which has ever been his unfailing support, was greater than them all, and now Missouri is probably the most completely law-abiding State in the Union. Not satisfied with vilification, threats and

intimidation, the liquor interests caused enormous petitions to be presented, calling upon the Governor to enforce the law. But there was another side to the question. The wives and mothers who had been starved and neglected that the Sunday saloon might thrive, began writing letters to the Governor, and in the darkest hour of the fight, when it looked as though victory was yet afar off, the Governor gave out to the press one of these letters from the wife of a poor laboring man, who thanked God that her husband was now spending his Sunday at home, instead of in the bar-room, and that she and her children now had food and clothing instead of starvation and rags. "I am praying that God may give you strength to keep up the fight," she wrote. And Folk publicly declared: "I would rather have the prayers of one good woman than the support of all the liquor dealers in the world."

He kept up the fight, and won.

And so it has been with every species of lawlessness which he has been called upon to combat. Everywhere wealth and power has been against him; and everywhere the prayers of good people have gone up in support of his good work, and that work has in every instance been crowned with victory.

But, although his name is coupled more conspicuously with the idea of law-enforcement than that of any other man living or dead, Folk is not merely an enforcer of the laws. His plans for the improvement of the Government of his State are far-reaching, and toward their successful accomplishment he is moving forward with a certainty than does not admit of question.

He has made and is now making a fight to place the burdens of maintaining the government so far as possible upon the holders of special privileges, and exempting to that extent the fruits of individual industry; is striving to establish a system of local option in taxation, and has appointed a commission to consider plans for a complete revision of the present system of taxation in Missouri.

In addition to this he is seeking to establish a public-utility commission with power to inquire into and determine the actual amount invested in public-utility corporations, and to fix upon a reasonable and fair basis the rates which such concerns shall be allowed to charge the public. Speaking of this project he has said:

"If the rates of all public-utility corporations were regulated upon a basis of actual investment (and it has been held by the courts that the legislature can do this), the result would be to materially lower the rates charged by gas, electric-light, telephone, telegraph and street-car companies, where the rates now charged are based upon fictitious values. Corporations controlling public utilities exercise privileges that are denied the ordinary individual. It is not only fair to them that their rates be regulated on a reasonable basis by the State, but such action seems to be necessary in this day of immense consolidation of capital for the protection of the public."

This is no flowery speech. It is simply the plain, practical expression of a practical statesman, and those who know Folk know that he means just what he says. Will he succeed?

If he lives, yes. Folk always succeeds.

Another reform he is working out is the substitution of the ballot primary election for the delegate convention, as a means of nominating candidates for office. He has already won Missouri over to this proposition, and it is hardly possible that the State primary law can fail of passage in the next legislature. But Folk goes farther, and would apply the ballot to matters of legislation as well. He has repeatedly endorsed the Initiative and Referendum, and if his busy life is spared to the people for a few more years Missouri will see this reform engrafted upon

the organic law of the state. During a prior administration the Initiative and Referendum was defeated by a popular vote, because not sufficiently understood by the people.

In private life Governor Folk is plain, unpretentious, and severely democratic in his habits. Although personally congenial, the cares of state have not allowed him to greatly indulge a disposition toward the usual social indulgences. In the capital city he is seldom seen excepting at his office or at the executive mansion. He is an omnivorous and incessant reader, and never tires of delving among his books. Determination is written in his face, and he knows no such thing as fear. During his various crusades against lawlessness his life has been repeatedly threatened, but he has always refused a guard. He is a clever shot, and his favorite sports are hunting and trap-shooting, although for these his official duties give him little time. Although calm and dignified in his demeanor and apparently unemotional, I have frequently seen him moved to tears by the plea of a poor widow for the pardon of her son, and once I knew him to pardon a widow's only son and then give her \$10 with which to buy him clothing. In the administration of the pardoning power he is probably the first American executive to invariably couple conditions with his pardons. Wherever it is known that the prisoner's ruin was due to some particular vice, such as gambling or drinking, Governor Folk specifies in the pardon that a lapse into those vices again shall cause the return of the prisoner to the penitentiary.

Such, in brief, is Folk, the statesman and the man. His character may be written in three words:

Honesty, courage, strength; and the greatest of these is honesty.

THOMAS SPEED MOSBY.

Jefferson, Mo.

BROAD ASPECTS OF RACE-SUICIDE.

BY PROFESSOR FRANK T. CARLTON,
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THE NOW wide and constantly widening separation and differentiation of classes, the changing industrial and social life of the people, and the close contact with the civilization and the swarming millions of the Orient are forcing the question of population into the foreground of American thought. New conditions are modifying and complicating this problem. Disregarding the more narrow aspect of the question of population or of "race-suicide," three points-of-view may be taken. It may be considered as a class question, a national question, or a racial or religious question—Orient *versus* Occident. Although passing by the narrow aspects of the question, no implication tending to minimize the importance of those aspects is intended. The question as to the effect of large families upon home conditions, and upon the life and progress of the female sex is, of course, extremely important; but it is this phase of the problem which is now being discussed with bitterness and vehemence in the forum of public opinion. Other important factors in the population question are almost wholly lost sight of.

Economic considerations are now generally recognized as playing an important rôle in determining the rate of increase of the population. An established standard of living, together with its accompanying social position, is tenaciously clung to by all men and women; but especially by those who are raised above very low standards of living. If a large family endangers the maintenance of this accustomed standard, smaller families will be the inevitable result in the majority of cases. While large families in rural communities in earlier times spelled increase of products and of in-

come, to-day, under essentially different conditions, a large family means greatly increased expense without a corresponding increase of income, and leads inevitably in the majority of cases to the loss of accustomed comforts and enjoyment. A young man is seriously handicapped at the present time, if he becomes the father of a large family. These are facts so germane to the subject that they cannot be overlooked. The instinct or desire for offspring is placed in opposition to the strong human ambition to maintain and to advance one's social and economic position. Whereas a few generations ago a widow possessing a large family of minor children was considered to be an excellent marriageable proposition, to-day she becomes, unless wealthy, a drag on the matrimonial market. Widows are, no doubt, just as spritely and good-looking to-day as were those of half a century ago; economic conditions rather than the personal characteristics of widows have changed.

As soon as education and skill raise a class or a group of men above the lower strata of economic and social life, the struggle to maintain themselves on this new level begins, and small families are the fruits of the majority of marriages between individuals in their classes. It is in essence a class struggle. Those in the depths are not affected; they have lost heart, and fear nothing further, or they are apparently contented with their condition and mode of living. The wages of the unskilled may be kept down by two means: by immigration from other countries, or by large increase in the native working population. The immediate interests of the landowning and employing classes are favored by large increases in the population of the

laboring people, because as a result a large number of workers compete against each other, thus tending to keep down the wage level. Indeed, our present industrial system demands a large floating population of unemployed. Low wages also lead to relatively high land values and to high rents and excessive returns from the use and ownership of market opportunities of various sorts. Large numbers of would-be employ  s offer golden opportunities to the employers. The situation may be fairly stated as follows: the employers desire a surplus of laborers; the unions are desirous of restricting the numbers; but the general public—society—wishes a perfect adjustment between work and workers. This is the ideal toward which society is climbing. The employing class, the national leader who fears foreign aggression, and the imperialistic statesman unite upon the question of race-suicide; although each attains his position as a result of a somewhat different line of reasoning.

The question as to the desirability of large families and of rapidly increasing population is frequently considered from a point-of-view which was pertinent a generation or two ago, but which is no longer applicable. As long as questions involving the increase of productive possibilities and the exploitation and appropriation of natural resources occupied a predominant place in our economic and political activity, the question of population assumed one aspect; but when these questions yield in relative importance to those involved in the distribution of the products of industry and of the efficient consumption of the same, it is presented to society in a different form. As Burke pointed out, we are prone to see historic needs and dangers, but we are also liable to overlook those of the present. We are afflicted with a sort of far-sightedness which blurs the vision as to the present, which destroys our mental perspective. Mere increase in numbers to till our broad fields, to

tend our many machines, and to sell or transport our products, is unnecessary. We possess a floating, semi-idle population which is imperfectly adjusted to the industrial needs of the country. Industry now needs skilled workers rather than unskilled. The question of population when large quantities of tillable land lie fallow on our Western frontier is much different from the question which confronts us when the frontier has been trampled under the foot of advancing civilization. This class element in the problem did not appear, or at least did not assume important dimensions, until after the disappearance of the frontier.

If the working people of one country are able to raise their standard of living above that of other countries, international competition immediately acts, tending to force down the wage level in the first country. Only by erecting trade barriers, such as apprenticeship regulations, unions, and restriction of immigration, can one country raise its scale of wages far above that of another country, except in so far as the efficiency of the workers may differ. The existence of low standard-of-living workers acts as a positive check upon social betterment. Class distinctions, trade demarcations, unionism, and professional requirements are the concrete results of efforts to differentiate certain classes of people from the evils of this situation. The Chinese exclusion act is based upon a class or caste effort to prevent the depression of the American wage level. Remove the barriers of legal restriction, custom and the immobility of labor, and the wage-level of the world will tend toward uniformity. Where large masses of labor are employed, special ability or efficiency is rarely recognized except by lifting an occasional individual to a higher trade-level. The wages of all members of a railroad section gang, a gang of hod-carriers or of mine shovelers, are not differentiated and graded according to the personal efficiencies of different members; all members of the same gang re-

ceive like wages. Race-suicide tends to prevent the depression of the standard of living for the grades of workers who have differentiated themselves from the great mass of the unskilled. The skilled man with a large family must expect to see his children, or the majority of them, forced down in the scale because he cannot give them proper training.

With the progress of medical science, curative and particularly preventive, with increasing vigor of the race and longer average span of life, the economic demand and the social need of large families ought normally to decrease. This is the lesson which nature teaches. The higher and stronger animals are given fewer offspring than those lower in the scale of animal life. Statistics is also the bearer of good tidings to the inquirer; statistics indicates that the rate of increase in the population decreases as the race or class moves toward a higher plane of mental and physical development. Thus, nature labors to prevent overpopulation. Nevertheless, independent of the physical effects of culture, luxury, and the manner of living of the mental worker, and the business and professional man, small families are logically to be expected among many classes of the community. As has been shown, a slight analysis of the situation will place this fact clearly before us. Large families, in a fairly well-populated Occidental country, are the rule only among the poorly-paid classes of the community, among the classes from whom increase is not particularly desirable. Exhortations against race-suicide, if they produce any appreciable effect, act almost entirely upon the very class which does not need, from any point-of-view, such admonitions. If the theory is accepted, as undoubtedly it must be in the light of modern investigation, that the child is chiefly molded by his home, school, and street environment and influences, then the task before society is the betterment of those conditions through educational and municipal improvements.

The wide separation of classes means distrust and lack of sympathy between the members of different groups, and consequently leads easily to the exploitation of the weaker groups. In a democracy, which is enduring, organization of the conflicting interests is imperative, in order that one may effectively check the excesses of the other. A democracy becomes an unstable balance of conflicting interests if class differentiation becomes too wide. The danger of aggression by other nations or races and the fear of economic exploitation by other nations must be weighed against the claims of democracy and humanity which ask for greater equality in well-being, which ask for a closer approximation of income to services; and this danger must also be weighed against the possibilities of exploitation of certain classes by others within our own borders. The true problem is not the rapid increase in the numbers of the so-called middle class, but rather to inaugurate such improvements in the economic and mental conditions of the laboring class as will lower its rate of increase and improve its efficiency. The hope of society lies ultimately in restriction of the numbers of the unskilled. Scientific and industrial education for the masses, and a considerable increase in the numbers of parks, playgrounds, reading-rooms, gymnasiums, baths, concerts, lectures, and other collective enjoyment, are among the most potent instruments which must be utilized to raise the level of the unskilled. Race-suicide in this country is a class, not a national, phenomenon; herein lies the danger.

From the point-of-view of the nation, the demand for large population may be ascribed to two influences: First, to the necessities of the past, such as the need of more people to develop land and industry under modern industrial conditions; and, secondly, international jealousy and fear,—the real danger of the dominance of the many over the best. In the days of tribal warfare, or in the later days of fierce and protracted strug-

gles for supremacy between the various nations and peoples, the life of a nation or of a people depended, in no small measure, upon the rapid increase of population. Supremacy or escape from subjection depended upon this increase. In those troublesome times stern necessity, not ethics, formulated the demand for large families. Modern imperialism is but a rebirth of, or a reversion to, the old conquering and subduing instinct of the races. With the growth of a feeling of international comity and of rational views as to the progress of humanity, this demand or outcry for larger and larger populations should, under any rational interpretation of the goal of progress, become less insistent. The recent wave of imperialism which is sweeping over the nations of the Western hemisphere, however, menaces international peace, and unfortunately introduces new reasons, in the sacred name of patriotism, for an insistence upon the demands for large families. Imperialistic rulers and those hungry for territorial expansion have ever urged the propriety of large families. President Roosevelt is only following in the footsteps of a long line of preceding rulers.

Side by side with this wave of imperialism is seen another, brighter, more cheerful, and more hopeful movement,—democracy. Where the spirit of democracy and of brotherhood has permeated the people of a nation, we can no longer anticipate that the common people who are the food of the Dogs of War, will consent to be led to slaughter each other in the name of patriotism or of religion. It is true that in the past democracies have often been ready and eager to enter upon a war; but with the improvement in education and with the growth of broader conceptions of humanity and brotherhood, the spirit of democracy will become more gentle and less hostile toward other nations and peoples. Imperialism and democracy are antagonistic conceptions. Imperialism calls for large populations which are at the disposal of

the government for military purposes; a democracy, on the other hand, demands citizens who will serve her in peace. The hero of a true democracy earns his title through living for the benefit of his country and the betterment of humanity. The hero of a democracy is the worker; that of a truly imperialistic power is the fighter.

To a nation that is not troubled with imperialistic dreams and that has little fear of aggression by other nations, the phantom of race-suicide ought to excite little fear. Quality in population rather than quantity of population is needed; and too much quantity leads to deterioration under modern social and industrial conditions. Exceptions to this generalization there may be; but in the long run the rule is a true one. The happiness of the individual, or the greatness of a nation is by no means entirely a product which increases directly with the numbers composing that nation.

The call for large population is also justified by the conceited belief of each people that they are the chosen people, that their civilization should be impressed upon all nations, and further that it is that particular nation's duty and mission to spread the blessings, and evils as well, to all the heathen and the benighted. We are only beginning to faintly and half-heartedly recognize that each people, each period of history, and each geographical division have their own peculiar and valuable contribution to make toward the progress and upbuilding of society. Imperialism and brute repression lead toward destruction, toward uniformity, and towards a flat, insipid, unprogressive world civilization. Instead of two or three giant civilizations armed to the teeth, let us hope and work for many civilizations bearing the olive branch of peace and tolerance. Each nation, like each individual, has its own peculiar influence and mission. The Occident needs to learn from the Orient the lesson of peace, non-aggression, and the value of tolerance. The West may teach the East science and sympathy for

the suffering; the West may reveal to the East the spirit of democracy and the rights of the individual.

Since 1898, the world has been moving rapidly. The old liberal programmes have been forgotten in the crush of world-wide events. Europe and America now look anxiously toward the Far East. There is the new center of world politics. Is the meeting of the Orient and the Occident to be peaceful, or is it to be followed by a war of civilizations, a test of brute strength and of mere numbers? Is the prevention of race-suicide the hope of the West? If awakening China and awakened Japan become endued with the spirit of Europe and America, if their common people consent to be hurled against the West in the spirit of conquest, in the desire to snuff out the lamp of Western civilization and to trail the standard of Christianity in the dust, then indeed this question does attain the dignity of a world-wide problem, although it must be remembered that strength lies not solely in numbers. While the Asiatic hordes may easily cast the men of the West out of Asia, a successful invasion of Europe by Asiatics is probably impossible. But, it must not be forgotten that the religion of the Oriental, Mohammedanism excepted, his manner of living and his ideals lead to peace and industry instead of to war and aggression. The vast numbers living in the Chinese Empire are to be attributed to the low standard of living and culture of the mass of the inhabitants, and to certain religious beliefs and customs. Captain Brinkley mentions the following incentives to increase of population in China: A religious belief in the necessity for the continuation of the family; an ethical obligation to continue the family; a social stigma which attaches to an unwedded marriageable girl; and a law which requires that husbands shall be furnished females sold into service. Such beliefs introduce factors into the problem which are unknown in the Western countries. The gradual introduction of Western

methods of industry, means of transportation, science and sanitary measures will slowly raise the average standard of efficiency and of living; and as a result it may be anticipated that the birth-rate will be reduced. Japan, and, in a lesser degree, China are now accepting Western industrial and commercial methods. Such action must inevitably react upon the conditions surrounding the people. At first it will probably lead, as it did in the West, to the exploitation of the poorer classes by the employers; but increase in production, and improvement and modification of their educational system must, if we may judge by our own experience, inevitably lead to the growth of a spirit of democracy and to greater consideration for the welfare of the masses, because they will have increased their strength and unity.

International jealousies, engendered by the desire for commercial aggrandizement—profits—are then at the root of this demand for an increased birth-rate. Each nation demands men to watch the men of other nations and of their own country as well. Think of the thousands and millions of human beings whose lives are frittered away in the empty task of attempting to prevent various kinds of real and fanciful aggression,—soldiers, policemen, lawyers, judges, sheriffs, and so on through a long list! Is the United States to enter upon the fixed policy of rapidly adding to her quota in this list?

The hope of the world is in increasing true culture,—education in its broadest sense—not in wars of aggression or in brutal assimilation of races. Even in autocratic Russia the spirit of democracy is raising its head; and with the fall of autocracy will come better education for the masses, and the conclusion of her vast imperialistic schemes. In our own United States, not race-suicide but the reverse is to be feared. Large families and the consequent low standards of living are the curse of our great cities, and the fruitful cause of misery, crime,

and degradation. Our schools cannot keep pace with the needs of our increasing population. Improper school facilities and bad home environment are annually condemning thousands of innocent young children to lives of inefficiency or criminality. Until those near the poverty line can be brought to abstain from propagating unreasonably large numbers of offspring, betterment of these people as a class is hopeless. Teachers rather than soldiers are needed; and money for education rather than for imperialistic measures is to be desired.

Demands for large families are then the result of one or more of three influences: separation of the people into classes with the resultant class prejudice and desire for class exploitation; the desire for national aggrandizement or the fear of aggression by other nations; and imperialistic schemes and wild dreams of converting the hordes of Asia into tribute-payers.

America as the exponent of democracy and as a representative of Western ideals cannot afford to take cognizance of any one of these three aims. America does not wish class division; the very stability and permanence of a democratic government is endangered by forces which lead toward class differentiation and the caste system. This country has no neighbors whom she fears or with whom she wishes to play the part of an aggressor. It is to be hoped that no attempt will be made to maintain permanent control by force of arms over any inferior race. The world needs to-day those forces which make for higher intellectual grade of life. Not a leveling down is desired, but a leveling up through universal training and through the increase of collective enjoyment of good. Not a large population living upon the limit of subsistence whose

individual span of life is short, but a smaller population enjoying greater comfort and greater longevity of life, is the rational hope of the world, from the standpoint of Western civilization. As J. S. Mill has well said, it is not a pleasant and cheerful prospect, if, in the future, the land must all be parceled out and intensively cultivated. Commonplace, indeed, will be the lot of man if all beauty spots must give place to hives of industrial activity, if the now solitary places of the earth are all to be densely populated. Instead of looking toward increasing the birth-rate among all classes, it is more to the point to look toward decreasing the rate of increase among the poorer classes of the people.

The world is near another fork in the path of development. We may be on the threshold of a new civilization. The ends of the earth have been searched and parceled out; expansion of population will soon tend to be a menace rather than a blessing. The surplus energy of the nation may be turned from aggression and expansion to the more peaceful and desirable triumphs of science, art and education. Or we may be on the threshold of a new "Dark Age" in which brute strength and imperialistic tendencies will roam at will among the ruins of our present civilization. The result hinges on the decision of the contest now being waged between imperialism and democracy, between the forces of reaction and those of progress toward greater solidarity among the races and peoples of the earth. And the problem is complicated and made difficult by the low standards of living, judged by the criteria of the West, of the people living in the Orient.

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WILLIAM MORRIS AND ESTHETIC SOCIALISM.

By THOMAS DICKINSON Ph.D.

ESTHETIC socialism is a new thing for the modern world. When its spirit shall have attained maturity there will be a Twentieth-Century Hellenism. By esthetic socialism is meant that theory of the relationship of the souls of men that bears scrutiny on their tastes and joys rather than on their rights and obligations.

The ethical socialism of Kingsley and Maurice was an outgrowth of the sick discontent of Chartism. These men went into socialism with heart and soul in the hope to ameliorate the condition of the workingman. They attempted to apply the principles of the Christian religion to the solving of the serious problems of modern industry. Essentially their scheme left industry as it is. It propounded no formula for the reorganization of society and strove to effect its ends through the arousing of the latent *consciousness of right* in the heart of every individual. Kingsley in *Alton Locke* and Carlyle in *Chartism*, while admitting the workingman's condition to be unhappy, tacitly feel secure in the opinion that the only safety of government is mass under class. The theory of the "benevolent whip-handler" was still dominant in socialism.

When Chartism got its death-blow in 1848 William Morris was but a boy. The social ferment of the surrounding years affected the young aristocrat little. As a thoughtless child he accepted the privileges of wealth without question. If he had thought at all on the matter he had considered his a divine right to enjoy blessings which were closed to his brothers.

There may be two kinds of rights: *the right to have* and *the right to enjoy*. These rights are not identical and the possession of the one does not presuppose

the possession of the other. And it was through a pathway of art that Morris came to Socialism rather than through the pathway of industry.

The right to have is the world-old basis of equity. The industrial age is so old and the world has held property to be the basis of all earthly blessing so long that our social thinkers have accepted material wealth without questioning. Economics, which was the first, is still the fundamental social science. From it as the science of wealth the sciences of politics and sociology have sprung. Government is held to exist for the protection of property rights. Even socialism as commonly understood deems that the imperfections of man's common life are imperfections in the distribution of wealth, and that when an equitable system of share-and-share-alike has been put into operation the children of man will live in eternal peace.

The conception of the human right to enjoy is a newer one. To grasp it there is necessary the possession of a newest of intellectual muscles, an intelligence unassociated with the conventional formulæ of political thinkers. When the artists began to think of rights they thought in terms other than those of possession. This is partly because there is a difference between a doctrine and a taste. A thinker may isolate his intellectual life even from himself. He does not find himself under the necessity of guiding the forces of his character by the outlines of his philosophy. But the artist does not express himself in doctrines. He expresses himself in appreciations; principles to him are generalizations of himself. It did not detract from the cogency of Lassalle's system of thought that his personality was unlike that system. But the

very force of Morris' socialism was the force of the man himself, the artist and enjoyer of the beautiful.

When in *Unto This Last* Ruskin propounded the doctrine that there is wealth aside from the gatherings in of the producer and trader he called forth on all sides indignant rebuke. In his four essays in *Cornhill* he took the field against the political economy of Ricardo and Malthus. He brought to his aid the soul of an artist and the vigor of a moralist. Not a socialist himself he followed the Christian Socialism of Maurice and prepared the way for the esthetic socialism of Morris.

It seems not a little strange that the three men to whom above all we owe this new socialism of art were men whose lives made possible every appreciation of the value of riches. Ruskin, Morris and Tolstoi all belonged to the wealthy class. Each was reared amid luxurious surroundings and to each was given in full measure opportunities for the appreciation and culture of beauty. It is because wealth has held in fee even the blessings of beauty that artists and poets—those who above all others would give mere beauty its due—have been blinded with the economists and have considered possession a fundamental good. Wealth gets our country places, plans our gardens, buys our pictures and statuary and tapestry. No wonder that even the professional lovers of these things came to look upon material wealth as fundamental. Here was a condition with which only the wealthy artist could cope. None other could see the true "worth while" behind the unwieldy medium of property. Only he who has possessed from birth the beauty in art and nature which wealth can buy can judge of the value of that beauty in and of itself. To the other the value of beauty is forever involved in the conventional question "How much capital is represented in that beauty?" or "By what means may I lay up enough wealth to suffice in exchange for it?" To the three men mentioned beauty was

a birthright. Unencumbered with the considerations of a practical world they could measure the value of the beauty in which they lived in terms of social wealth.

It is then an ideal combination that is found in the lives of these three men. First, they are artists with definite principles of expression and theories of the province of art in life. And then they are materially free artists. Their joy in their art was hampered by no sordid considerations of subsistence. Untrammelled artists and thinkers that they were they could not escape the social theories to which they came. Not as iconoclasts and philosophers but as artists and thinkers these men generalized on themselves and sought to find in the heart of all the world the passionate joy in beauty that they found in their own natures. They began life unquestioning believers in an inalienable human *right to enjoy*. When they found that this right was denied to many of their fellows they questioned the difference between themselves and other men (as does Tolstoi in *What Shall We Do Then?*) and discovered that difference to be statable in terms of material wealth.

When we say that the differences in enjoyment may be statable in terms of material wealth we do not mean that possession gives enjoyment. It is meant that a system of life in which all endeavor is bent to material accumulation has perverted the springs of joy.

There are in life what Whitman calls certain "primal sanities." Browning has sung the "mere joy of living," and Kipling in *L'Envoi* has struck the note of the "joy of the working." This latter is the artist's joy, says Morris. It is the joy of the healthy animal, beast or human, says Tolstoi. It is the inalienable right of all men, wise or simple, to have work to do which is worth doing and which they may find pleasant, holds the new esthetic socialism.

Here we get the bond between William Morris' theory of art and of life. "Art is the expression of man's joy in labor,"

Ruskin has said. The life of William Morris was keyed to this joy of creation. Art he made broader than it had ever before been. While the art principle is ordinarily applied only to those works which are done outside the sphere of utility Morris applied it to all labor that is worth while, to all life that is worth living. More strenuously still he insisted on its application to all men. To him applied art was consecrated art. The shoemaker who made shoes to the glory of God was not so religious as he was artistic. "The man is an artist who finds out what sort of work he is fitted for, and who by dint of will, good luck and a combination of various causes, manages to be employed upon the work he is fitted for—and when he is so employed upon it does it conscientiously and with pleasure because he can do it well," Morris wrote. Ruskin, more sententious for a change, had said the same thing in fewer words. "Life," said Ruskin, "without industry is guilt, and industry without art is brutality."

It would seem that if just the joy of creation is necessary, conditions should be happy as they are for surely there is labor enough. But it is labor without joy in it. It is labor ill directed because done under the impulse of acquisition. Not all labor is joyous and artistic. Only that which satisfies the individual craving for the beautiful expressed in the forms of one's own workmanship may so be considered. It has been the fact that labor has been directed to improper ends that has made it seem the bane of life. That socialism that is based on the *right to enjoy* is not misled by the fact that labor is held to be disagreeable. It would take away not the labor but the cause of labor's unpleasantness. It would change the poor man's labor from industrial serfdom to free and joyous creation. It would recreate the ancient ideal of the dignity of toil.

Out of a beautiful art idealism Morris evolved his socialism. He looked over the world of labor and found it sodden in

hopelessness. The deadly frenzy of commodity had made life a battle for the gaining and retaining of wealth. Society was based on war, complicated in concentric rings from embattled nations to newsboys fighting for crusts. All the resources of man's mind had been devoted to cheapening the means of acquiring wealth. The division of labor had taken joy out of work. The invention of machines had made slaves and produced waste. The age was one of "ceaseless endeavor to spend the least possible amount of labor on any article made, and yet at the same time, to make as many articles as possible. To this 'cheapening of production' as it was called everything was sacrificed—the happiness of the workman at his work, nay his most elementary comfort and bare health."

Morris' ideals were dynamic. As long as he remained an artist he could accomplish nothing. He would be an anchorite bawling in his cave. Recognizing that the fallacy of wealth upon which society depends is a universal one he wasted no time appealing to artists and employers to revolutionize their methods of work. He resolved to strike at the heart of the mass of the people, and by a campaign of education to modify their conception of life's verities.

William Morris' socialist idealism was grievously misunderstood and nowhere more than in the Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist League. Practical man though he was, he was never less practical than when he went into a revolutionary movement for the remaking of men's souls. Over and over again he preached that his doctrine was one of spiritual regeneration. As such, the movement for which he stood takes its place in the esthetic realm with the far-reaching slow-moving religious trends that count their advance in centuries. To Morris beauty was a religion. In speaking to his hordes of the London unemployed he was speaking an unknown language. He was attempting to accomplish a millenium in a day.

Yet these theories of his will take root. It was a significant day when the theory of the democracy of art was added to the idea of democracy of government. If democracy has failed in anything it has been in its failure to connect between theoretical rights considered in the mass and the special requirements of the individual citizen. As a result it has been found that a democratic civilization tends more and more to a dead level of type in opinion and taste. Convention is the most rigorous slave-master of to-day. Against this tendency of domination of the individual by the colorless average the esthetic socialism of William Morris is an efficient force. Socialism is always democratic but art is always individualistic. If democracy has conserved the mass at the expense of the individual we need art to arouse again in the individual the isolated joys of self-directed existence. That social organism that maintains a healthy public opinion and taste through the widest individual freedom will have the best solidarity.

In his combination of the utmost of democracy with the extreme of individualism Morris fell sometimes into apparent inconsistency. But it remains to be seen whether that inconsistency was not more apparent than real. Probably he is no more inconsistent than the ideal society would be in that Nowhere that Morris so beautifully depicts. Granted that a society like that of *News from Nowhere* could exist it would be a two-sided society. Like everything in the material world it would have an inside and an outside. The one is never inconsistent with the other though their purposes and forms may be different. Even when mankind dwells in perfect social accord there must be a secret chamber to which the individual may withdraw to commune with the beautiful and the good. According to Morris' own theory the Goths, though fired by a common inspiration, worked with individual joy the details of the great edifices that are their monuments.

With characteristic breadth Morris sets himself up as a spokesman for all men. All men may be artistic, says he. Oscar Wilde in *The Soul of Man Under Socialism* writes as the spokesman of art and the artists. I would protect art from the people, says he. With Morris it is art for the sake of man. With Wilde it is man for the sake of art. Yet both are socialists. To Oscar Wilde the public is the bugaboo of art. In trenchant sentences he pillories that inert, unresponsive mass called the public. "In England the arts that have escaped best are the arts in which the public take no interest." "The public make use of the classics of a country as a means of checking the progress of art." Behind this contempt for the public which we see in Wilde and the pity for the people we have seen in Morris there is the same spirit. But it is differently applied. Wilde looks upon that as a cause which Morris considers an effect. The uneducated, poorly appreciative people tend to degrade any art they touch. For this reason Wilde would deny art to the public until they are ready to receive it. Morris looks behind conditions as he sees them through a long series of causation. As well deny the hungry man food until he is sated, he would say. The arts are low because the people's spirits are enslaved. Instead of using this fact to show that the people should be denied art he uses it to emphasize the common need of art. Men's spirits are enslaved because they have no longer the liberating joy of labor. That there is no joy in labor Morris blames the economic system upon which our society is based. He would change the system, but leave art free.

"Art should never try to be popular. The public should try to make themselves artistic," says Wilde. If by the democracy of art we mean the conventionalizing of the fair face of beauty to a common type our scheme would be an ill one for art and for humanity. But William Morris knew art well enough

to be sure that the best there is in it is its impulse and idealism. Not to make the art common but to make universal its impulse was the dream of his esthetic socialism. "Art for art's sake" to him was balderdash. "Art for man's sake" expressed the ideal. And was he not right? The causes that make art good for a few of the people would not be inoperative if applied to all the people. Oscar Wilde in protecting his art from the unfit is pampering it. Morris would

say that it is the fact that the joy of art is denied the people that has made them unfit. How closely art has nestled to the simple uncouth breasts of nature history will show. If in the mutations of time the old art must die for the sake of a broader expression of the more universal heart of man it may be well for art. More important still, it may be well for man.

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OUR VANISHING LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

BY THEODORE SCHROEDER.

FOR OVER a century it has been believed that we had abolished rule by divine right, and the accompanying infallibility of officialism, and that we have maintained inviolate the liberty of conscience, of speech and of press. However, this belief of ours is fast becoming a matter of illusion. Though a love for such liberty is still verbally avowed, yet in every conflict raising an issue over it, it is denied in practice. There is not a state in the Union to-day, in which the liberty of the press is not abridged upon several legitimate subjects of debate. Here will be discussed but one of these, and that perhaps the most unpopular.

By gradual encroachments and unconscious piling of precedent upon precedent, we are rapidly approaching the stage in which we will enjoy any liberties only by permission, not as a matter of right. In this progressive denial of the freedom of conscience, speech and press, all three branches of government have transgressed, without seriously disturbing the serene, sweet, century-long slumber, into which we are lulled, by the songs of liberty, whose echoes still resound in our ears, but whose meaning we have long since forgotten.

A century ago we thought that we had

settled all these problems of liberty. In all our constitutions we placed a verbal guarantee of liberty of speech and press, and then stupidly went to sleep, assuming that the Constitution had some mysterious and adequate potency for self-enforcement. This is the usual mistake, always so fatal to all liberties, and the multitude is too superficial and too much engrossed with a low order of selfish pursuits to discover that constitutions need the support of a public opinion which demands that every doubtful construction shall be resolved against the state and in favor of individual liberty.

In the absence of such construction, constitutions soon become the chains which enslave, rather than the safeguards of liberty. Thus it has come that under the guise of "judicial construction," all constitutions have been judicially amended, until those who, by a dependence upon the Constitution, endeavor to defend themselves in the exercise of a proper liberty, only make themselves ridiculous. Persons finding satisfaction or profit in repudiating constitutional guarantees, and combining therewith sufficient political power to ignore them with impunity, unconsciously develop in themselves a contempt for the fundamental equalities

which most founders of republics sought to maintain. This contempt is soon shared by those who find themselves the helpless victims of misplaced confidence in constitutions, and through them is transfused to the general public, until that which we should consider the sacred guarantee of our liberties becomes a joke, and those who rely upon it are looked upon as near to imbecility.

Some years ago a United States Senator (Mr. Cullom) was reported as saying that "in the United States there is no constitution but public opinion." We should also remember the unconscious humor which made Congressman Timothy Campbell famous. He was urging President Cleveland to sign a bill which had passed Congress and the latter objected because he believed the bill to be violative of the organic law. Our ingenious statesman broke in with this earnest plea: "What 's the Constitution as between friends?" General Trumbull once said: "The Constitution has hardly any existence in this country except as rhetoric. . . . By virtue of its sublime promise to establish justice, we have seen injustice done for nearly a hundred years. It answers very well for Fourth-of-July purposes, but as a charter of liberty, it has very little force." In Idaho, at the time of the official kidnaping of Moyer and others in Colorado, the attorney of these men tried to show the court the unconstitutionality of the procedure, when the baffled rage of the judge prompted him to exclaim: "I am tired of these appeals to the Constitution. The Federal Constitution is a defective, out-of-date instrument, anyhow, and it is useless to fetch that document into court. But Constitution or no Constitution, we have got the men we went after; they are here; they are going to stay here until we have had our final say, and I would like to know what is going to be done about it?" No wonder that the wise Herbert Spencer wrote: "Paper constitutions raise smiles on the faces of those who have observed their results."

¶ All this is true because the great mass

are indifferent to the constitutionally-guaranteed liberties of others, and so allow sordid self-interest and bigotry to add one limitation after another, until all freedom will be destroyed by judicial amendments to our charters of liberty. Furthermore, to most persons, the word liberty is only an empty sound, the meaning of which they know not, because they have never learned the reasons underlying it. Thus they are too stupid to be able to differentiate between their disapproval of an opinion and their opponent's right to disagree with them. They love their own power to suppress intellectual differences more than another's liberty of expressing them, and more than the progressive clarification of human conception of Truth, which can only come through freedom of discussion. Such persons specially owe to themselves, and to those against whom they are encouraging injustice, that they should read the defenses of liberty as made by the master-minds of the past.

That the state is a separate entity is a mere fiction of the law, which is useful within the very narrow limit of the necessities which called it into existence. This is judicially recognized by our courts and by thoughtful laymen. By getting behind the fiction, to view the naked fact, we discover that the state has no existence except as a few fallible office-holders, theoretically representing the public sentiment, expressing its power, sometimes doing good and often thriving on the ignorance and indifference of the masses. When we abolished the infallibility of rulers by divine right, we at the same time abolished the *political duty* of believing either in God or what was theretofore supposed to be His political creation, the State.

Henceforth government was to be viewed only as a human expedient, to accomplish purely secular human ends, and subject to be transformed or abolished at the will and discretion of those by whose will and discretion it was created and is maintained. The exclusively secular ends of government were to pro-

fect each equally in life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. So the fathers of our country in their Declaration of Independence wrote that: "Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or *abolish it*." Similar declarations were made by the separate colonies. Thus the Pennsylvania Declaration of Rights contains these words: "The community hath an indubitable, inalienable, and indefeasible right to reform, alter or *abolish*, government, in such manner as shall be by that community judged most conducive to the public weal." In harmony with these declarations we made laws, such that political offenders, though they had been in open revolt to a tyrannous foreign government, or had slain the minions of the tyrant, they might here find a safe retreat from extradition.

All this has passed away. Formerly it was our truthful boast that we were the freest people on earth. To-day it is our silent shame that among all the tyrannical governments on the face of the earth ours is probably the only one which makes the right of admission depend upon the abstract political opinions of the applicant. Our people denounce the unspeakable tyranny of a bloody Czar, and pass laws here to protect him in the exercise of his brutalities in Russia. Instead of being "the land of the free and the home of the brave" we exclude from our shores those who are brave and seek freedom here, and punish men for expressing unpopular opinions if they already live here. In vain do the afflicted ones appeal to a "liberty loving" populace for help in maintaining liberty.

In this short essay I can discuss specifically only the denial of liberty of conscience, speech, and press, as it affects one class of citizens, and I choose to defend the most despised.

Under our immigration laws no anarchist, that is, "no person who disbelieves in or who is opposed to all organized governments" is allowed to enter the United States, even though such person be a non-resistant Quaker. In other words, the

person who believes with the signers of the Declaration of Independence that those who create and maintain governments have a right to abolish them, and who also desire to persuade the majority of their fellow-men to exercise this privilege, are denied the admission to our national domain.

Of course that and kindred legislation was the outgrowth of the most crass ignorance and hysteria, over the word "anarchist." I say most crass ignorance deliberately, because to me it is unthinkable that any sane man with an intelligent conception of what is believed by such non-resistant anarchists as Count Tolstoi, could possibly desire to exclude him from the United States. It almost seems as though most people were still so unenlightened as not to know the difference between socialism, anarchism, and regicide, and so wanting in imagination that they cannot possibly conceive of a case in which the violent resistance or resentment of tyranny might become excusable. Thus it is that the vast multitude whose education is limited to a newspaper intelligence, stupidly assume that no one but an anarchist could commit a political homicide, and that every anarchist of necessity condones every such taking of human life. Nothing of course could be farther from the fact, but out of this ignorance it comes that every attempt at violence upon officials is charged against anarchists even before it is known who the perpetrator was, and without knowing or caring whether he was an anarchist, a socialist, an ordinary democrat, a man with a personal grudge, or a lunatic. From such foundation of ignorance comes the result that we punish those who disagree with the English tyrant of a couple of centuries ago, who said that the worst government imaginable was better than no government at all.

For the benefit of those whose indolence precludes them from going to a dictionary to find out what "anarchism" stands for I will take the space necessary to quote Professor Huxley on the subject. He says:

"Doubtless, it is possible to imagine a true 'Civitas Dei,' in which every man's moral faculty shall be such as leads him to control all those desires which run counter to the good of mankind, and to cherish only those which conduce to the welfare of society; and in which every man's native intellect shall be sufficiently strong and his culture sufficiently extensive to enable him to know what he ought to do and to seek after. And in that blessed State, police will be as much a superfluity as every other kind of government. . . . Anarchy, as a term of political philosophy, must be taken only in its proper sense, which has nothing to do with disorder or with crimes; but denotes a state of society, in which the rule of each individual by himself is the only government the legitimacy of which is recognized. Anarchy, as thus far defined, is the logical outcome of the form of political theory which, for the last half-century and more, has been known under the name of Individualism."

And men who merely believe this beautiful ideal attainable are unfit for residence in a land that boasts of freedom of conscience and press!

If the distinguished and scholarly author of the *Life of Jesus*, M. Ernest Renan, should be Commissioner of Immigration, he would, under present laws, be compelled to exclude from the United States the founder of Christianity, should He seek admission. In his *Life of Jesus*, Renan expresses this conclusion: "In one view Jesus was an anarchist for he had no notion of civil government, which seemed to him an abuse, pure and simple. . . . Every magistrate seemed to him a natural enemy of the people of God. . . . His aim is to annihilate wealth and power, not to grasp them."

If the Rev. Heber Newton were Commissioner of Immigration, he, too, would have to exclude Jesus from our land as an anarchist. Dr. Newton says: "Anarchism is in reality the ideal of political and social science, and also the ideal of religion. It is the ideal to which Jesus

Christ looked forward. Christ founded no church, established no state, gave practically no laws, organized no government and set up no external authority, but he did seek to write on the hearts of men God's law and make them self-legislating."

Surely people who only ask the liberty of trying to persuade their fellow-men to abolish government, through passive resistance, cannot possibly be a menace to any institution worth maintaining, yet such men we deny admission into the United States. If they chance to be Russians, we send them back, perhaps to end their days as Siberian exiles, and all because they have expressed a mere abstract "disbelief in government," though accompanied only by a desire for passive resistance.

Julian Hawthorne wrote this: "Did you ever notice that all the interesting people you meet are Anarchists?" According to his judgment, "all the interesting people" would, under present laws, be excluded from the United States. An industrious commissioner, zealous to enforce the law to the very letter, could easily take the writings of the world's best and greatest men, and if foreigners, on their own admissions, could exclude them because they had advocated the anarchist ideal of a "disbelief in government." Among such might be named the following: Count Leo Tolstoi, Prince Peter Kropotkin, Michel Montaigne, Thomas Paine, Henry Thoreau, Lord Macaulay, William Lloyd Garrison, Hall Caine, Turgot, Simeon of Durham, Bishop of St. Andrews, Max Stirner, Elisée Reclus, Frederick Nietzsche, Thomas Carlyle, Horace Traubel, Walt. Whitman, Elbert Hubbard, Samuel M. Jones, Henrik Ibsen, Joseph Proudhon, Michael Bakunin, Charles O'Connor, and probably also Ralph Waldo Emerson, Thomas Jefferson, Herbert Spencer, John Stuart Mill, and—but what's the use? They can't all be named.

These are the type of men who hold an ideal, only a dream, perhaps, of liberty without the invasion even of government,

and therefore we make a law to exclude them from the United States. But that is not all we do in this "free" country. If a resident of this "land of the free" should "connive or conspire" to induce any of these non-resistants, who "disbelieve in governments," to come to the United States, by sending one of them a printed or written, private or public, invitation to visit here, such "conspirer" would be liable to a fine of five thousand dollars, or three years' imprisonment, or both. And yet we boast of our freedom of conscience, of speech and of press!

It is hard for me to believe that there is any sane adult, worthy to be an American, who knows something of our own revolutionary history, who does not believe revolution by force to be morally justifiable under some circumstances, as perhaps in Russia, and who would not defend the revolutionists in the slaughter of the official tyrants of Russia, if no other means for the abolition of their tyranny were available, or who would not be a revolutionist if compelled to live in Russia and denied the right to even agitate for peaceable reform. And yet "free" America, by a congressional enactment, denies admission to the United States of any Russian patriot who agrees with us in this opinion, even though he has no sympathy whatever with anarchist ideals. It is enough that he justifies (even though in open battle for freedom) the "unlawful" killing of any tyrant "officer" of "any civilized nation having an organized government." Here, then, is the final legislative announcement that no tyranny, however heartless or bloody, "of any civilized nation having an organized government" can possibly justify violent resistance. It was a violation of this law to admit Maxim Gorky into this country, though he is not an anarchist.

In the state of New York, although satisfied with American conditions and officials, and although you believe in democratic government, if you should orally, or in print, advocate the cause of

forcible revolution against Russia, or against "any civilized nation having an organized government," you would be liable, under a state statute, to a fine of \$5,000 and ten years' imprisonment besides. Have we, then, freedom of conscience, speech and press? Do we love liberty or know its meaning?

Yes, it may be that a dispassionate and enlightened judge must declare such laws unconstitutional, but such judges are as scarce as the seekers after martyrdom who are willing to make a test case. Hence we all submit to this tyranny. Furthermore, the same hysteria which could make legislators believe they had the power to pass such a law, in all probability would also induce courts to confirm such power. A Western jurist, a member of the highest court of his state, once said to me that it must be a very stupid lawyer who could not write a plausible opinion on either side of any case that ever came to an appellate court. Given the mental predisposition induced by popular panic, together with intense emotions, and it is easy, very easy, to formulate verbal "interpretations" by which the constitutional guarantees are explained away, or exceptions interpolated,—a common process for the judicial amendment of laws and constitutions.

If, then, we truly believe in the liberty of conscience, speech and press, we must place ourselves again squarely upon the declaration of rights made by our forefathers, and defend the right of others to disagree with us, even about the beneficence of government.

As when your neighbor's house is on fire your own is in danger, so the protection of your liberty should begin when it is menaced by a precedent which attacks your opponent's equality of opportunity to express his disagreement with you. Let us then unite for the repeal of these iniquitous laws, born of hysteria and popular panic, and maintained in thoughtless disregard of others' intellectual freedom.

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IS RAILROAD RATE-REGULATION A STEP TO GOVERNMENT-OWNERSHIP?

BY EDWIN F. GRUHL AND EDGAR E. ROBINSON

"I have already reached the conclusion that railroads partake so much of the nature of a monopoly that they must ultimately become public property, and be managed by public officials in the interests of the whole community in accordance with the well-defined theory that public ownership is necessary where competition is impossible. I do not know that the country is ready for this change: I do not know that a majority of my own party favor it, but I believe that an increasing number of the members of all parties see in public ownership the only sure remedy for discrimination between persons and places and for extortionate rates for the carrying of freight and passengers. . . . The high-handed method in which they have violated the laws and ignored authority, together with the corruption discovered in high places has done more to create sentiment in favor of public ownership than all the speeches and arguments of the opponents of private ownership."—*William Jennings Bryan, at Madison Square Garden, August 30, 1906.*

THIS recent utterance of Mr. Bryan, coming as it does from a thoughtful student of American conditions, who has had an opportunity to form his conclusions unbiased by the recent railroad agitation, has created endless comment. The average American citizen, whose interest in great issues often does not extend beyond the front page of the newspaper and who had at least hoped that the railroad problem had been solved, was surprised at this seemingly radical utterance coming as it does from a man of world-wide prominence, but a careful review of the literature of the past agitation already consigned to the rubbish heap of "settled" political questions shows that the thoughtful citizen in every walk of life had already reached kindred conclusions although not clearly expressed as such. There are but three alternatives,—*laissez faire*, government regulation, government ownership. The failure of regulation leaves a choice of the other two alternatives. Hence the importance of the question, Is regulation a step to ownership? The object of this paper is to review and classify the re-

cently-expressed opinions and arguments on this point. For convenience we will discuss the matter from four view-points—that of the statesman, the economist, the lawyer, and the railroad man. The distinction is an arbitrary one. Few confine themselves to one point-of-view in their arguments.

I. The statesman, carefully scrutinizing the trend of public opinion and weighing the expediency of government activity, urges as follows:

(a.) President Roosevelt took pains in his last annual message and on his Southern trip to impress the fact that government regulation was the only safeguard against government ownership. William J. Bryan has for a long time expressed himself in favor of government regulation because it was a step to government ownership, while Mr. Richard Olney, ex-Secretary of State under Cleveland, opposes regulation because it is a step to government ownership. The views of these worthy men, so much at variance, have been the occasion of much editorial wit, yet they do not differ essentially. Mr. Roosevelt took for granted that the people would be satisfied with his plan of rate-regulation, while Mr. Bryan and Mr. Olney supposed that, like Oliver Twist, they would continually ask for "more." We may judge for ourselves which is the more probable and statesman-like view of the trend of public opinion. One thing is certain, Mr. Roosevelt's ideas of rate-regulation have been considerably tempered by conservatism since his Southern trip, while with increased delay public opinion has traveled in the opposite direction. Senator Clay of Georgia said in his speech in the Senate on January 22d: "Let me say to

you now that public sentiment in favor of government ownership is growing every day. I am not in favor of it, but unless you check it by government regulation you will watch it grow and continue to grow." We cannot expect popular clamor to cease until some relief is granted for present abuses. As Congressman Joseph Goulden stated in the House on February 2d: "Continued failure must lead to the question of government ownership, short of which it does not seem that the matter could be regulated. When all other means are found to be inadequate the country will have to face that question."

(b.) Says a prominent college president: "The only benefit I can see in government control is that it is a step toward government ownership. Under a democratic form of government like our own, the people have to be educated and disciplined before they can appreciate the need of reform. The attempt at government control will be such a discipline."

(c.) The movement for government ownership of railroads has already been started in the municipal-ownership of electric car-lines, water-works and street-lighting plants. The general success of the ownership of public utilities in municipalities by the public has done more than anything else to substantiate the more conservative claims of the advocates of such action, and to remove the more extravagant fears of the political pessimist. Municipal-ownership of public utilities is rapidly growing in favor. Doubtless the time will come in this country when under the beneficent results of its successful operation men will wonder how private-ownership was ever tolerated.

(d.) That government regulation is a step to government-ownership is amply evidenced by the experiences of foreign countries. Italy, which in 1885 abandoned government-ownership, again resumed it in 1906 as far the better solution of the problem. Switzerland, which prior to 1898 was almost wholly operated and controlled by five private companies, has gradually assumed complete control.

Germany has recently purchased the few remaining privately-owned roads in that country, this being the last step of a policy of general encroachment inaugurated by Prince Bismarck. France is but waiting the expiration of contracts with private companies. It is the same story of gradual encroachment in Russia, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Belgium. Mexico has distinctly passed through every stage of the proceedings from general supervision to complete ownership in the short period of 1898-1903. As Senator Foraker said in an Ohio speech: "Bryan may well entertain the views for experience of other countries where the two systems have been tried shows that without exception government-ownership has proven less injurious than government rate-making." President Hadley of Yale, in the *Boston Evening Transcript* of April 1, 1905, says: "I do not know a single instance of successful rate-making by a government which attempted to control roads somebody else operated." Says ex-Governor Larrabee of Iowa in the same newspaper, February 18, 1905: "Congress must provide for efficient government restrictions, or government-ownership is inevitable. Government-ownership is not the bugbear to intelligent people that it was a few years ago. Those who have made a thorough and impartial examination of the subject are surprised to find that the objections to it are far less than are generally supposed. Nearly all foreign governments have adopted government-ownership of railroads to a greater or less extent and their experience of many years has proved it to be entirely practicable, and upon the whole shows much better results than private management."

II. The economist, fearing for competition, urges as follows:

(a.) The railroad is by nature a monopoly. For, according to Professor Richard T. Ely, it possesses all the characteristics of a natural monopoly. It is "a business which controls a peculiarly desirable location, which can increase its service

without corresponding cost and which supplies a service available only in connection with its plant. Private monopoly is intolerable in a free country. Such an enterprise must be regulated by the State or must be owned by the State. The object of regulation is to secure a safe, efficient and inexpensive service for the public." The professor concludes that regulation has not brought greater safety and that "private enterprise when it becomes monopolistic ceases to be enterprising, and cannot be made so by regulation," while "in the matter of expense our judgment must be most severe."

(b.) Consolidation of the railroads of the United States has developed to an alarming extent since 1900. The roads being capitalized at something over \$13,000,000,000, one-seventh of the total wealth of the nation is in the hands of six great groups, who operate nine-tenths of the total mileage of the United States. The coöperative spirit is the cloak under which much of this centralization of ownership has been carried on. For instance, the Pennsylvania road owns and operates 150 dependent roads, the New York Central something over 100 such roads. In few instances have the original names been changed. Among the six great groups such "community of interest" is realized that in the matter of hostility to government regulation they are already one. Where combination is possible and profitable, competition is impossible. Issue must be taken with this centralized and consolidated monopoly. Says Governor Cummins of Iowa, in his testimony before the Senate Committee, "Whenever the railroads are consolidated in one great company, I think that great company will be the United States." Commenting upon this tendency, a distinguished economist recently said: "I cannot think of any other industrial development that would be so great a menace either to our political integrity or our industrial welfare."

(c.) By far the greatest danger of railroads in private hands,—a danger that

will necessitate increased regulation as it becomes more and more felt,—is the effect upon the general competitive field. Railroad rates, playing as they do such an important part in the business world, private carriers possess the power of life or death, not only over single competitors but over entire competing communities. The possibility of the misuse of this power coupled with the uncertain business conditions that it creates, make it questionable whether it should be lodged in private hands. The power to restrict competition or to turn it into other channels can reside only in the National Government. This principle is recognized in our protective policy. Inequality of railroad rates produces economically the same effect as a protective tariff and, in fact, in Germany, is used as a commercial barrier.

III. The lawyer, in view of fundamental legal difficulties, forecasts the result as follows:

(a.) Under our dual form of government, Congress may legislate only over interstate commerce and legislatures only over state commerce. Power so divided makes it impossible to insure a system of uniform regulation. "The situation to be anticipated then, is that railroads, private properties and representing private investments aggregating billions of dollars, will find themselves controlled in the vital matter of their charges by two public boards—one representative of local interests and the other of national interests, and both antagonistic to the interests of the private owners concerned. The two boards will aim at the lowest possible rates, each in behalf of the particular business under its charge, and will therefore be in constant rivalry with each other in the endeavor to extort from the carrier the best service at the smallest cost. Under these conditions anything like just, skilful, reasonable or stable rate-making becomes impossible. A situation is created intolerable alike to the carriers and the public, and the sure outcome—unless the whole scheme of gov-

ernment rate-making is abandoned—is government-ownership.”* The same opinion was expressed by Senator Morgan of Alabama in his speech before the Senate, January 9, 1906.

(b.) The law of the land declares that railroad rates shall be reasonable alike to the investor and to the shipper. This double claim for justice makes the distinction between what is reasonable and what is not reasonable an exceeding fine one. Reasonableness of rates must be determined accurately, quickly and absolutely. If this is impossible, regulation must fail. Neither cost of service nor value of service can determine it, for it is impossible to ascertain what these are. Nor can comparison be used as a basis. The words “just and reasonable” do not imply comparison, for decisions of the courts hold that rates must not only be comparatively reasonable but reasonable in themselves. Again the commissions are not certain what constitutes a reasonable rate. The Interstate Commerce Commission in its 1903 report, page 54, admits this: “It is difficult to say what constitutes a reasonable rate although the Supreme Court has given certain rules by which to test that reasonableness. Although the commission has endeavored to apply those rules, yet whenever it has questioned railroad officials as to whether or not they were governed by them in making rates, they have invariably answered in the negative and declared that to do so would be impractical. The carriers do not apparently possess such data and there is at present no other source from which to obtain such data.” Then to what purpose has additional power been bestowed upon the commission. Justice Brewer says: “No more difficult problem can be presented than this.” (64 *Federal Reporter*, 165.) Senator La Follette of Wisconsin said in his speech before the Senate: “When you clothe a commission merely with the power to ascertain whether rates are

simply relatively reasonable, but withhold from it all authority and all means of determining whether those rates are just and reasonable, you cannot expect that legislation to settle the matter.”

IV. The railroad man holds a practical business view:

(a.) “The industries of the country as they exist to-day, prosperous and growing as they are, rely upon the present relation of rates, based upon commercial considerations, competitive and otherwise. All this will be changed. The commission will undo the results which the competition of waterways and railways and the opening of new markets have created. It will inaugurate its own system of equality and uniformity, giving to each city and to each industry the rates to which they think it is naturally entitled by reason of its geographical position. . . . From this condition there will be, in a republic with universal suffrage, but one way out—government-ownership; there can be no backward step.”†

(b.) A prominent railroad official recently said: “If the railway companies are to be interfered with in making the rates for their services, without government assuming any responsibility for the obligations and expenditures of the railway companies, such confusion and trouble will naturally follow as to make it right and proper for the government to take over the railways, absolutely. No business of any kind can be successfully carried on, if the authority to fix prices and the responsibility for debts and expenses, are not lodged in the same hands. This is a fundamental law, ascertained by efforts of government in past times to regulate prices of commodities. No government with pretensions to civilization and intelligence, attempts now to do such a thing.” The same idea was expressed by William Sproule before the Commonwealth Club of California on September 13, 1905.

*Richard Olney, in *North American Review*, November, 1905.

†W. W. Baldwin, address before Denver Philosophical Society, November 23, 1905.

(c.) "The effect of such regulation undoubtedly would be the curtailment of future railroad constructions and improvements, not only by reason of the impairment of railroad credit, but also from the unwillingness of investors to own or to enlarge property, the revenues of which would be practically under governmental or political control and the expenses still be subject to the uncertainties of industrial conditions."*

These, then, are briefly the lines of argument which have led the farsighted statesman, the learned economist, the skilful lawyer and the practical railroad

man, each from his separate view-point and each following his distinct trend of thought to come to the conclusion that regulation is a step to government-ownership. From the vehemence with which it was scoffed at by the less thoughtful, and the persistency with which it crept into the brief of argument of the more conservative, it may be gathered that, even if concealed, the question, "Is railroad rate-regulation a step to government-ownership?" was undoubtedly an issue in the much-debated railroad question.

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CHURCH AND STATE IN FRANCE.

By J. ROMIEUX.

NO COUNTRY was ever converted to Catholicism in so short a time as France. Historians assign as the reason for that quick change some likeness between Druidism and the new religion. Whatever may be the cause of it, we must recognize that at the time of Clovis almost all Gauls were followers of Christ. Invaders sought the support of the Clergy, and the Franks with Clovis were called to the West by priests. To them also is due the conversion of this chief and his elevation to kinship with the Gauls. Charlemagne increased the Church power and endowed the Pope with the Roman States. His successors acted in the same spirit and the Crusades also served to give prominence to the Clergy.

With such a start, it is not surprising that the Church at the time of the French Revolution was so rich and so powerful. Church properties escaped taxation and this was one of the principal causes of the

downfall of royalty and the rise of democracy.

The clerical orders did not want to be taxed, they wished to satisfy the nation by voluntary gifts. At least this was the idea of the aristocratic part of the order. When the States General split, many clergymen went with the *Tiers Etat* and formed at the end of the Revolution what has been called the "Constitutional Clergy."

When Napoleon, then First Consul, reorganized the Catholic Church, he was put to great trouble to get appointments for these sworn priests.

The Concordat between the Pope and France was a patched-up treaty and was followed by the "*Articles Organiques*."

To understand the recent dispute between France and Rome we must see what was done at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The First Consul believed in religion; his early education had been Catholic and, although not a great churchgoer himself, as a ruler he favored some form of ortho-

*President Samuel Spencer in his address before the Traffic Club of Pittsburg, April 7, 1905.

dox worship. His associates and friends did all they could to dissuade him from reëstablishing the old Church and suggested that he should form a new religion. Bonaparte disregarded their advice and demonstrated to them the foolishness of their plan; he remembered what a failure had been the cult of Reason under the Revolution.

At this time there were two Churches in France: one composed of sworn priests, the other of the so-called orthodox. The former were in possession of churches and other properties, the latter only were trusted by the faithful and attended to their spiritual wants. These divisions were alarming and caused distrust everywhere.

Bonaparte was acquainted personally with Pope Pius VII. By request, M. Spina was sent to Paris by the Holy See. For a long time, nothing could be done. Tired of lengthy discussions, Talleyrand and de Hauterive were ordered by the First Consul to draw a treaty which was offered for the signature of M. Spina. This draft contained substantially the terms of the Concordat, which was signed by both parties on the 15th of July, 1801.

The Pope accepted it because he could do no better; Bonaparte did not ask for greater concessions because he wanted to come to a prompt agreement. It is likely that both of them hoped later on to perfect the pact. This was apparent in that the Concordat was followed by the "*Articles Organiques*."

The "*Articles Organiques*" constituted the *modus vivendi* of the French clergy in France. Since there has been a Minister of Churches, this minister has to rule over the church's tenants according to certain laws. It has been said that priests became government officers and were therefore liable to government control. Paid by the French government and living within its jurisdiction, they might be ruled spiritually by Popes; but they were not thereby absolved from obedience to the State. For many years

no substantial objections were made to these Articles.

However, the Popes never recognized them formally. They were communicated to M. Caprara, who sent a copy of the rules to Pius VII. The latter's reply shows that Rome accepted them but hoped that they would never be applied as a whole.

Indeed, under Napoleon I., Louis XVIII., Charles X., Louis Philippe, the second Empire, France and Rome did not develop any disagreement. The kings and emperor needed the support of the Church and the middle class was not anti-catholic.

The Republic born after the Franco-Prussian war was at first too fully occupied in other directions to dispute with Rome. When it finally came to this question, the government faced two alternatives: whether to maintain the Concordat or let the Church live alone and become, as formerly, a power in the State. They decided for the former.

But Frenchmen, were sore, when, depressed by the Franco-Prussian war's disasters and in bad need of troops, they recalled from Rome the few soldiers left there, Garibaldi took possession of the city and the papal court made fun of the French misfortunes.

It was at this time that Freemasonry rapidly gained ground among the "Bourgeoisie" and with the ascendance of the "Bourgeoisie" became a factor in the nation's affairs. Church and Freemasonry do not go together in Latin countries. The latter in France is atheist and antagonistic to the Catholic Church. To these leaders is due the new law.

Foreigners are surprised that the government could enact such legislation in a Catholic country. Travelers and tourists go through Paris and see churches crowded. But Paris is not France and in spite of the large attendance at the services, thousands are not attending. The strength of religion is with the women and with the royalist and Bonapartist parties. The workingman has no re-

ligion. Often he hates priests. The peasants are not very different, and except in a few sections, such as Bretagne and Vendée, the churches are deserted.

Catholicism remains because of woman's influence. Even the leaders of the nation have Catholic wives. Children are brought up by the mother and to their eighteenth or twentieth year sons go to church and then each one does as he pleases. In the same family you may see a devout Catholic and a thirty-third degree Freemason.

We must say also that, although France enjoys a universal suffrage in elections, officers of the army and navy do not vote as long as they remain in active service. And many people who shout loudly against the "horrible" leaders, are very careful not to vote.

With such conditions confronting them it required the diplomacy of a Leo XIII. and Rampolla to deal with the French government.

When they were superseded, trouble began. To the new secretary of state, Bishop Merry Del Val, is due the rupture. Truly the French leaders waited only for the occasion. The law against Congregations was endorsed by the nation when the actual deputies were elected. It is only proper to say that even Catholics at this time recognized that there were too many convents, but they never thought of the great numerical increase of monks and nuns.

But what of this new law?

In America we think it is good for both Church and State to keep them separated. But in France this would not work in favor of the Church.

First of all, Frenchmen are not accus-

tomed to pay direct tax for the support of religion, and the new associations must be composed of laymen. Of course, for a few years to come the rich Catholic will pay for himself and many more. He will pride himself in showing to the government that its support was not needed to maintain in the future what exists to-day. But he is French, that rich man, and within five years he will think the burden too heavy. He may then be willing to pay his share, but no more. And this will be the beginning of the end.

Thousands of churches will be closed for lack of funds.

Then what becomes of St. Peter's Pence? France was a heavy contributor to it; but now French Catholics have their own burdens. Charity begins at home and the Popes will have to look somewhere else for money.

Is, then, the new law partisan? Yes, it is, and it will work havoc amongst the Catholics who do not even retain the churches. These belong to the State and municipalities, to be rented from them if the church is willing to do so.

What will be the outcome of the crisis? It is hard to tell at present. Church-and-State struggles last for years and when we think that the former is down forever, it rises stronger than before. Freemasonry has to deal with a power which is as much secret as it is and acts on the inner part of the people. Its only chance of final victory is in the versatile mind of Frenchmen. A society in that country may keep at its aim for a long time. Will the Catholics show the same spirit long enough to give them victory?

J. ROMIEUX.

Duluth, Minn.

A WANING OF THE INTEREST IN COMPARATIVE ANATOMY IN THIS COUNTRY.

By R. W. SHUFELDT, M.D.

FOR SOME time past I have had it in mind to call attention to the very evident lack of interest that is being taken at the present time in this country in the cultivation and progress of the important science of comparative anatomy. To my mind this decreasing interest may now be truthfully spoken of as a positive decadence.

Within comparatively recent times there has rapidly taken possession of our people as a whole a fierce craving for the certain and sudden acquisition of wealth. Everything else is suffering in this mad race for money, while we appear to be utterly ignorant of what the future outcome of it all may be in so far as the life and growth of science, literature, the fine arts, the drama and national morals are concerned. It is the influence and the work of men and women in these several callings that make a nation great and respected by the world, and not her millionaires, or at least the millions that any number of individuals may gather into their several coffers. When the question is in everyone's mouth, and the thought is uppermost in everyone's mind,—Will this or that pay?—meaning in a financial way, then, indeed, may we count our vaunted civilization a miserable failure. It has been the Darwins, the Huxleys, the Tyndalls, and her army of writers and thinkers in all departments and activities who, in recent and past times, have made England great in the estimation of the entire world, and certainly not her money-hoarders. And so it has been with all other nations, and certain it is that America will be so rated at any period of her civilization, and thus form no exception to the general rule.

Now as to the importance of such a science as comparative anatomy—and I

am not at all sure but what I am now about to point out may also be more or less true of other lines of research in biology, as comparative physiology and morphology as a whole—this science, or these sciences and their importance, I say, are largely responsible for the most material and substantial advances that have at all times been made in medicine and surgery. They have been largely responsible in the demonstration of the law of organic evolution,—a law that has revolutionized the entire thought of the modern world; while the researches in these sciences have tended to improve the power of correct observation in the cases of scores of America's best thinkers and profound philosophers.

I have been a researcher, a writer, an illustrator, a teacher and a publisher in this science for twenty-five years, and I have personal letters from such men as Darwin, Huxley, and hundreds of other savants in all parts of the world, recognizing and acknowledging the value of my early work. This is stated simply as a fact and in no egotistical way. It permits me to speak with authority and to judge of what others have told me or have observed in the same field. At the outset I may say that the number of exhaustive, far-reaching and solid contributions to the published literature of comparative anatomy in this country, by American anatomists and based on American material, is becoming markedly less and less every year. Taken in connection with the number of our population it practically amounts to *nil* at this writing. We have no great journals or magazines devoted exclusively to the science of comparative anatomy in this country,—a most pitiable confession for an American to make. Some ten years

ago the great leader in this respect was the *Journal of Morphology*, now as dead as dead can be, despite the valiant efforts of its last editor, Dr. C. O. Whitman, Professor of Zoölogy in the University of Chicago, to save it.

A number of years ago I collected from every available source open to me in the world a mass of material to illustrate two important groups of birds, osteologically. When printed either would make a large quarto volume with many full-page plates. As these memoirs now stand in manuscript they are of *no use to anybody*. They are the most extensive contributions of the kind in existence. When Mr. Carnegie generously provided ten millions for the publication of such work, I submitted them to the proper persons at Washington, with the view of having them published. There being no comparative anatomists on the board capable of judging of the value of such work, both memoirs were returned to me without their even having been examined. For the last two or three years these same two memoirs have been awaiting publication in the Carnegie Museum at Pittsburg. Since this experience I have ceased to submit my work on comparative anatomy in this country for publication, and it rests on the shelves of my study. Did space permit I could tell of many similar experiences—happenings of very recent years—that have not only befallen me, but that refer to the labors of some of the most distinguished researchers in comparative anatomy in this great country of ours. But who cares?

Still one more personal experience. During the last four years I have completed 1,400 pages of manuscript and 150 photographs of mammals for a two-volume work on *The Game Mammals of the United States*. It is thoroughly popular in treatment and covers the life histories, classification, geographical distribution and nomenclature of all the game and fur-bearing mammals of this country. It has been rejected for publication by no fewer than five of the largest publishing

houses in the city of New York, for the reason that the demand for such works no longer exists. It was carefully examined by the experts of G. P. Putnam's Sons of New York city, and accepted for publication, provided the author put up the money for the expense.

A few years ago a well-known comparative anatomist of this country wrote an illustrated and formal work on comparative anatomy. It was carefully examined by the late William Kitchen Parker, Vice-president of the Royal Society of England, and published by the firm of Macmillan & Company of London, to whom it had been offered by Professor Parker. The Macmillans now report that but 150 copies of the work were sold, and the balance were disposed of for waste-paper at eight pence per copy.

The late Professor E. D. Cope, the most distinguished biologist in this country at the time of his death, failed to publish a popular work he had written on comparative paleontology, and consulted with the present writer with the view of having him use his influence with the Macmillans to have them accept it.

There is a department of a very large institution in New York city that supplies museums, colleges and the primary schools in the United States with material for the study of comparative anatomy. The head of this department recently informed me that the demand for such material had fallen off to such an extent lately that the firm was very much concerned indeed about the matter, and he greatly deplored the present lack of interest in such studies in the United States. He went on to state that the interest was distinctly decreasing from year to year and that it was very evident that Americans did not believe that the study of comparative anatomy paid.

A scientist friend of mine who has a very wide knowledge of this subject gave it as his opinion that there was no work of any importance in comparative anatomy now being done in the United States.

—that is, individual undertakings of any great extent.

The increase of wealth is now rapid and passing all conception; finance is the bugle-call of the coming young American, the goal the coveted million. Mean-

while the manuscripts of the toilers in science lie rotting on the shelves. In the insane race, the racers do not believe that they can be made to pay.

R. W. SHUFELDT.

New York City.

THE BRINGING OF THE KINGDOM.

By JESSE F. ORTON.

DOES the Church really desire that God's kingdom should come and that his will should be done on earth as it is in heaven? Is it working intelligently and earnestly toward this end?

The doing of God's will on earth means a great deal. It means the realization of the standard of character set up by Jesus when he said the whole duty of man is found in love to God and love to fellowmen. It means that men shall dwell together as brothers, the children of a common father.

The Church has done much work for human brotherhood in the past, but usually the field of labor has been limited in extent. In certain of the most important fields of life, the church has seldom gone, and as a consequence it has not been the power that it might be for the bringing of the kingdom and the doing of God's will. What are some of the neglected fields? The first step toward realizing true brotherhood, is that a man should respect his brother's rights. To call a man my brother and yet deny to him the rights which I claim for myself, is a contradiction of terms. I may deceive myself into the belief that I love him and I may give him alms or charity; but if I do not recognize him as having equal rights with myself to the gifts of our common Father, equal rights to the means of life, development and enjoyment, I do not treat him as a brother, and I am not bringing the kingdom of God upon earth.

The words of Jesus strike deep; the reign of love among men would indeed

bring the kingdom of God. But the Church has never quite dared to attempt the complete application of this doctrine. In many ways it has not yet taken the first step; for the first step toward real brotherhood is the recognition of the rights of men as brothers. This step must be taken before love in the sense of sacrifice is possible. In utter disregard of this truth, we have often applauded those who attempt to be charitable before they are just. I use the word attempt, because it is as impossible to be truly charitable before being just as it is to take the second step upon a journey before we take the first.

More than half a century ago, when some men were still the legal property of other men, the church counseled masters to be kind or generous to their slaves. It did not take the initiative in demanding that masters should take the first step demanded by justice, to restore to slaves their freedom, the birthright of all children of a common father. The master could never be kind to his slave in the true sense so long as he denied him the right of self-dominion which he claimed for himself.

In our day we often encourage or commend so-called charity when what is needed is justice instead. It is so much easier to seem to be charitable than to be really just. To keep up a good appearance of charity, may take no more than one-tenth of our income, when to be really just might compel us to surrender one-half or nine-tenths of it. What the submerged classes in society need first, is not

a dole of alms, but a recognition of their equal rights to the common inheritance of the race and a fair chance to improve their own condition. With these rights accorded them, they might need no alms. Charity without justice is futile; it destroys the self-respect of him who takes and deceives the conscience of him who gives. But when justice has first been done, then charity, if perchance it is needed, becomes a beneficent thing, binding together and ennobling both those who give and those who receive.

It is often a cause for regret among religious people, that the poor and the so-called laboring classes do not attend church or join in church activities. We sometimes reproach ourselves that we are not more friendly with those who come, or that we wear too fine clothes so that many persons do not feel at ease in the church. I believe these reasons for the failure to reach the masses, are merely superficial. The fundamental reason is that the masses feel that we are out of sympathy with them, or at least that we do not actively support them, in their struggle for justice, for the equal rights which the children of a common father ought to have. We shall never reach the masses effectively until we are willing to take the first step before we attempt to take the second, to do justice before we attempt to give charity.

I have pointed out that justice comes first because it is the basis and beginning of all love. There are other and very practical reasons why it should come first. The realization of unselfishness and the development of the spiritual nature, is the goal in building character and is the chief aim of the Church; but spiritual qualities must grow out of and rest upon the physical and the intellectual. It is useless to expect to develop fine spirit in bodies that are half-starved by lack of nutrition or half-stupified by excessive labor. For example, so long as children of tender years are having their physical strength and their mental vigor drained by grinding toil, when they ought to be developing body

and mind at home and in school, so long will it be impossible to build up in them a high spiritual character and make of them worthy members of society. God's kingdom cannot come until all his children have a chance to develop into complete men and women of whom it is not a travesty to say they are made in God's image. His will cannot be done upon earth so long as men distort the image of God by making beasts of burden of their fellowmen.

But, it will be said, religion must not meddle with politics, and these matters are to some extent political. If it is the mission of religion to bring the kingdom of God upon earth, and to bring it completely, then we must not be frightened by words. We must look to the essence of things and determine what is necessary to bring the kingdom and cause the doing of God's will. I believe that the church, in the days of our grandfathers, would have increased its self-respect and would have greatly multiplied its power, if it had meddled with politics enough to say: "The slave must be freed"; and that now it would increase its power mightily by saying: "Justice must come first in every field of human activities; all men are brothers and therefore must have equal rights to the gifts of their common Father. They have equal rights to the means of life and development into robust manhood and womanhood; they have a right to equal opportunities to use their industry and skill to supply their wants and develop their capacities." Unless the Church has the courage and wisdom to speak for justice, its hands are tied, it labors at a great disadvantage in the bringing of God's kingdom, and may be compelled to see the most important part of its work being done by others. For God's kingdom is coming, with its reign of justice and true brotherhood. Shall those who profess that the bringing of the kingdom is the first aim of their lives, shrink from taking the most effective means for making it a reality upon earth?

It is sometimes said that the develop-

ment of love is the only thing needed; that this would solve all problems in industry, in society, and in politics; that we would not need to worry about systems or methods of doing things if all men had sufficient love for their fellowmen. This is true or false according to the way in which we understand it. It is false if it means that love need not be intelligent and may disregard the most effective means to the ends sought. We may be sure that true love will show itself in the abolition of a vicious, unjust or cumbersome system just as certainly as it will manifest itself in any other way. The system of human slavery cannot exist when true brotherhood takes possession of men's hearts; and a system denying equal rights and opportunities cannot exist when genuine love for fellowmen becomes widely diffused. The overthrow of unjust systems and the introduction of just laws, is one of the most practical ways in which love for our fellowmen can manifest itself. The mighty love of a John Howard for the human race was spent in overthrowing the system which condemned the inmates of prisons to a living death. The tremendous love of a Garrison, a Phillips and a Lincoln was devoted to overthrowing the cruel system of human slavery. The wonderful love of a Henry George for his fellowmen, leading him to pour out his very life without stint, was devoted to the overthrow of what is probably the the greatest remaining system of injustice, the ownership, by a few, of this

planet from which all must live. Jesus attacked relentlessly the system of ecclesiasticism which in his day was choking the religious life of the Jewish people. The most practical love for humanity in human history has been devoted in large measure to the destruction of systems. Love is the principal thing, but it must work through forms and institutions; and systems handed down from the past often become the useless shells which impede the exercise of such love as exists in the hearts of men. Let us make human nature more lovely as fast as possible, but let us, whenever we can, improve our systems in society, in politics, in industry, so as to take advantage of the love and unselfishness that now exists in human nature. There is not so much that we do not need to utilize it all. Let us not repress or hinder it by making it work through machinery so cumbersome and unscientific that the friction uses up most of the energy applied.

The kingdom of God is coming now faster than it has for many years. The conscience of the nation is becoming aroused to the difference between charity and justice as never before. Let the Church make the most of its opportunity and put itself in the front of the attack upon selfishness and injustice. Let it strive to realize completely the lofty ideals of Jesus and be content with nothing less than a genuine brotherhood of all humanity.

JESSE F. ORTON.

Grand Rapids, Mich.

THE BISHOP'S ORDINATION.

BY GISELA DITTRICK BRITT.

"THE FROG he would a-wooin' go——"

"Wooiin' go—Wooiin' go——" laughed the echo.

"Whether his mother would let him or no——"

"Let-him-or-no — let-him-or-no ——" mimicked the saucy echo, as the canoe swept gracefully around into the shady little cove and two tired chaps, with sighs of relief, dropped their paddles, while a third, lazily propped against a big red

cushion, ceased his song and looked up with a questioning glance.

The answer to this unspoken query was energetic and immediate. As with one accord, the light running-gear of each was stripped off, and down into the cool, green water they plunged, and the frightened wavelets went scudding frantically in toward the shore.

The light canoe, with the one motionless figure, tossed for a moment or two on the crest of the biggest wave, then drifted gently down toward a little fern-bordered, lichen-coated landing, where it rested against the mossy sleepers.

Bates Cuthbert lay back against the cushions, his arms above his head, watching the fleecy clouds as they chased each other across the open blue between the big trees, listening dreamily to the distant splashing and merry shouts of the swimmers.

It seemed good to be quiet; to be out of the confusion and merriment for a while; just for a *while*, of course, he could not be discourteous to the girls of the jolly house-party, but he was suddenly glad that he had come on this canoeing trip up the little lake. Somehow he was tired, tired of his big red auto., of his swift roadsters, of his handsome new yacht, of *everything*! It was a change just to lie still and watch the little squirrels leap nimbly from limb to limb, and to feel the soft breeze blow across his hot face. He did n't even care for a plunge with the other fellows whose voices were waking up the echoes in the sleepy little cove, and he lay back, whistling softly, his eyes half-closed.

But he could not be still long,—it was not his nature. The pretty "Camp," with the quaint legend over the door, attracted his wandering attention. The shutters were closed, evidently there was no one at home; he could prowl around a bit; there might be something to discover. So he leaped lightly out and pulled the canoe up on the sloping beach.

"Back at nine. Leave groceries in dug-out."

The note was nailed to the tall flag-

staff. They were out for the day; he had a free field; perhaps the "feed" had come; he would investigate, and he disappeared rapidly around the corner of the house, only to return slowly and gloomily.

"Nothin' doin'," he said, briefly, to the inquisitive little squirrel who had followed, chattering, at a safe distance. "Nothing but three old pumpkins!" He kicked a bit of lichen vindictively. Then he suddenly had an inspiration.

Round the house he dashed, coming back with a big pumpkin; the next time with the other two, which he deposited on the wide verandah. Then, taking out his knife, he went swiftly to work.

He always worked with a vim, this big, handsome chap, and half an hour later, when Sims and Holland came up, fresh and glowing from their swim, they stared in blank amazement at the three hideous things ranged side by side on the porch, while the artist stood off and critically surveyed his handiwork.

"Je-hos-a-phat!" ejaculated Sims, his eyes riveted on the three horrors.

"Where 'd you get the pattern, Bate-sy?" laughed Holland, throwing himself down beside the ugliest of the three and turning it around to make a closer scrutiny. "They're a bally lot; what's the idea, old man?"

For answer, Cuthbert took one of the big pumpkins carefully in his arms and carried it out toward the little wharf, while the others watched him curiously. They saw him climb up and take down the big globe that covered the electric light on one of the high poles overlooking the lake; then they divined his intent, and a mighty shout went up, while each seized a pumpkin and bore it down to the landing. Soon the three hideous, grinning faces were looking out on the lake from their tall pedestals on the wharf.

"Hully-gee! When the electrics come on to-night won't they——" Words failed Sims as he stood looking up at the one he had put in place.

"Hope there are no infants in the family," said Holland, dubiously, as he gave

his pumpkin a little twist around. "These 'gargoyles' of yours will shove them into fits."

Cuthbert threw back his head, and his laugh was good to hear. "They'll show up great at night, won't they? Hope they *will* give 'm the horrors. Serve 'm right for not leaving a blamed thing out there but pumpkins!"

"They were not expecting your Worshipful Appearance," laughed Holland, but Sims grinned knowingly:

"Should n't be surprised if they *were*—that's the reason things are locked up." And at the memory of a certain lawless raid of the day before there were shouts of merriment that caused the curious little squirrel to retreat in sudden affright.

Their lark had been a gay one and not always "according to law"; for these three, sons of millionaires, had never known restraint. The two were guests of Cuthbert's, helping to make up the gay house-party in the beautiful Cuthbert "Camp" at the further end of the lake. They had toured the country in the big red motor; they had scandalized the villagers by their wild rides up and down the quaint old streets on their fiery thoroughbreds; they had had some narrow escapes on the handsome new yacht; and now, sighing for "more worlds to conquer," they had planned a three days' canoeing trip up the lake, while the girls, under the easy chaperonage of Cuthbert's mother, went down to the city for a day or two's shopping.

Reckless, thoughtless, fun-loving, they were leaving in their wake a trail of complaints; of orchards invaded, of corn-fields despoiled, of melon-patches depopulated, of store-houses plundered. It would not be well if they ever returned that way, and knowing that, they had planned to go on to the railroad terminus and take the train back, leaving the canoe to be shipped later.

This was the last day, and reluctantly they were nearing the station; they could hear the faint whistle of the locomotives. The day was perfect; they should not

go in till the last moment; they would give themselves just time to reach the "Camp" for Sunday breakfast as they had promised, and, after lying for a time on the soft pine-needles, lazily shying stones at the adventurous squirrels, they started off for a tramp across country, leaving the canoe safely beached for a couple of hours.

It was not easy breaking their way through the thick underbrush, and the day was hot, so when they came suddenly and unexpectedly out upon a well-traveled road and saw before them a low white building, they gave a simultaneous yell of delight,—they had found the country people all along the way willing to change cool, refreshing milk into shining dollars.

A few more steps and their joy was turned into lamentation, for it was only a modest little church bearing the name, "African Church, South." And they cast themselves down upon the rickety platform with groans and mutterings. There was n't a house within sight down the long dusty road.

It was Holland who first discovered the little spring bubbling gleefully up under the shadow of the big tree, and the next moment their hot faces were buried in the cooling stream.

"A-a-a-h!" Cuthbert raised his head and drew a long breath of rapturous enjoyment. "That's bully!" Then the spirit of foolishness entered into him as he stood erect, his arms outstretched.

"Water, my hearers," he began in a grandiloquent way, "is the subject of my discourse this afternoon, and my text is found in the Gospel by——"

"Hear! Hear!" interrupted the other two, as, falling on him, they dragged him in through the low doorway of the little church—the door was hospitably ajar—up the carpetless aisle, into the plain old pulpit, where a worn old Bible and a dilapidated hymn-book lay on the rough, dust-covered desk.

"Hold on, Parson," said Sims hastily, "we want an up-to-date preacher." And pulling down an old rusty black curtain

that hung in front of the back door, he draped it about Cuthbert's tall figure. Some one had left a big white apron in the box under the desk, and in an instant it was converted into a stole which they hung over the black garb. They smoothed his rebellious locks into ecclesiastical primness and improvised a conventional collar out of the back of a paper chart which they ruthlessly tore from the wall. Then, for the second time that afternoon, they stood back to admire their handiwork.

This time it *was* an admiration, for in the dim light of the room—the shutters were closed on three windows—there was a grace and dignity, a subtle power, about the black-gowned figure behind the pulpit that made them stand suddenly silent, and for a moment involuntarily hold their breath. Was it a dim prescience of the future?

But the spell was soon over; the two settled themselves comfortably in an old pew; the church was cool and shady and most agreeable after their long, hot tramp. They did not notice a small black man who tip-toed in through the half-open door and quietly took his seat behind them, bending forward eagerly, his eyes on the tall form in front, his trembling hands on the back of the pew, his whole being visibly excited.

"We'll only have time for the first lesson, Bishop. We'll have to get back to the boat pretty soon."

Holland spoke lazily. The figure behind gave a start of delight and listened intently; he could not see the grins of amusement on the faces before him; he heard only the words. The "Bishop"! That Great Man! The "Bishop" whom he had so longed to see! Surely the Lord had led him to come over to his little church that afternoon to hear the "White Folks' Bishop"! Perhaps to speak with him! His simple mind did not reason out the presence in the church. It was the "Bishop"—he knew he was somewhere on the lake for the summer—it was the "Bishop"; that was all he cared about.

The black-gowned figure at the desk

opened the old worn Book and aimlessly turned over a few pages. He was not familiar with the Scriptures except as represented by a gilt-edged prayer-book in his soft, luxuriously-appointed pew at home, and *that* not often. Then something suddenly caught his eye. With a smile he straightened himself. They would find he was "game"; they could n't "stump" him; and taking the Book in both hands he began:

"Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy and eat: yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price."

He was a fine reader, and as he went on the wonderful words seemed insensibly to make his voice deeper and richer; he was *feeling* their beauty and majesty without knowing it.

"Seek ye the Lord while He may be found; call ye upon Him while He is near.

"Let the wicked forsake his way and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord, and He will have mercy upon him."

The smiles died away from the faces of the two listeners, while a little uneasiness came into their hearts and minds. They had not meant to be irreverent; they had not thought that he would really read from the Holy Book. That was the trouble with Cuthbert—he always went too far.

But to the third unseen listener the reading was a revelation. He almost knew the words by heart, and he had read them many times in his halting way to his people from the same old pulpit; but—to hear the "Bishop"—the "White Folks' Bishop"—! He closed his eyes and swayed to and fro with the joyful religious abandon of his race.

"For as the rain cometh down and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower and bread to the eater; so shall my word that goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not return unto me, but it shall accomplish that which I

please and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it."

He nodded his head, then he smiled gladly. Somehow the words had never come to him with such power before. Why *should* he be discouraged as he gave the Word to his people? God had promised to take care of it; why should *he* worry? And a song of trust such as had never been there before filled the old man's tired heart.

"For ye shall go out with joy and be led forth with peace: the mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing: and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands."

The words rang out through the little church with joy and gladness, as the reader closed the Book and laid it down upon the desk.

"Will some one lead in prayer?" he asked solemnly. They had not "stumped" him; he had carried out *his* part; it was up to them now, and he looked down at them with a mocking little smile. There was silence in the dim old church. The two men in the dark sweaters frowned a bit; Cuthbert was carrying the farce too far—they might have known he would. Sims moved uneasily in his corner, while Holland opened his lips to utter a sharp protest, when there was the sound of moving feet behind them and a thin, trembling voice broke the stillness. The old colored man had risen and was standing just behind them, the light from one of the shutterless windows falling full on his bowed head. His eyes were closed so that he did not see the sudden start of the two men in front, nor the quick, authoritative gesture of silence from the tall figure behind the desk. The two sank back with a faint gasp—they usually agreed to Cuthbert's imperious commands—while he stood motionless, like a statue, as the old man's voice rose upward:

"Oh, Lawd God A'mighty, I'se heerd fur de fust time in all my life de Glory en de Majesty ob thy Holy Word. I'se heerd de Message from lips dat's dun

bin teched by de fire ob thy Spirit. I'se heerd er Royal Embassader straight from de King's presence, en I lif' my hyart in joy 'n' praise dat my feet wuz turned dis way.

"In dis great ol' worl' dar 's jes *one* place whar de rich en de po', de great en de small, kin meet togedder. In de House ob de Lawd de Greates' in de Kingdom kin look down kin'ly on de leastes', en de lil', po', weak one kin hol' de do' open fur ter let 'm in. In de Army ob de Lawd de servant kin rej'ice, a-keepin' de Capt'in's armor all bright en shinin' en ready fur de battle. Help me, Lawd, ter do de breshin' en de polishin' en de rubbin' de bes' I kin. It's hard sometimes fur ter do dem *li'* tings, en help de Capt'in' up yondah ter be strong en brave en full ob courage, ready en willin' en *glad* ter meet de foes ob de Kingdom es dey cum er marchin' up. En den, Oh Lawd A'mighty, help him ter *win*! 'case it's de *winners* dat's gwine ter enter in, —de obercummers dat hes de Promis' Lan'.

"Thou hast made him er leader ob thy people, Thou hast given him Power and Strength; Thou hast given him thy *great* gif's; but help him ter remember, dat fur dese bery t'ings he mus' cum inter judgment."

The old man's voice was stern and solemn; the figure in front had not moved, the other two were keeping very still in their corner. Then he raised his thin, black, wrinkled hands and his voice grew low and tender:

"My Lawd, take him inter thy keepin', now en fur *eber*,—him, thy Bishop. Lay on him thy hands this day en an'int him fur thy Holy Service—fur de winnin' ob thy po' los' ones. An' w'en his work heah is done, tek him inter de Kingdom ob Heaben, whar he 'll sen' many a weary, wanderin' one; en gib him his Crown ob Rej'icin' en his New Name dat's writ in de Lam's Book ob Life. Amen."

A short time ago, in a great cathedral in a big city, midst the perfume of flowers,

with triumphal swelling of the organ's notes and the melody of the sweet-voiced choir, with pomp and ceremony, the Reverend Bates Cuthbert was made a Bishop; but God and *he* knew that his real "Ordination" was years ago, away

back in the old pine woods, where a little old black man poured out upon him the Oil of God's Spirit.

GISELA DITTRICK BRITT.

St. Louis, Mo.

NUDE LIPS.

BY ALBERT R. CARMAN,
Author of "The Pensionnaires."

SOME said that it was because his name was Eli, and that he disliked so slippery and inconsequential a verbal tag. Others blamed it upon his habit of "promiskus reading"—Eli Saunders would "read anything, good or bad," was the unrepressed opinion of Gains-town. But, whatever the cause, the staring, ridiculous, pathetic, preposterous fact was that Eli had turned Moslem, had the Koran on his center-table in the parlor, and called himself Mohammed Eli Saunders. It would be more correct to say that he had turned so far into a Mohammedan as he knew; and that that was not very far, but still quite far enough to make him the amusement and scandal of the village.

It went without saying that Matilda Saunders, his wife, and Miriam Saunders, his sister, who lived with them, and his two daughters, Bertha and Annie Saunders, turned with him; for he was the most persistent "arguer" in Gainstown and not nice to live with when opposed. And his wife was beginning to take it seriously.

"Miriam," she said, after turning the heel of a sock for Eli in silence, "I do n't know as we should let our Eastern sisters outdo us in modesty."

"Do we?" asked Miriam, in surprise.

"Do we?" Do n't you remember what Eli—what Mohammed Eli, I mean—was reading us last night? Do n't we go about with all our faces naked?"

Miriam first looked hastily around to see that her brother was not listening, and then at her sister-in-law to measure the depth of her sincerity.

"Veils are stuffy in hot weather," she hazarded.

"Heathens do not always like the feel of clothes—just at first," returned Madame Matilda, impressively.

"No"—with a sigh, and then explosively—"see here, Matilda, you'd better make up your mind good and sure that you want to go veiled before you let Eli hear you talking this way, or else you'll have to do it."

"I shall obey my own conscience in the matter," said Madame, loftily.

Miriam heard nothing more of the subject for several days, when Annie said without any preface:

"Say, Auntie, do n't you think the Eastern women have to go veiled because the Eastern men are so bad?"

"Very likely. But what put that in your head?"

"Why, Mamma. She wants us all to go veiled."

"Veils are poisonous and ruin the eyes," said Aunt Miriam, shortly.

"That's what I say," joined in Annie, heartily; "but Bertha says that she really thinks the eyes should be covered."

"Hmp!" said Aunt Miriam; and the next day the topic reached Mohammed Eli and the end was certain. Strange to say, Aunt Miriam's conversion was the

most thorough. She scouted the thin compromise of veiling.

"You would n't wrap your body in a veil and consider yourself decently clothed," she said. "If a part of your face is improper, cover it up and cover it up good."

Mohammed Eli had a picture of a veiled Eastern woman which showed the eyes looking over the curved top of the veil; so he was of the opinion that the eyes need not be hidden. Bertha was for doing better than the Turks, but Annie was not—Annie had an effective eye—and Madame Matilda said that they could not see to go about if they bandaged the eyes at all thickly.

"I have always read," said Aunt Miriam after the debate had gone on for a while, "that the mouth is sensuous. Let us begin with the mouth."

"That's so," said Madame. "'He had a sensuous mouth.' How often have I seen that in novels!"

"It certainly would be better," said Mohammed Eli, "if people never thought of one's mouth at all. The mouth suggests kissing—yes, it does. You can't tell me. The more I think of it, the more I know our Eastern sisters are right. A woman goes out on the public street with her sinuous, projecting, unclad lips—hardly a layer of skin over them—fully exposed to every man who passes. I tell you it is provocative of evil thoughts. Every decent woman should cover her lips"—and he thrust his own out to give emphasis to his dictum.

"I declare I feel quite ashamed of mine," said Aunt Miriam covering hers with her hand; but it was not shame that twinkled in her eyes.

"Dear me, yes," agreed Bertha. "We ought to set the example of just putting them out of sight."

"It's plain enough," added Madame, serenely. "Clothe the lips and people will forget that there are such things."

So it came about that the ladies of the Saunders household walked down Main street the next afternoon, each one with

a neat covering, like a respirator, over the lips. Gainstown balanced between sympathy and uproarious amusement. Was it a sudden and four-pronged attack of lung trouble; or was it a new freak of Mohammed Eli's? It was a venturesome thing to ask Madame, for she disliked enquiry into her new religious customs. She lacked the missionary spirit. But Mohammed Eli courted enquiry; so when he came along a little later, everyone stopped him with—

"Saw your women folks wearing something on their mouths to-day. Anything wrong?"

And then he would explain and expound. That night Gainstown well-nigh exploded. Never before were the mouths of the Saunders ladies so much in the public mind. People tried to remember what they looked like; photographs of them in the old, unregenerate days became new objects of interest; and young men sat about the village grocery and turned the "sensuous lips" idea over conversationally until ladies hesitated to go shopping there of an evening. Before long every woman in Gainstown felt when in public that her lips were being examined to see if they were "suggestive," and the custom of holding a handkerchief to one's mouth—or a fan—grew in a marked manner. If they escaped temporarily from this lip-conscious feeling, one of the Saunders quartette would come in sight and instantly every mind was riveted upon *LIPS*.

One day Bertha met a catastrophe. When coming home from the post-office, the elastic holding the lip bandage in its place broke, and the bandage fell off. She reached for her handkerchief, but she had forgotten it, and she was gloveless. Hurrying home, she arrived there with a face of fire and panting as if she had been running.

"Oh," she said, after the terrible accident had been told and mourned over, "it was awful. As soon as people saw me they looked—they looked right at my mouth. Even poor old Mr. Adamson,

though he tried not to look at me, took a quick glance at my lips as he passed. Oh, Mother, as soon as anyone sees us, he thinks 'lips, lips,' whether we have our bandages on or off."

Mohammed Eli came to the rescue. The things that that man knew about what constituted proper behavior for his women folk were astonishing.

"You need n't imagine," he said, "that the long experience of your Turkish sisters has taught them nothing. They, no doubt, experimented with covering the mouth only, and found that it produced the very effect they wished to avoid—that it called attention to what they had hidden. So they veiled the whole face. There's your lesson for you. Profit by it."

So the Saunders ladies came out in thick, white veils, crossing the face just below the eyes and hanging dropped from the nose like a doll's apron out of place. Gainstown was hilarious at first, but they kept at it; and it is wonderful how much dogged sincerity will gain in respect for any cause. "Advanced" people began to discuss whether or not after all "the Saunderses" were not right. The very fact that these women of their own town thought it "improper" to show the face, gave every other woman a feeling of doubt about the propriety of exposing hers. They had never thought of the thing as a question of right and wrong before; as a matter of course they walked the streets with nude faces. But now, that they thought of it, was it right? The modesty of woman always wishes to retreat from the questioned position; and the question put so steadily and soberly by the Saunders sisterhood sent more and more of feminine Gainstown behind the veil—the full Western veil that hides eyes and all. As time went on, it became a rare sight to see a native woman in any public place in Gainstown without her veil, and people instinctively felt that strangers who came there and paraded the streets with naked faces

were unfeminine—or inclined to be "rapid," as the case indicated.

Bertha early began an agitation for the substitution of the common American veil for the curious rendering of the Turkish variety they were wearing.

"You'd best be careful," Mohammed Eli warned them. "You know how you got into trouble first along by ignoring the experience of centuries."

But the feminine indisposition to be a guy weighed against him, and after a time his "harem," as the irreverent called it, was distinguished only by the thickness of its veils. But that was a poor distinction, for all the veils, having been donned for modesty's sake, were thick. Feminine Gainstown, on the street, was a procession of muffled mourners. The churches of a Sunday looked as cheerful as a flower-bed from which the blossoms have all been cut. When a strange woman appeared on the street, every man in the village who heard of it turned out to catch a stray ray of sunshine from her unswaddled face. Men who had business in other towns took it as a holiday and were marked by the manner in which they stared at the women they met. Gainstown was under an eclipse; "a young man's fancy" could have "as lightly turned to thoughts of love" at a funeral; it seemed wicked to remember that there were women in the community. Why had the Deity committed the initial impropriety of creating them?

Of course, this could not last. One Sunday, Clara Wilson appeared at church in a short veil that hung just below the lower lip, but exposed the chin. Nothing shone so white in the minds of the whole congregation as that one naked chin. It was a plump chin and a dimple lay right in the center, and masculine Gainstown feasted its eyes on its soft curves, its alluring flesh-tints, and its sweet, satiny femininity to the utter forgetfulness of all else. The congregation was considerably over half composed of women, but there seemed to be only one;

and to think of that one was to think of her chin.

"I never knew," said old Phil. Johnson to the crowd about the officially deserted railway station that afternoon, "that a chin was so pretty before."

"Pretty! Gum! I should say so," said a young fellow, pulling one side of himself straight so he could push a hand into his trousers pocket in search of his knife.

"We've had a long fast, fellers; that's what's the matter with us," observed another.

"But that's a wicked little chin," said a fourth, with a sly smile, whereat there was a guffaw of laughter all round.

In the Macuish drawing-room the conversation was more decorous.

"That Wilson girl made herself very conspicuous this morning," said Mrs. Taylor.

"Very," agreed Mrs. Macuish. "I can't imagine what her mother is thinking of."

"Her mother!" scoffed Miss Chandler. "She pays no attention to her mother."

"A very forward piece, I think," said Mrs. Macuish.

"Everybody was staring at her chin," added Mrs. Taylor with emphasis. "I expected to see it turn red with shame."

"I should have thought she would have felt uncomfortable—sort of undressed-like," observed Mrs. Mosely, mildly.

"Yes—and the effect on the men," said Mrs. Macuish in a passion of emphasis.

But the days went by, and Clara Wilson's evident popularity whenever she appeared in public began to stir doubts in the mind of many a Gainstown maiden of her own age. Was it so terrible a thing to show the chin? Apparently it was not; for now this one did and now that, until chins became quite common sights again upon the streets, and men ceased to compare them the one with the other, and only the contour of those still

hidden was ever discussed—and that in a jocular way.

Strange to say, the next step toward emancipation was taken by the Saunders quartette who again dropped the veil below the eyes, thus distancing in the race for public attention those who had commenced to wear a more transparent veiling. This riveted common thought upon eyes, and Mohammed Eli had a deal of arguing to do with those who held that they were more mischievous and more productive of evil than all the rest of the face together.

"It's a funny thing," said one man to him; "you go and swaddle up all the rest of a woman and let her show her eyes. She'd be less disturbing to the peace of mankind if you reversed the process."

But the eyes, bright as they are, were soon eclipsed; for Clara Wilson came out one day with a bare face. There it was in its staring nudity, "sensuous lips" and all. Gainstown caught its breath—and then let it out in a sigh of relief. The lower part of a hill is so much more slippery than the top.

"Dum! If I do n't believe God made no mistake when he made a girl's face," declared old Phil. Johnson. "We thought they was all right until that crazy loon Eli Saunders came around with his dum nonsense."

"He was just civilizing us," said one of the young fellows, teasingly.

"Civilizing!" snorted Phil. "Making fools of us!"

"No, no; civilizing," persisted the tease. "There are folks that do n't wear any clothes, and we civilize them into wearing some."

"Well," said Phil., rubbing his head, dubiously, "that's right, I guess; and, goodness knows, they need clothes bad enough. The fact is, God should have made 'em with clothes on up to the neck; but no higher, by gum; no higher!"

ALBERT R. CARMAN.

Montreal, Canada.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

THE CONVICTION OF THE NEW YORK CENTRAL RAILROAD AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

The Story of The Sinister Attempt of a Confederacy of The Great Criminals to Debauch Free Government in The Interests of The Feudalism of Privileged Wealth.

THE RECENT conviction of the New York Central Railroad Company for what United States Judge Holt described as a deliberate and premeditated crime, and which he holds to be "a very much more heinous act than the ordinary common, vulgar crimes which come before criminal courts constantly for punishment, which arise from sudden passion or temptation," the scathing arraignment by the Judge of the great criminals, who, by the way, are among the leading pillars of Wall street; and the imposing of a fine of \$108,000 on this criminal corporation, constitute one of the most important recent events in America, showing, first, what can be done in exposing and punishing crimes when men really want the criminals brought to justice; second, how the judiciary and government officials respond to their masters; and, finally, that the people are at last awakening to a realization of the fact that their hope lies in again becoming the real power in politics instead of abandoning government to the "safe, sane and conservative" criminals who in recent decades have gained control of the government in city, state and nation, manned the posts of vantage with their tools, and then proceeded to rob and plunder every man, woman and child in the land.

So long as the people slept the feudalism of privileged wealth marched forward with apparently irresistible tread. Monopoly after monopoly rose, and trusts were formed to enable the privileged few to become the masters of the wage-earning millions, to the extent that they might dictate the wage and lower the prices paid to workers on the one hand, while placing every member of the community at the mercy of the rapacity of the monopolists on the other.

With corruption and dishonesty rife in public life, business ideals naturally reflected the

same eclipse of old-time integrity. Substitutions and fraud marked the products of the corporations. Foods were poisoned and often prepared under filthy conditions, to be placed before the people as tempting articles of diet, that corrupt and essentially criminal multi-millionaires might acquire still other millions filched from the people.

The great railways, the arteries of the nation's business life, were the pioneer and chief offenders in the corrupting of government; nor did they stop with defeating many laws intended to protect the people from the rapacity and extortion of the public carriers. They deliberately engaged with other unscrupulous corporations in defying such laws as were made, feeling that such was their power in city, state and nation that they were secure in their anarchal course. The fact that these great criminals posed as moral mentors of society and in college, church and press loudly descanted on probity, integrity and national honor, helped to render their continued crimes possible; for it seemed incredible to the people that men with apparently such high ideals and who were so industriously helping church and school, could be deliberately and habitually criminals, defying the laws as flagrantly, though to be sure more cunningly, than the professional burglar, highwayman and sneak-thief.

With Depew descanting on national honor; with Rockefeller preaching Christian virtue; with the whole army of other criminals and law-breakers parroting moral platitudes while purchasing immunity from punishment by princely campaign contributions and "yellow dog" funds; and finally, with the whole confederacy of law-breakers and their agents and mouthpieces with one voice denouncing all high-minded men and women who exposed their criminality as "muck-rakers" or men guilty of "loose talk," the plutocracy well-nigh transformed the Republic into an oligarchy of privileged wealth, with almost as absolute sway as that exerted by the bureaucracy of Russia. It therefore became neces-

sary for the reformers to back up every charge with proof, and this for the last five or six years has been done. The magazines led the battle, but certain newspapers nobly seconded them, chief among which were the Hearst chain of papers, and with the great wealth at their command they were able to obtain proofs of the most damaging character. Last spring the "safe, sane and conservative" criminals of Wall street were disturbed one morning by the announcement that Mr. Hearst had secured proof positive of rebates on the part of the New York Central Railroad and the Sugar-Trust. The proof was placed in the hands of the Federal government, after the Attorney-General had promised to proceed, as the evidence was of such a character as to prove conclusive. As a result, indictments were found and the trial on the first counts resulted in a verdict of guilty and the imposing of a heavy fine on the criminal company.

The Masterly Arraignment of The Great Criminals by Judge Holt.

The masterly arraignment of the great criminals by Judge Holt should be preserved by friends of free government as one of the pioneer utterances in the battle of the people to overthrow the confederacy of the great criminals and restore the Republic to its old place as a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Space renders it impossible for us to give the entire arraignment, but we quote in the following lines the Judge's admirable words describing how infinitely more culpable and infamous are the great criminals of the railway company than are the vulgar criminals who have through drink or stress of necessity committed crimes for which the law deals swift and heavy penalties:

"The Government's evidence to establish the defendants' guilt was clear, conclusive and undisputed. The case was a flagrant one. The transactions which took place under this illegal contract were very large; the amounts of rebates returned were considerable, and the amount of the rebate itself was large, amounting to more than one-fifth of the entire tariff charge for the transportation of merchandise from this city to Detroit.

"It is not too much to say, in my opinion, that if this business was carried on for a considerable time on that basis—that is, if this discrimination in favor of this particular shipper was made with an 18 instead of a 23-cent

rate and the tariff rate was maintained as against their competitors—the result might be, and not improbably would be, that their competitors would be driven out of business.

"This crime is one which in its nature is deliberate and premeditated. I think over a fortnight elapsed between the date of Palmer's letter requesting the reduced rate and the answer of the railroad company deciding to grant it, and then for months afterward this business was carried on and these claims for rebates submitted month after month and checks in payment of them drawn month after month.

"Such a violation of the law, in my opinion, in its essential nature, is a very much more heinous act than the ordinary, common, vulgar crimes which come before criminal courts constantly for punishment which arise from sudden passion or temptation. The crime in this case was committed by men of education and of large business experience, and whose standing in the community was such that they might have been expected to set an example of obedience to law, upon the maintenance of which alone in this country the security of their property depends. It was committed on behalf of a great railroad corporation, which, like other railroad corporations, has received gratuitously from the State large and valuable privileges for the public's convenience and its own, which performs quasi-public functions and which is charged with the highest obligation in the transaction of its business to treat the citizens of this country alike, and not to carry on its business with unjust discriminations between different citizens or different classes of citizens.

"This crime in its nature is one usually done with secrecy and proof of which is very difficult to obtain.

"Now, under these circumstances, I am forced to the conclusion, in a case in which the proof is so clear and the facts so flagrant, it is the duty of the Court to fix a penalty which shall in some degree be commensurate with the gravity of the offense. As between the two defendants, in my opinion, the principal penalty should be imposed on the corporation. The traffic manager in this case presumably acted without any advantage to himself and without any interest in the transaction, either by the direct authority or in accordance with what he understood to be the policy or the wishes of his employer.

"The sentence of this Court in this case is

that the defendant Pomeroy, for each of the six offenses upon which he has been convicted, be fined the sum of \$1,000, making six fines, amounting in all to the sum of \$6,000; and the defendant, the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, for each of the six crimes of which it has been convicted, be fined the sum of \$18,000, making six fines, amounting in the aggregate to the sum of \$108,000, and judgment to that effect will be entered in this case."

Some of The Great Law-Breakers.

The responsible companies caught by the conclusive evidence of crime obtained by Mr. Hearst, and by him handed over to the government, were the New York Central and Hudson River Railway Company and the American Sugar Refining Company, better known as the Sugar-Trust. It is interesting and highly suggestive, in the light of the relation of some of these men to state and national politics, to notice the names of the master-spirits in this criminal conspiracy, who as such are the responsible agents for the deliberate, premeditated crimes. Here are some of these "safe, sane and conservative" law-breakers:

John E. Parsons, father of Herbert Parsons, Republican leader in New York politics and especially favored by President Roosevelt; Chauncey M. Depew of the United States Senate; James Stillman, President of the National City Bank (the Standard Oil Bank); George F. Baker, great financier of unsavory insurance fame; W. K. Vanderbilt; F. W. Vanderbilt; J. Pierpont Morgan; D. O. Mills; H. O. Havemeyer; and George F. Frazier, Chairman of the Republican County Committee.

These gentlemen law-breakers have for years been largely influencing the political destinies of the nation and posing as pillars of national honor and of the business strength and integrity of the nation.

The Most Dangerous Criminals in America.

Viewing the question in its broadest aspects, considering its influence on the state, on society and on the individual and the rising

generation, we believe it is not too much to say that these great law-defiers, these whited sepulchers of modern life, these men of broad culture, education and great riches who have had every advantage to help them to be leaders of moral idealism, upholders of true religion and the bulwark of a free state, but who have deliberately, premeditatedly and systematically committed crimes that Judge Holt characterizes as "very much more heinous" than "the ordinary, common, vulgar crimes which come before criminal courts constantly for punishment," are the greatest criminals and the most dangerous characters in America to-day. They, we believe, more than any class of criminals save those who commit murder, should receive long prison sentences, and they more than any other class of criminals merit no leniency in the punishment that should be meted out to them, for they have not the mitigating or extenuating causes that the poor man or the criminal, who has never enjoyed the benefits of moral and intellectual environment, can urge, while their influence is more far-reaching and morally disintegrating than the crimes of any other class of criminals, for the reason that their wealth, position and pretensions make the masses look up to them. When the millions see those who pose as the pillars of state, church and society brazenly, deliberately and premeditatedly defying the law, it not only brings the law of the land into contempt, but it lowers the moral idealism of society and plays havoc with that respect for justice, law and order that is the essential safeguard of a civilized state.

Judge Holt made a good beginning, by serving notice on the greatest criminal class that its days of immunity from punishment for crime are numbered, but the penalty imposed is wholly inadequate for proper punishment of the crime which the Judge himself has declared to be more heinous and less excusable than the crimes of ordinary criminals who are promptly sent to prison. Nothing is more needed at the present time than laws imposing long prison sentences instead of fines for such deliberate and premeditated commission of crimes by the criminal rich as that for which Judge Holt imposed a fine of \$108,000.

THE UNHAPPY PLIGHT OF TWO DISTINGUISHED DEFENDERS OF NATIONAL HONOR AND "SAFE, SANE AND CONSERVATIVE" POLITICS.

ON THE twenty-second of October James Gordon Bennett, the owner of the New York *Herald*, was indicted by the grand jury of the State of New York for sending through the mails his paper, which daily, week in and week out, contained a directory of vice. The "red light" columns of the *Herald* had been only less noticeable than the solicitude of Mr. Bennett for national honor when Mr. Bryan ran for the Presidency, or for public decency when Mr. Hearst was candidate for Mayor of New York City.

On the twenty-third of October United States Senator Burton, the prominent Republican and corporation politician, entered upon his six months' sentence in jail at Ironton,

Missouri. He happened to be caught red-handed and had not quite as strong financial backing as certain brother senators. It is quite needless to say that Senator Burton was one of the leading spirits among the "safe, sane and conservative" politicians for revenue who joined loudly in the chorus of the corporation tools whenever an incorruptible champion of the people, like Mr. Bryan, for example, happened to be selected to lead the popular cause.

Slowly, but we trust surely, our people are beginning to learn the true character of the men who during the past fifteen years have been loudest in their denunciation of high-minded patriots and reformers as enemies of national honor.

THE TRUE SECRET OF MR. BRYAN'S GREAT POPULARITY WITH THE PEOPLE.

THE RECENT trips made by Mr. Bryan through various states, North, South and in the Middle West, have been a revelation to those people in every community where he has appeared who have been reading the "safe, sane and conservative" press. In many instances it is stated that the crowds and the enthusiasm were greater than during the presidential campaigns in which Mr. Bryan was the nominee of the Democratic party. Many of these meetings were the largest ever held in the districts visited, people coming in teams sometimes from places twenty-five and thirty miles distant. Nor is this all. On many occasions during the recent campaign, when Republican speakers inadvertently mentioned Mr. Bryan's name, the audiences have nonplussed the orators by breaking into deafening applause. This was very noticeable in Massachusetts and other states where the Republican speakers seemed to think the calumnies and misrepresentation of the press for the past ten years had been accepted by the people as other than exhibitions of the

shameless mendacity of the corporation-controlled dailies.

In Philadelphia, on October 18th, when Speaker Cannon was addressing an audience in the Academy of Music, a striking illustration of this kind occurred which was reported by Warren T. Lowe for *The Public*. During a pause in Mr. Cannon's speech a voice in the audience shouted, "How about Bryan?"

Mr. Cannon replied, "He is wasting his time going about the country speaking."

"He's the next President, all right," answered the voice.

"That is one man's opinion," replied Mr. Cannon.

And the voice answered, "Is it? Three cheers for Bryan!"

This was followed by such cheers as have seldom been heard in a Pennsylvania audience.

These extraordinary evidences of the faith in and the love of the millions for the great commoner are doubtless largely due to the fact that not only Mr. Roosevelt but the rank and file of the Republican party have been in-

dustriously searching for the footprints of Mr. Bryan and following in his steps, even though often afar off, and in so doing they have paid a significant tribute to the wisdom, practicality and foresight of the Western statesman whom in former years they so vigorously denounced as an impractical visionary.

But there is another reason for this wonderful popularity that is so intense and passionate in character. The people have come to see that whatever else Mr. Bryan is, he is honest and sincere; as brave as he is incorruptible; as high-minded as he is just; as loyal to what he conceives to be the best interests of all the people as he is relentless in his opposition to all forms of privilege, corruption and injustice. They see that among all our statesmen to-day no man is more absolutely free from the tricks and subterfuges of the demagogue

and more candid and frank on all subjects in which the people are concerned than he; while above and beyond all else, they see and know that no living statesman is more thoroughly under the compulsion of moral idealism than Mr. Bryan. This, indeed, we believe is the master-secret of his power over the brain of America's conscience-guided millions. Numbers who have not agreed with him on many questions have come to deeply admire the man because of his transparent nobility of purpose, his lofty patriotism and his loyalty to the vision that was the pillar of fire to Washington, Franklin and Jefferson in the infant days of our national history. Mr. Bryan is sound of heart. Of this the millions of America are persuaded, and because they feel and know this to be true they are ready to follow him.

THE ELECTION.

The General Result.

THE ELECTION, while disappointing to friends of free institutions and fundamental democracy, was, considering the odds against which the people fought in this opening conflict in the great battle with entrenched privilege and criminal wealth, not surprising. Especially is this true in cases like Massachusetts and New York.

The result in Colorado is bitterly disappointing to friends of pure government and democratic institutions, showing how completely the corrupt and despotic plutocracy has the state by the throat and how disastrous it is for friends of popular rule to divide their forces in the face of a united attempt to destroy republican institutions in the interests of corporate wealth.

In Rhode Island the Democrats have won the governor and one congressman.

In New Hampshire the Boston and Maine Railroad has suffered a severe rebuke by the failure of the regular Republican candidate to secure a sufficient number of votes to save the election being thrown into the House.

Pennsylvania has returned to the mire, and unless the conscience element promptly organizes over the state and commences another aggressive campaign to redeem the common-

wealth from the rule of the grafters and the corporations, we may expect another riot of corruption such as has made Pennsylvania a by-word since the Pennsylvania Railroad company, the coal interests and the steel-trust have gained complete control of the Republican machine. The treachery of Mayor Weaver in deserting to the camp of the corrupt ring on the eve of the election brands the man for what he is. It is such Benedict Arnolds in the cause of civic righteousness and of popular reform that make the people distrust their leaders and often fall the prey of designing politicians who seek to discredit the incorruptible popular leaders by pointing to the betrayers who have once posed as friends of clean government or the people's cause.

The most disgraceful incident of the whole campaign was the shameful and baseless attack on Mr. Hearst made in the President's name by Secretary of State Root. The latter, as long attorney for Ryan and for many of the criminal corporations and predatory bands, might have been expected to do his masters' bidding, but that the name of the President of the United States should have been dragged into the mire and made responsible for a baseless calumny that had one year before been adjudged too scurrilous and slanderous to be

permitted to go through the United States mail, is a subject for humiliation and regret on the part of all citizens who wish to think well of the President of the United States.

In New Jersey the friends of clean government and progressive reform made an excellent beginning. By organization and a persistent educational campaign we believe New Jersey can be rescued from the iron grip of the Pennsylvania Railroad company, the Prudential Life Insurance company and the public-service corporations of the state, ere the next presidential election.

The Congressional Election.

The Republican majority has been greatly reduced in Congress, but the failure of several candidates who represent fundamental democracy is a subject of deep regret. Prominent among these is Robert Baker, the incorruptible and able champion of progressive democracy of Brooklyn, who aroused the antagonism of McCarren and his corrupt henchmen by his brave stand for purity in government and the overthrow of boss-rule. Ex-Governor Garvin of Rhode Island, Joseph Worth Bailey of Pennsylvania, and F. F. Ingram of Michigan are others among the genuine democratic leaders whom the *plunderbund* succeeded in defeating.

On the other hand, a number of genuine democrats and friends of Direct-Legislation have been elected to office. In Pennsylvania two of these successful candidates were elected by the laborers. In New York George C. Hisgen, the foe of the Standard Oil Company, has been elected to Congress, while we are glad to note that James W. Wadsworth, who made himself so notorious last year as the special champion of the beef-trust and who more than any other one man was responsible for saddling three million dollars annually on the tax-payers of this government which the powerful trust should have paid for inspection of meat, has been defeated in New York by a large majority in a district that has hitherto been overwhelmingly Republican. Two years ago Mr. Wadsworth received a majority of over 12,000 votes. It is to be hoped that this stinging rebuke will serve as a warning to other traitors to the people's interests. But perhaps the most gratifying result connected with the Congressional election is the defeat of Joseph W. Babcock, the odious "fat-fryer" of Wisconsin.

The Result in Massachusetts.

The result in Massachusetts, though a present victory for the Republican organization, was a moral victory for the people's cause, when the facts are taken into consideration. Indeed, the last election in Massachusetts bears a strong resemblance to the battle of Bunker Hill, in that while it was a technical defeat for the people, it is a decisive moral victory. In the first place, the Democratic party has for years been in the hands of a political ring absolutely subservient to corrupt predatory wealth, the master-spirit being Henry M. Whitney, the most odious and sinister corporation figure in Massachusetts. This year the Democratic party repudiated the whole corporation ring and cut itself loose from all connection with predatory wealth. This in itself was a great triumph for the cause, for there could be no hope of advancing the interests of the public so long as both parties were the subservient henchmen of the public-service corporations and privileged wealth. During the last two years, it is stated, the Democrats have had over one hundred thousand dollars annually with which to conduct their campaigns, and they also had the active and ardent support of all the plutocratic or corporation-controlled and influenced Democratic journals of the state.

Mr. Moran, the candidate of the Democratic party and the Independence League, declined an offer of fifty thousand dollars from Thomas W. Lawson, and it is stated that he also declined an offer of one hundred thousand dollars from certain privileged interests that were willing to raise the money, with the tacit understanding that their interests would not be interfered with in the event of his election. He furthermore refused any campaign contributions from the liquor interests, from corporations, brokers or any persons who might expect favors in the event of his election. He insisted that ten thousand dollars was an ample sum on which to conduct a campaign. As a matter of fact, it appears that only about one thousand dollars was raised by the committee. This of course prevented the state being covered by speakers; the sending out of the ordinary amount of literature; the use of posters, or almost any of the ordinary legitimate aids for interesting and arousing the people; while on the other hand the Republican party had unlimited wealth with which to conduct its campaign,

and it used this wealth lavishly. Every part of the state was covered and on election day automobiles were in readiness to carry any voters to the polling booths who were willing to support the ticket.

Such has become the power of the corporations over the public press of Massachusetts that with the exception of Hearst's Boston *American* practically every powerful newspaper in the Democratic party either actively opposed the Democratic nominee or ignored him when not sneering at him and the ticket. Thus the tremendous influence of the leading daily papers which belong to the plutocratic Democratic element was thrown against the Democratic ticket and in the interests of privileged wealth.

In Boston the liquor interests united to defeat Moran, because he had enforced the laws. Every public-service corporation in the state fought him and worked for the success of the Republican ticket. A systematic campaign of calumny and slander was conducted on the part of the press, and there were no financial means at the command of the Democratic party to refute the falsehoods that were industriously circulated and that influenced thousands of voters.

The Democratic speaking campaign was conducted almost entirely by the Hon. George Fred. Williams, John B. Moran, candidate for governor, and E. Gerry Brown, candidate for lieutenant-governor. These men spoke nightly to enormous concourses of enthusiastic people in the large centers of the state, but they were of course unable to cover the state. Mr. Williams' addresses were broad, statesmanlike and convincing, but the press for the most part ignored his addresses, and thus the people were kept in ignorance of his arguments.

Mr. Moran entered the campaign a sick man, his health shattered by his long and arduous duties as district-attorney, he having declined to take any vacation during the year. For one week after he was nominated his health was so precarious that it was doubtful whether he would run or not, and during the entire campaign he was on the verge of collapse at the close of every evening.

On the Republican side no stone was left unturned to get out the entire plutocratic as well as the Republican vote. Senator Lodge and Secretary Moody were imported from Washington and labored desperately to stem the rising tide of popular enthusiasm for the

people's cause. Never did a party wage a more gallant fight against overwhelming odds than did the Democrats of Massachusetts during the last campaign.

The result was the election of the Republican candidate for governor by something over 31,000 votes, and the election of the Republican candidate for lieutenant-governor by something over 9,000 votes. When it is remembered that Massachusetts is normally Republican by from 45,000 to 100,000 and that Mr. Moran polled over 190,000 votes in the state, with no well-organized machine and with but one prominent newspaper in his support, the result is truly phenomenal and gives encouragement to all friends of popular rule.

In this election labor for the first time threw its vote in a telling manner against the corporation henchmen, defeating several subservient tools of predatory wealth.

The New York Election.

In the New York election the conditions were in many respects similar to those in Massachusetts. True, the candidate of the Independence League and the Democratic party was not handicapped by lack of means, but in Greater New York, outside of his own papers, Mr. Hearst had no paper of large circulation sustaining him; while the great plutocratic Democratic journals,—papers like the *New York World*, the *New York Times*, the *New York Herald* and the *Brooklyn Eagle*,—were vying with the Republican machine-organs in their virulent attacks on Mr. Hearst.

The great corporation and Wall-street interests succeeded in getting Mr. Choate to select a judicial ticket which was promptly ratified by the Republican party and supported by such corporation journals as the *New York World*.

The Independence League and the Democrats nominated a ticket composed partly of strong, clean and incorruptible men, and partly of lawyers and satisfactory machine-politicians. The men placed on the ticket by the Independence League were men who could be depended upon to stand firmly for the interests of justice and the cause of the people against the corrupt aggressions of criminal wealth. Such men, for example, as John Ford, Samuel Seabury and Recorder Goff, were ideal selections. The Independence League refused to accept one of the

Tammany nominations and endorsed a Republican nomination in its place. To the amazement and confusion of the plutocratic Democratic and corporation interests, the corporation judiciary ticket went down in defeat. The people therefore have on the Supreme Bench for a long term of years a number of men whose integrity and loyalty to the interests of justice are unquestioned.

In the case of Mr. Hearst and the Democratic ticket, the opposition of all predatory wealth was active and aggressive. Mr. Hughes had fighting for him every member of the great criminal corporations that have exploited the people and corrupted the nation, as well as all the organs in the state which they could control. Unlimited capital was also at the disposal of the Republican machine, while Mr. Hearst had the active and virulent opposition of such Democratic bosses as the notorious Pat. McCarren, long the master of Brooklyn. McCarren as the legislative tool and agent of the Standard Oil and other corrupt corporations, was naturally bitterly opposed to Mr. Hearst, who has waged such relentless and oftentimes effective war on the criminal rich and corporate aggressors.

But Mr. Hearst went further. He refused to endorse the judiciary ticket which Pat. McCarren and his corporate confederates insisted on imposing upon the people. This aroused the fury of the notorious boss and he openly repudiated the head of the Democratic ticket and gave orders to his henchmen everywhere to knife him.

During the opening weeks of the campaign the Republican and plutocratic Democratic press confidently declared that they were not only going to overwhelmingly defeat Hearst, but the defeat was going to be so decisive—so absolutely overwhelming in character—that Mr. Hearst would never again be a factor in politics. This confidence was also voiced by Mr. Hughes. Later in the campaign it was found that the power of wealth and the power of the great plutocratic dailies, which have hitherto been practically invincible in political life, was failing in its influence over the public mind, and there was general consternation in Wall street. The Rogerses, the Ryans, the Morgans and other chiefs among the predatory bands that have so long exploited the people, became panic-stricken when confidential reports came from all parts of the state. Then it was that Boss Croker

was called upon to attack Mr. Hearst in the interests of the corrupt corporations; while the President of the United States permitted his Secretary of State—who by the way since the days when he entered public life as the defender of Boss Tweed has been one of the most active and effective defenders of criminals and promoters of the interests of the criminal trusts among the lawyers of New York—to enter the arena and deliver the most baseless and shamefully scandalous mud-throwing attack on the candidate of the Democratic party that has disgraced the political annals of America in recent decades, and this shameful address was published from one end of the state to the other and circulated, it is stated, by millions of copies.

Under these circumstances the result of the election in New York was in our judgment one of the most phenomenal moral victories for the people's cause that has been won in many years. That Mr. Hearst should have been knifed by McCarren and his corrupt crowd was to be expected, and in Brooklyn alone he lost something like thirty thousand votes. All the ballot-box stuffers, the grafters and the agents of the plutocracy who obey the bidding of McCarren naturally worked against Mr. Hearst. In Greater New York the influence of the unspeakable Jerome and the fraud Mayor McClellan was thrown for Mr. Hughes, together with the influence of all their congenial spirits.

In spite of the army of plutocratic dailies; in spite of all the power of the criminal rich of Wall street and the great corporations; in spite of McCarren and his hordes, Mr. Hearst carried Greater New York by nearly 75,000 votes.

Mr. Hughes' plurality in the whole state at this writing appears to be something over 60,000 in a vote of more than 1,440,000; but the remainder of the Democratic and Independence League ticket appears to have been elected. Mr. Hearst polled over 684,700 votes in the teeth of the most powerful opposition ever massed against a popular candidate in the Empire State.

In commenting on the results of the election, the London papers make a number of very significant remarks which indicate that our English cousins have followed the great conflict with considerable intelligence. Thus we find that the London *Daily Telegraph* holds that the moral of the election is that Americans, "while not quite ready to accept

Hearstism in full," are "heartily sick of being robbed by trusts and corporations, and are prepared to go a considerable way in that direction."

The London *Mail* sees in the result evidence of "a growing exasperation against trusts and their tactics"; and the *Chronicle* holds that the "Americans, if they are wise, will read the true moral, not in the majority against Mr. Hearst, but in the huge minority for him."

The Result in Wisconsin.

All friends of clean government and popular rule will be gratified at the results in Wisconsin. They constitute a magnificent victory for Senator La Follette, in spite of the opposition of Chairman Connor and all the enemies of Senator La Follette. The most notable victories for good government were the defeat of Congressman Babcock, elsewhere noticed, and the election of the fearless and aggressively honest District-Attorney of Milwaukee, Frank McGovern, who had been turned down at the Republican primaries. The defeat of Babcock and the reelection of McGovern were due to the magnificent work of Senator La Follette, and in spite of the efforts of Mr. Connor, Senator Spooner and the grafting and corporation interests of the state.

In our January number we intend to give an extended account of the results of the conflict in Wisconsin, based on facts reported to us by our special correspondent in Wisconsin which have arrived too late for insertion in this issue.

Direct-Legislation Triumph in Delaware

The result of the submission to the electorate of Delaware of the question as to whether or not the voters favored Direct-Legislation through the advisory Initiative and Referendum, must be gratifying to all friends of free institutions and fundamental democracy. Both the Republican and Democratic parties in their platforms advocated the Initiative and Referendum in Delaware, and the vote stood 17,318 for and 2,133 against these measures. This represents a little less than one-half the entire vote of the state. As is always the case in such instances, the ignorant voters and those who have no special interest or concern for the public weal did not take the trouble to vote one way or the other. While this measure is not binding on the legislature, it clearly shows the peo-

ple's servants the desires of the electorate and will doubtless prove the opening victory in the great campaign for the securing of a constitutional Direct-Legislation amendment in Delaware.

Great credit for this victory is due to Mr. Francis I. du Pont, the able, energetic and earnest President of the Initiative and Referendum League of Delaware. Our readers will remember that some months ago we published in "The Mirror of the Present" an exceptionally fine argument in favor of Direct-Legislation, by Mr. du Pont. It is the faithful, aggressive, untiring and unselfish labors of high-minded citizens like Mr. du Pont in our various commonwealths at the present time that give, we think, sure promise of the return of the nation to the ideals of the great fathers and the restoration of the government to the people, through practical, fundamental, but simple measures such as the Initiative, Referendum and Right of Recall.

Mr. Benson on Secretary Root's Baseless Attack on Mr. Hearst.

Secretary Root's shameful and baseless attack on Mr. Hearst aroused the indignation of right-thinking men everywhere, without regard to party affiliations. Ex-Attorney-General Monett of Ohio telegraphed to Mr. Hearst that if the election were to take place in Ohio the speech would give Mr. Hearst at least fifty thousand votes. The baseless charges which were the substance of Mr. Root's attack were excluded from the United States mails as too scandalous and scurrilous to be allowed to pass through the mails during the mayoralty campaign a year before.

Mr. Allan L. Benson, one of our editorial staff, reviewed the outrage in an admirable editorial in the *Detroit Times*, which, as it so excellently presents the facts in the case, we reproduce for the benefit of our readers. Only the exigencies of the Republican party and the dire need of the criminal rich who have filled the campaign coffers of the Republican party during recent years, could, we think, possibly explain this indefensible and morally criminal action on the part of the Secretary of State, whose unsavory record as a professional defender of rogues and promoter of the interests of the criminal corporations has few equals in the bar of New York. In his editorial Mr. Benson says:

"The campaign of slander and vituperation

against William R. Hearst must wane from now on.

"The limit was reached when Elihu Root, Secretary of State, speaking not only for the President of the United States, but for himself, denounced the man whose candidacy Mr. Bryan, only yesterday, again endorsed, as an accomplice in the murder of William McKinley.

"As the murder of the head of a state is the highest crime known to the law, including, as it does, both the crime of murder and the crime of treason, the crest of the wave of slander has been reached.

"And as those who may reiterate the charge are only obscure persons, as compared with the President and the Secretary of State, the wave must recede from now on, from sheer inability to maintain itself at the height to which Root rolled it.

"Anything that Elihu Root does is done as well as it can be done. His is a master-mind and upon everything it bears, it bears powerfully.

"His charge against Hearst of partial responsibility for the murder of Mr. McKinley was made with all the skill of the trained lawyer and thundered forth with all the power of the great orator.

"Such evidence as he had—scattered extracts from the Hearst newspapers—he assembled with all the art of a field-marshal stationing his battalions for battle.

"And his deductions from the facts were as strong as the facts themselves—and no stronger.

"All of these things being true, it becomes of importance to consider what are the known facts in connection with the murder of William McKinley.

"William McKinley was shot by Leon Czolgoscz, a citizen of Cleveland, who declared that he had voted for Mr. McKinley, and that he had sought from him an office.

"After Mr. McKinley's death, Mark Hanna, believing as Mr. Root and Mr. Roosevelt now affect to believe, that the assassin might have been incited to murder by reading the Hearst newspapers, made an effort through agents to obtain from Czolgoscz an admission that he received from the Hearst newspapers his suggestion to murder the president.

"But Czolgoscz insisted to the day of his death that he had never read the Hearst newspapers and killed McKinley only because he believed he ought to be killed.

"These facts were printed in all the news-

papers at the time, and President Roosevelt and Elihu Root may be presumed to have known them.

"But if, on the other hand, Mr. Roosevelt, who immediately became president after Mr. McKinley's death, was not aware of these facts, or did not believe them to be facts, why, it may be asked, did he not, as the head of the nation, begin proceedings to bring Mr. Hearst to trial as an accomplice in the killing of McKinley?

"After the murder of Lincoln, several men and one woman were hanged who had less to do with the assassination of Lincoln than Hearst had to do with the killing of McKinley, if it be true, as Mr. Roosevelt says through Mr. Root, that 'Hearst is not guiltless of the killing of McKinley.'

"Again the question presses itself forward, Why did not Mr. Roosevelt attempt to bring Mr. Hearst to justice, if he believed then as now, that Hearst had incited Czolgoscz to his crime?

"The best answer to this question is that Mr. Roosevelt did not believe then and does not believe now that Czolgoscz received his inspiration from the Hearst newspapers.

"We are aware that in answering the question this way we are disputing the president's word, given through Mr. Root, but we prefer to doubt his word rather than his intelligence or his desire for justice.

"For if Mr. Roosevelt had believed that Hearst was even indirectly responsible for Mr. McKinley's death, he would not have been intelligent if he had not recognized his duty to run down the murderer's accomplice, and he would not have desired justice if he had neglected his duty.

"The plain truth seems to be that the Republican party in New York is in desperate straits—and possibly that Mr. Roosevelt sees a new leader springing up that may imperil plans that he is said to entertain for his own reelection for a third term.

"It is a pity that Mr. Root, who is so expert in weaving together alleged facts, did not take the trouble to weave a fabric that would shield Mr. Hughes from the charge that every great corporation thief from Rockefeller to Ryan is backing Hughes and fighting Hearst in the name of 'good citizenship.'

"That would have been such an interesting subject for him to have dwelt upon—yet he never touched it, much less told why it is so.

"Nor did he explain the peculiarity of the situation that is created by the fawning around Roosevelt, now that he is fighting Hearst, of all the corporation hounds who used to snap and bark at Roosevelt—even jumping at his throat—when Roosevelt, and not Hearst, was the most prominent radical in the country.

"We fear it is as we said some time ago—the country is becoming radical so rapidly that the radical of yesterday is the conservative of to-day.

"We said some months ago that if Hearst were to be the Democratic candidate for the presidency in 1908 that the trusts would try to bring about the renomination of Mr. Roosevelt; not because Mr. Roosevelt represents them in any sense, but on the theory that when it is impossible to avoid more than one of two evils, it is always wise to choose the least of them.

"With what Mr. Hearst so aptly calls the 'plunderbund' rejoicing in the president's attack on Hearst, our speculation regarding the future seems to be translating itself into accomplished fact."

Elihu Root: A Word About The Man Who Baselessly Maligned Mr. Hearst.

Elihu Root, since the days when he defended Boss Tweed, has been one one of the most valued lawyers for the criminal rich in the metropolis of our nation. As far back as the days when outraged justice and the plundered citizens of New York were striving to bring the colossal thief, William Tweed, to justice, young Elihu Root's pernicious activity in behalf of his client was of such a character as to call forth a severe reprimand from Judge Noah Davis of the Supreme Court. On this occasion the high-minded jurist, in speaking to Mr. Root and his associates, said:

"I ask you to remember that good faith to a client never can justify or require bad faith to your own consciences, and however good a thing it may be to be known as successful and great, it is even a better thing to be known as honest."

Later Mr. Root was counsel for "Jake" Sharp, but was unable to save his client from Sing Sing. In 1892 we find him attorney for the Whiskey-Trust; in 1898 he was a mastermind in assisting at the formation of the Watch-Trust; in 1895 he framed and had introduced into the legislature the Astoria Light and

Heat malodorous measure, in the interests of the colossal Rogers Lighting-Trust.

We pass over the ugly stories circulated in 1894 at the time of the New York Constitutional Convention, and come to the grave, direct and circumstantial charge of a criminal offense, made by Frederick D. Kilburn, State Superintendent of Banking of the Empire State. The serious offense charged by the high state official was the arranging for the State Trust Company to lend two million dollars to an office-boy acting as dummy for Thomas F. Ryan and his associates. In referring to the state officer's *exposé* of this criminal offense, the New York *World* of March 13, 1900, thus briefly epitomized the facts:

"*The Crime*—A director of the State Trust Company arranges and permits to be carried out a plan whereby \$2,000,000 cash is advanced from the treasury of the company to an office-boy, who acts as a dummy for six persons, at least two of whom are directors of the company.

"*The Offender*—Elihu Root, Secretary of War.

"*The Accuser*—Frederick D. Kilburn, State Superintendent of Banking, who said in his official report to Governor Roosevelt:

"Beyond all question, this loan was illegal, because excessive, and because, in part, it was made indirectly to directors of the trust company."

Is it strange that the criminal rich with one accord applaud Secretary Root and hail him as "safe and sane?" Is it strange that every trust magnate, every corporation highbinder, every great Wall-street gambler and upholder of predatory and privileged wealth, and all their journals, are mutual in their praise of this Handy Andy of Mr. Ryan and his like among the Wall-street exploiters of the people? And finally, is it strange that J. Pierpont Morgan and his friends of the gambling world of Wall street are very well content with Mr. Roosevelt as President, so long as he retains Elihu Root as a chief councillor?

The feudalism of wealth has no more efficient man among its servants than Elihu Root, who since he entered the practice of law has continually let his intellect to the service of criminals and to advance the interests of thieving trusts and corporations that are fattening off of the sustenance of the people. And this is the person who vilifies the man

who has recently rendered possible the conviction of the New York Central Railroad officials for criminal practices; who has haled the coal-trust into court; who stood between the people and the rapacity of the ice-trust

and the gas-trust; who secured the indictment of Bennett of the New York *Herald* for the publication of his "red-light" column; and who is more dreaded by the criminal rich than any other man in the Empire State!

PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP OF NATURAL MONOPOLIES.

Mayor Dunne on The Chicago Street-Car Situation.

MAYOR Edward F. Dunne, the incorruptible and progressive Mayor of Chicago, in the course of a recent article on Chicago's municipal-ownership fight, prepared for the New York *Independent*, pointed out the fact that the friends of municipal-ownership were steadily going forward as rapidly as circumstances permitted in preparing the way for the city to take over the street-railways. The companies have placed \$73,000,000 excess valuation on the properties, which of course the friends of municipal-ownership will not entertain; but Mayor Dunne has selected a commission of three expert and eminent engineers to estimate the value of the plants, and if the city fails to reach an agreement with the companies, it will offer to arbitrate the matter. Failing in this, the city will proceed to issue certificates for a new system and place these certificates on the market, when there is little doubt but what they would be readily taken up.

"Upon the maturity of these certificates," says the Mayor, "all of them, in my judgment, can be paid in full, and the people then owning their plant, can proceed to reduce fares to the lowest possible cost, as has been done in all the great cities of England and in many of the great cities of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Australia and Italy."

Of the evils that have become so flagrant under private-ownership, and of the awakening of the public consciousness to the menace and absurdity of private control, Mayor Dunne says:

"Corruption of public officials, the stealing of public property, favoritism in the selection of employes, strikes, inefficient service, exorbitant charges and insolence toward and defiance of the public has marked the history of private management of public utilities in

Chicago and elsewhere in America. The people have called a halt. The demand of the people to place a check upon public corruption by and with the referendum, at first feeble and unheeded, has swelled into a roar whose reverberations are heard in the council chambers of the land, as well as in the temples of finance.

"In my judgment the people are in no condition to be longer trifled with; no longer will they be despoiled and flouted as they have been in the past, and the legislator, councilman or alderman who remains deaf to the cry of the people and heedless of the popular demand for municipal-ownership under honest civil-service rules and the referendum, may as well prepare for sepulture under a stone upon which will be written the epitaph, 'He served the corporations—not the people.'"

Three Views of The Railroad Question.

LIKE Direct-Legislation, public-ownership of public utilities is bound to more and more engage the minds of the people for the next ten years. To-day ten people are thinking and talking about these questions where one was interested a decade ago, when *THE ARENA* first took up these issues. The rapid growth of a sentiment in favor of public-ownership has been due very largely to the fact that the people have at last come to see that they can expect little real relief through the government from the extortions and corrupt practices of the railways, so long as these great arteries of trade are in the hands of private individuals. They have learned through bitter experience that the railroads are persistent, premeditated and insolent law-breakers whenever they fail to defeat the passage of legislation that interferes with the avarice and rapacity of the railway magnates. Moreover, they have learned that the chief corrupting influence in our government has for the past quarter of a century been the railroad influence. Since the pub-

lication of United States Senator La Follette's speech delivered in the United States Senate during the discussion of the railroad-rate bill, and especially since the outspoken stand of Mr. Bryan in favor of public-ownership, the railroad question has become a paramount issue, and the more thoughtful people everywhere, even in spite of the desperate efforts of the controlled press, are beginning to realize the fact that the only way to prevent the government from being under the complete control of the railways and the express companies is for the people to take over these great public utilities. True, even among strong reformers, there are some who by reason of their extreme individualism hope that the question may be adjusted short of public-ownership. Thus recently two remedies have been proposed, by the Hon. S. M. Owen and Mr. Louis F. Post, prominent leaders of the cause of progressive democracy.

Hon. S. M. Owen's Plan.

Hon. S. M. Owen, the editor of *Farm, Stock and Home* of Minneapolis, Minnesota, after quoting Mr. Bryan's Madison Square utterance on the railroad question, observes that there are two facts that have recently been impressed that will greatly influence thinking people.

"The first was by Senator La Follette, upon the passage of the rate-bill by the last congress. He was emphatic in voicing the opinion that the law would be of no practical benefit because no provision had been made for determining what a fair rate would be; whether capitalization or present value of the properties should be the basis upon which to compute a rate that would be fair to all. The second thought was expressed by Mr. Bryan. Referring to rate-making by a commission he said:

"If an appointive board has the power to fix rates and can, by the exercise of that power, increase or decrease by hundreds of millions of dollars the annual revenues of the railroads, will not the railroads feel that they have a large pecuniary interest in the election of a president friendly to the railroads?"

Mr. Owen thus elaborates his plan and what he believes would be gained by its adoption:

"The president appoints the board, Mr. Bryan explained; and it must be conceded

that there is sufficient reasonableness in his question to arouse the fear it suggests.

"There is one certain, positive-actioned method by which the basis demanded by Senator La Follette can be created and the condition suggested by Mr. Bryan prevented, and that is by government-ownership of railroads; not of all the railroads of the country, nor of any considerable percentage of them. In fact, one trunk line government-owned and operated road from the Atlantic to the Pacific—costing, if a double-track, less than the Panama canal will when completed—would be sufficient to demonstrate practically what railroad services can be rendered for while making a fair return on actual capital invested in the enterprise.

"That vital point demonstrated, the rest will be easy. The power of public sentiment alone, buttressed by the demonstrated truth, would soon compel all roads to come to the same plane; or if not, that truth would make possible, even easy, legislation so intelligent and just that successful evasion of it would be impossible. But at the most it would require government-ownership of not more than ten per cent. of all our railroads to constitute a rate-rate regulation system that for ease and economy of operation, positiveness of action and satisfactory results will never be approached by mere legislative enactment and official administration.

"Such limited public-ownership would destroy railroad monopoly; would 'take railroads out of politics'; would make rebating impossible, for every patron would be in the enjoyment of the minimum and only rate; it would orphan every trust; every city, town and individual would enjoy equality of opportunity as to transportation; it would stop the further concentrating in the hands of the few the dangerously large fortunes that now menace the republic; it would make railroads the gentle, useful, burden-bearing servants of the people instead of their tyrannical and despoiling taskmasters. Railroads would no longer constitute a 'problem,' and government, state and nation, would breathe a purer air, freer from the pollution of selfishness and greed, than it has since railroads became a 'problem.' And purer than it ever will breathe while legislation is invoked to regulate a system the destruction of which is imperatively demanded by a people wronged and a nation outraged. Regulation means enlarging, complicating, intensifying the 'prob-

lem,' while in the last analysis it will be found that tranquility and peace, in this regard, will not abide with us permanently until they can clasp hands across the problem's corpse."

Mr. Louis F. Post's Proposition.

Mr. Louis F. Post, the versatile and fundamental thinker who so ably edits *The Public* of Chicago, finds much in Mr. Owen's plan to approve. He, however, believes that the nation should take over all the railroads but leave the traffic on the roads open to free competition. His views are thus expressed:

"The only true way, as we believe, of killing railway corruption and monopoly, is to construct and maintain governmental rail-highways, with time-table regulations which would allow any person to run trains on equal terms with every other person. This would encourage the free play of competition in transportation, and there would be little chance to corrupt train despatchers."

Hon. George Fred. Williams' Views.

Hon. George Fred. Williams, who is justly recognized as the ablest and most fundamentally sound leading progressive Democrat of New England, in the course of a masterly discussion on the railroad situation delivered in Tremont Temple, Boston, on October 27th, showed how absolutely futile had been every attempt to regulate the railroads. He pointed out the fact that the Massachusetts Commission, and, indeed, those of New England, were generally regarded as models. Next he proved most conclusively that these commissions were the responsive tools of the railways and that the systematic discriminations and rebates had gone on year in and year out under the very nose of the commissioners, without their taking any cognizance of the crimes that were being committed. He showed how the railways had gained complete control of political parties and dominated the politics of the various states. Nor was this strange, because the prize of railway monopoly and the enormous advantages it offered for great wealth, by secretly combining with certain trusts and combinations, were such that corrupt ownership of government and consequent ineffective regulation were bound to prevail until the people took over the railways and operated them as do Switzerland, Germany, New Zealand, Austria-Hungary, Italy and other lands, in the interests of the people and

not for the enrichment of the few through corrupting the people's government. He held that nothing short of absolute ownership and operation of the railways could solve the question.

Personally we incline to this view. We doubt whether any arrangement such as proposed by Mr. Owen would prove of practical value in the long run, because the great private interests would soon as completely control the management of the public road as they have controlled the government during the past quarter of a century. Secondly, we think it is more than probable that if the government owned the railway tracks and left the traffic free to competition over those tracks, in a short time powerful combinations would be effected and secret organizations would gain a practical monopoly of the traffic, while they would also exert the same corrupt and baleful effect on government that they now exert, though perhaps in a less marked degree.

Leading Republican Senators on Record as to The Advantage of Government Ownership of Railways.

SINCE Mr. Bryan and other leading progressive democratic statesmen have advocated popular ownership of railways, the railway magnates of Wall street have become alarmed and their special-pleaders in the government and the press have vied with each other in uttering absurd alarmist cries that have so frequently been the chief stock in trade of the tools of the interests, in lieu of appeals to reason. In former days, before the people found out how systematically the feudalism of wealth had manned the government with its own agents for the purpose of defeating the will of the people, these cries, when uttered by United States Senators and others in prominent governmental positions served most admirably the purpose of the interests. Now, however, the day of popular credulity is rapidly passing.

In the recent Massachusetts state campaign Senator Henry Cabot Lodge has been one of the chief, if not the principal offender in raising absurd alarmist cries and seeking to deceive the people by a plentiful use of epithets in lieu of arguments. It is difficult to conceive how it was possible for him to utter his ridiculous cries about governmental-ownership of railways imperilling free government, or to characterize this sane and practical measure, which has been success-

fully adopted by the Republic of Switzerland, the Commonwealth of New Zealand, the German Empire, Italy, and other prominent nations, as the embodiment of Socialism and something subversive in character. All that he has said in regard to the railroads might with equal force be urged in regard to the post-office department. And now comes to light a report of a committee, the majority of whom were prominent members of the Republican party in the United States Senate and whose Chairman was Senator Cullom of Illinois,—a report which was made even before Germany and Switzerland had taken over the railways and proved in actual practice the good results which far-seeing statesmen had long predicted would follow from public-ownership. In this report, given by Senator Cullom's committee, we find this significant language:

"The time may come when the people of the United States will be forced to consider the advisability of placing the railroads of the country completely under the control of the general government, as the postal service is, and many believe the telegraph service should be. This would seem to be the surest method of securing the highest perfection and greatest efficiency of the railroad system in its entirety, and the best method of making a harmonious whole in its operations and of bringing about that uniformity and stability of rates which

is the greatest need of trade and commerce."

That report was made eighteen years ago and every year since has emphasized the necessity for the changes thus suggested by the Cullom committee. The results of the government operating the railway systems in New Zealand, in Switzerland and elsewhere have clearly demonstrated this double advantage of public-ownership: (1) it destroys ownership of government by the railroads, as is the case in the United States to-day, and thus cuts off the largest stream of corruption that for years has been polluting national, state and city official life; while (2) it gives all the people equal advantages and incomparably improves the service over the service it has displaced.

The question of public-ownership and operation of the railways is up for popular settlement. It is a dominant issue in the battle between plutocracy or privilege and class-rule on the one hand, and free government, civic purity and popular rights on the other. In the long run the people will triumph as surely as they triumphed in the war of the Revolution, but the victory will not be without a long and violent struggle on the part of the people against the entrenched power of arrogant, determined and conscienceless privileged wealth, which for so long has been enriching itself through the perfidy of the people's servants.

SOUND MORALITY *VERSUS* MORBID PRURIENCY.

Mr. Comstock Not Desired at The Mother's Congress.

AN EVENT perhaps even quite as significant as that which marked the National Purity Federation's meeting, was the recalling of the invitation extended to Anthony Comstock by the Pennsylvania Mothers' Congress. The press dispatches published in the Boston dailies of October 20th stated that "the invitation extended to Anthony Comstock, the purity mentor of New York, to address the Pennsylvania Congress of Mothers at Johnstown on November first has been recalled." One of the prominent members is quoted as saying: "I myself have pictures and statuary in my home which are

perfectly beautiful and which I know Mr. Comstock would destroy if he could."

It would seem from the above that the more thoughtful and healthily moral members of the Mothers' Association have no sympathy with prurient imaginations that see impurity and evil in things that to a healthy or normal mind suggest not only naught that is low or debasing, but that which is beautiful, pure and fine. We well remember when at school, one of the boys in our room seemed unable to see anything that did not suggest something low, vile or sensual. His mind seemed to so brood over vile and low things that his imagination apparently became so saturated with sensual concepts that all things took on

an evil cast, just as one looking through green glass beholds the green sheen on every object seen. On one occasion, when this lad had obtruded one of his coarse and suggestive remarks while some of us were enjoying an historical painting that to all save the youth in question was free from any suggestion of sensualism, a schoolmate exclaimed, "I think the fragrance of a rose would suggest something low to Will."

Now it may not be the case that Anthony Comstock has searched so long for that which is sensual, low or corrupt that his mind has reached the stage of the person who looks at the world through green glass. It may be possible that he is not in the position where it is impossible for him to look at anything without seeing something degrading and immoral in it; but many of his acts of late years suggest the possibility of this state, or else that he is of that order of mind that so fears the power of evil over good that he believes that ignorance is the only helmet for virtue; that innocence born of ignorance is a better safeguard for our young men and women from the multitudinous pitfalls of civilized life than knowledge imparted by high-minded men and women with a view to making the young morally strong and healthy through knowledge coupled with appeals to the reason to think fundamentally, sanely and normally.

There was a time in the far-away past when minds of this order, that seemed to endow evil, and especially sensualism, with infinite potency, so distrusted the power of righteousness and virtue over their own minds that they fled to the deserts and to retreats, that their eyes might not even be tempted by the sight of women. Now for such persons it may be that the retreat or the desert is the healthiest place; but certainly men who so exalt the potency of evil, and especially of sensualism, that they see grossness and vileness in the breathing statues that represent some of the noblest creations of genius of the ages, should not be encouraged to pose as censors of morals, as they would inevitably teach the immature and unformed imagination of youth to look for things evil and degrading or sensual in nature and art, instead of seeing beauty, nobility and purity which the sane, healthy, artistic and informed mind sees in the master-creations of the ages.

To us it seems that a mind so keen to scent out corruption and immorality where minds like that of Ralph Waldo Emerson would see

only beauty, and so indiscriminate in its attacks on the good as well as the evil as is Mr. Comstock, is liable to work a vast amount of evil to the young and to the public imagination as a whole, by centering the attention of the people on evil rather than good, making them look for that which is low, vile and debasing when they otherwise would see none of these things.

A recent issue of *Life* contained an admirable cartoon which hits off what many people believe to be Mr. Comstock's mental attitude. This cartoon represents Mr. Comstock as an angel flying to the gates of Heaven, but St. Peter sternly forbids his entrance, saying, "No, Anthony, no; we may have things here you would object to."

The National Purity Federation Holds a Remarkable Meeting.

THE NATIONAL Purity Federation at its recent meeting in Chicago evinced a degree of wisdom in relation to the great question of sex morality that has seldom if ever before been manifested in similar congresses, in the broad and fundamental manner in which it considered the question. Heretofore usually the tendency has been to look on the question of morality in a superficial and narrow way, but in the recent convention the members welcomed broad, judicial and fundamental consideration of the problem, which indicates that the old ostrich-like policy, which sought to stifle anything like healthy and fearless consideration of grave questions absolutely essential to sound morality, is to give place to a mental attitude in line with the modern enlightened and scientific spirit of our time.

Perhaps the most notable paper delivered at the meeting was read by Mr. Theodore Schroeder, one of the associate editors of *THE ARENA*.

At our request a correspondent in attendance has furnished us an excellent news-note dealing with the significance of this important gathering, from which we quote the following:

"An astonishing thing happened in Chicago at the recent meeting of the National Purity Federation. Mr. Theodore Schroeder, the attorney of the Free-Speech League of New York, was allowed to address that Conference on the need for more liberty of the press in the discussion of sex problems as a condition of moral progress.

"Mr. Anthony Comstock, who is always conspicuous on such occasions, was announced to reply but failed to appear. The still more remarkable thing was that this organization, which in the popular mind stands for organized and legalized prudery, did unanimously adopt a resolution almost as broad as Mr. Schroeder's contention.

"In his argument he reminded us that: 'Only upon the subject of sex do we by statute declare that artificial fear is a safer guide than intelligent self-reliance, that purity can thrive only in concealment and ignorance, and that to know all of one's self is dangerous and immoral.' He made an unanswerable argument for the right of every individual to know for himself what is nature's moral law of sex, and to have access to all the evidence which anyone might be willing to submit, if permitted.

"Then he went on to show how under our laws against 'obscene' literature that right to know has been destroyed. We thought that the liberty of the press guaranteed by our Constitution, meant the right to tell the truth from good motives, but all that has disappeared by the unauthorized judicial amendment of our charter of liberties. Upon the subject of sex, truth and good motive for a publication are no longer a defense when the publisher is arrested as a disseminator of obscenity.

"Under the scientific absurdities which courts pronounce as the 'tests of obscenity,' nothing can escape judicial condemnation. In a scientific paper before the last International Medical Congress, Mr. Schroeder showed that if the judicial tests of obscenity were applied to 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' it must be adjudged a criminally 'lewd' book.

"Before the Purity Federation he showed that once by necessary implication and twice by expressed judgment have the courts declared our Bible to be criminally obscene, and furthermore, that courts and juries of irreligious men, relying wholly upon precedents already established, might destroy every Bible in the land, as well as most of our classical literature. The test of obscenity prescribed by our courts was applied to the ten commandments, and it was shown that an impartial enforcement of the law, would suppress them as criminally obscene.

"This extraordinary statute makes no exception for scientific medical books, even when circulated among professional men. By dictum only, have the courts so amended the law that these books thus circulated are

tolerated in spite of the statute, and not as a matter of right under it. An exact enforcement of the letter of our statutes, under the present judicial tests of obscenity would extirpate all the medical literature upon the subject of sex.

"Many suppressed books were described. They came from physicians of the highest standing in their profession, and from the most conventional and conservative moralists. Nearly all of the criminal books mentioned in Mr. Schroeder's argument had the endorsement of some clergymen or religious leaders. Of course many controversial books advocating unconventional ideas have also been suppressed.

"On the day following this paper, the Purity Federation unanimously adopted a resolution which, to the outsider at least, would seem to mark a new epoch among purity workers. The following is a salient paragraph:

"*Resolved*, that the President be empowered to appoint a permanent committee of seven, of whom he shall be one, who shall seek to secure such changes in the judicial tests of obscenity as will make the law so certain that by reading it anyone may know what constitutes its violation and to secure such an interpretation of the law as will make impossible the suppression of any scientific and educational purity literature."

"Another evidence of very great progress was the general sentiment of these Purity delegates in favor of sexual instruction in our schools.

"The New York *Sun*, on October 13th, closed an editorial upon these incidents of the Purity conference with these pointed words:

"The truth is that a new school of purity has sprung up in the world, and for the present Mr. Comstock must be content to pass as an old foggy, out-of-date, mid-Victorian, unfashionable, or whatever the stronger party chooses. The new school is for discovering corruption; his school was ever for concealing it. He conceived credulity to be a more peaceful state of mind than curiosity and was always for hiding anything that might possibly offend even our dramatic critics. His opponents might be generous enough to credit him with a laudable ambition—the honest desire to raise every one to what we have been told is the very height of felicity: "the possession of being well-deceived, the serene and peaceful state of being a fool among knaves."

IN OTHER LANDS.

England's Revenue From Her Income-Tax.

DURING the last two years, or for 1905 and 1906, the government of Great Britain has realized over \$156,473,000 from her income-tax. Of this amount England furnishes over \$187,115,000; Scotland, a little over \$14,440,000; and Ireland, a little over \$4,916,000.

If our Supreme Court had remained true to the uniform decisions of the Supreme Bench up to the time when the feudalism of wealth gained mastery of our government, the great fortunes swollen to unhealthy proportions in this land, and which so largely escape all taxation to-day, would be contributing a substantial sum to the nation's revenue that is now being largely levied on the poor citizens who are more honest than the great tax-dodging princes of privilege.

When, some years ago, our income-tax bill was up for passage, the American plutocracy, not then so powerful as now, vainly endeavored to prevent its passage through Congress. Failing in this, it had recourse to the Supreme Court; but as the Supreme Bench had up to that time uniformly sustained the income-tax, the great attorneys who prostitute their splendid intellectual abilities for gain and who are the paid retainers of privileged interests, found it extremely difficult to furnish plausible reasons which would enable the Supreme Court to reverse itself or the decisions previously rendered by the bench. And it will be remembered that at the final hearing of the case before the full bench, the plutocracy only won owing to one of the members of the Bench, Justice Shiras, who had long been a corporation attorney before his elevation to the august judicial tribunal, turning a somersault and reversing himself, so to speak, thus killing the bill and at the same time greatly lowering the respect of thoughtful people for the Supreme Court of the land.

There are many indications that the thinking millions of America are preparing to put an end to the acquisition and augmentation of great fortunes that are the result of special privileges and monopoly rights, and which are not only not earned by their acquirers but are largely due to direct and indirect robbery of the millions by various lawless acts as well as by monopoly and special privileges. So also there is a steadily growing demand

for progressive income and inheritance taxes which shall serve to give back to the State a small portion of the wealth taken from the people by injustice or held back from the government by tax-dodging and other methods of evading the spirit and letter of the law.

Clemenceau Selects a Progressive Democratic Cabinet.

FRRIENDS of progressive democracy and social advance by the step-by-step method are gratified with the make-up of the new French cabinet recently formed by Prime Minister Clemenceau. It was feared by some that after the great debate between Clemenceau and Jaurès, in which the master Socialist statesman criticized the action of the cabinet, that a breach between the Socialists and M. Clemenceau might have been made so pronounced as to cause the new Prime-Minister to seek coalitions that would leave the Socialist group out of consideration and which could only be made by union with reactionary elements that would render impossible the steady carrying forward of a rational and radical democratic programme. These fears appear to have been groundless, as the new cabinet contains two independent Socialists, MM. Briand and Viviani.

In addition to the Socialists, the cabinet contains six radicals, besides General Picquart, the dauntless defender of Dreyfus. Of the other three members, two belong to the Democratic Left division and one to the Democratic Unionists. It appears that at least eight and probably nine members of the cabinet, therefore, would be heartily in favor of all social, economic and political advance movements that should be in alignment with the ideals of progressive democracy.

Though at this writing the new cabinet has not furnished its programme, it is believed by many leading statesmen of France that the new general programme, besides providing for the carrying out of the law for separation of Church and State, will embrace legislation establishing old-age pensions, the purchase by the state of certain important railway lines, and the creation of a state monopoly for petroleum and alcohol.

It is interesting to note that the two Socialist members are Ministers of Labor and of Education.

M. Clemenceau's long labors as a journal-

ist have apparently convinced him of the superiority of journalists for important government positions, as six members of the present cabinet have been journalists.

Germany is greatly displeased at the elevation of Clemenceau to the Premiership, partly because of his scathing arraignment of Germany in the old days, when he was one of the most brilliant and powerful of French journalists, but chiefly because she fears that the new

Prime Minister will further cement the bonds of union between France and Great Britain.

The Pope, it is said, was greatly pained on hearing of the composition of the Clemenceau cabinet. He appeared to be laboring under the belief that the recent hostile attitude of the Papal See toward the French Republic would have intimidated the present government. The effect, however, seems to have been rather the reverse of what the Vatican anticipated.

DR. BISBEE ON PROGRESS IN THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

WHILE a doubtful battle has been waging in the economic field, while the armies of reform have been marching in a circle and though assuming various formations have made little advance, the church has been steadily moving on to greater freedom, liberality and light.

Since THE ARENA first began its warfare for truth and justice, we have seen the Farmers' Alliance rise and fall, the Populist Party threaten to sweep the nation and then subside into innocuous desuetude, the almost total eclipse of the Prohibition Party, the complete capture of the United States Senate by the trusts, the reign of bribery and graft, the spasmodic uprising of the people here and there, a strange confusion of forces, making, one scarcely knows whither. Whether this government is to advance into a true democracy or is to retrograde into an oligarchy of wealth is beyond the power of the present to determine, but that the church is to move on into the light, and consequently into greater power and influence, is as sure as that the sun shines. There are no forces in the church, as there are in the government, which can be organized to check the onward march of truth. Every day obstructive individualities are being removed by death and there are none to take their place. As an instance of this advancing thought we notice the recent attempts at heresy trials in the largest protestant denomination in the country, namely, the Methodist Episcopal. Three attempts have been made to expel three leading thinkers in three different conferences of this church, and all have failed. In one case, that of Borden P. Bowne, LL.D., of the Boston University, trial was brought and the defendant acquitted. In the two other cases, that of Rev. Charles Parkhurst, editor of *Zion's Herald*, and that of Hinckley G. Mitchell, D.D., late Professor

in Boston University School of Theology, the charges for heresy were dismissed as trivial. And yet there is little doubt that in a technical sense all three of the accused were guilty. They had all promised to preach and maintain the doctrines of their church, something which an intelligent man can hardly do in this enlightened age.

The doctrines of the church are medieval, formulated in an age when God was an external being, the first man was created in a minute, the earth was flat, and the Bible was infallible. Now God is immanent, man a slow development, the earth is a sphere, and the Bible the literature of a growing people. Men may say they believe the old doctrines, or claim faith in all the essentials, but literally and technically they do not believe, and cannot believe, what the fathers preached and sought to maintain; and yet they can rarely be convicted or even brought to trial for heresy.

The church has not yet sloughed off all the dross of fanaticism and absurdity of belief, but it is advancing and can never return to the refuge of infallibility or the covert of special spiritual privilege. Wherever to-day it attempts to set up a monopoly of the way of salvation it makes itself a laughing stock and is at once discredited by all rational minds. It is rapidly recognizing the situation and is now turning from the evangelism of death to the evangelism of life. Instead of laying the chief stress on salvation from a future hell, the endeavor is to save men from a life of falsehood and selfishness here.

We are glad to note this advance movement in the thought of the church, and while there may be exceptions to this advance, and while there may be occasional haltings of the vanguard, we predict a future church of splendid possibilities.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

PORFIRIO DIAZ: THE MAKER OF MODERN MEXICO.*

A BOOK-STUDY.

I. THE BOOK.

THIS volume is probably the most interesting and informing life of the greatest constructive statesman of Mexico that has appeared. The author enjoyed special advantages in preparing her work. She had won the friendship of the wife of the President on a previous visit to the Republic when preparing her work *Mexico as I Saw It*. At that time Porfirio Diaz had interested himself in her and had extended to her special facilities which enabled her to visit and explore various little-frequented parts of this wonderful old land, even sending her military escorts when her path lay through regions that were not considered perfectly safe for unattended travelers to explore. *Mexico as I Saw It* greatly pleased the President, and on her return to the Republic she secured his reluctant consent to her writing a somewhat exhaustive work on his life and achievements. In order that the book might be authoritative in character, President Diaz placed at her command his own *Autobiography* and gave her free access to various governmental documents and data not generally accessible. She has performed her work in a very painstaking manner, interviewing eminent citizens throughout the Republic and gleaning wherever possible facts bearing upon her subject. Thus it is safe to say that no previous writer has had anything like the same opportunities for preparing an authoritative life of Porfirio Diaz as have been enjoyed by Mrs. Tweedie.

The work, however, is seriously marred by the author's extreme enthusiasm for her subject, which leads her at times to become fulsome in her praise, and this very absence of the judicial spirit tends to make the reader distrust the accuracy of the narrative. Biographers have two extremes to avoid. One is the ultra-judicial attitude which renders the biography cold, lifeless and uninteresting. The other is the extreme enthusiasm for the subject that obviously interferes with critical estimates and the judicial spirit without which

a work cannot be regarded as altogether reliable. It is extremely unfortunate that Mrs. Tweedie did not have some critical friend or discriminating book-reader at hand who could and would have indicated how, by leaving out a number of entirely unnecessary exhibitions of personal admiration for the great statesman, the work would have greatly gained in value and the subject himself would have stood forth in nobler proportions; because the simple story of an heroic life such as is that of Diaz, is far more effective than the story adorned by fulsome praise. This serious mistake on the author's part and some minor defects are blemishes in an otherwise very interesting and valuable work; but these defects are small in comparison with the general excellence of the life-story as given by Mrs. Tweedie.

II. THE BOYHOOD OF PORFIRIO DIAZ.

Porfirio Diaz was born in Oaxaca in 1830. His father, who was the keeper of a small inn, died when the boy was but three years of age. The mother and his god-father, who was the bishop of Oaxaca, designed him for the priesthood, but the boy had other aims. In vain did the mother weep and entreat and the bishop argue and storm; the boy was obdurate. As a calling he determined to follow law for a time, though he early secretly decided to become a soldier and fight on the side of freedom; for from his early boyhood days bands of soldiers had from time to time camped in or nigh to Oaxaca, and at night the boy had been accustomed to visit these camps, where with open mouth and staring eyes he listened to the tales of daring narrated by the soldiers, who with the fertile imagination of the Southern races failed not to put a double varnish on the wondrous feats of their colonels in the various frays. But these soldiers in many instances had caught far more than a glimpse of the great ideals of free government based on justice and human rights toward which Mexico was even then blindly stumbling. At that time the boy began to dream and to vaguely plan to some day become a colonel. "He wove dreams in the

**The Maker of Modern Mexico: Porfirio Diaz*. By Mrs. Alec-Tweedie. With over 100 illustrations and a map. Cloth. Pp. 422. Price, \$5.00 net. New York: John Lane Company.

night, and in imagination saw himself some day a colonel. Ah, but could he, the poor simple boy, ever rise step by step in the army and some day lead his regiment, some day help in the making of Mexican history, some day be of use to the land of his birth, the land he loved with all the ardor of youth, as he now loves it with the strength of maturity?"

It was necessary, however, for him to put aside the dreams of a soldier's renown in order to master the profession which next to the priesthood offered him the surest means of aiding in the support of the family. He entered school but soon found himself confronted by a number of serious problems. His mother, toil hard as she might, could not support herself and her two sons, and Porfirio as the elder found it necessary to do something to help drive back the wolf of want. When not studying, he worked hard for small returns, and at length, after he had some time been studying law, his studious habits and marked ability attracted the attention and enlisted in his behalf the personal aid of Don Marco Pérez, a learned judge and a professor in the Law Institute. He secured for Porfirio the coveted position of librarian, which enabled the youth to earn sufficient to continue his law studies uninterrupted.

Don Marco Pérez perhaps more than any other single individual influenced Diaz in the formative period of his school life. He was a leading Republican, a man of great breadth of thought and wide learning, and of rare enlightenment for the time and land. He implanted lofty ideals in the mind of the ambitious youth and impressed deeply on his plastic brain the fundamental principles that are essential to free government. He showed him that peace and order were necessary to prosperity and happiness, but that greater in importance than peace and order were justice and the rights of all the people; that these things must all go hand in hand ere Mexico could take her place among the sisterhood of enlightened free states. During his student period Pérez introduced Diaz to Juárez, the great statesman who was destined to lay broad and deep the foundations of modern Mexico.

Later Diaz was able to richly repay the great kindness shown him by Pérez, and as the incident illustrates the readiness to risk death for a friend or a principle that has ever been one of the most marked characteristics of Diaz, it is worthy of notice. In 1854 Pérez was arrested by the partisans of Santa Anna

on the charge that he was a Liberal conspirator against the despotic dictator. He was thrown into prison from which it was most probable he would have been shortly taken out and executed. Porfirio Diaz with the aid of his brother Felix, in the dead of night, climbed to the roof of the prison, eluding the sentinels who passed at short intervals. By his brother's aid Porfirio let himself down until opposite the little window of Pérez's cell. Here he arranged with the prisoner a plan by which the great patriot effected his escape.

III. THE MEXICO OF THIS PERIOD.

It is difficult for us to-day, with Mexico as one of the most peaceful, well-governed and prosperous of the New World nations, to appreciate the condition of that distracted land for generations before the election of Diaz to the presidency. For three hundred years Mexico had been under Spanish rule, the spoil of as heartless, avaricious and insatiable a despotism as Europe has produced. The native Mexicans had been despoiled of their own and enslaved. The full-blooded Spaniards who remained in Mexico, as well as those who intermarried with the Mexicans, were looked down upon by the men who came from the Old World. Spain sent representatives of broken-down old aristocratic families to rule Mexico and drain her of her wealth for the Spanish government. Incidentally these foreigners found the province very useful for personal enrichment, and they almost invariably exacted a double dole of wealth from the impoverished and enslaved people. Corruption went hand in hand with cruelty. A reign of graft marked by appalling oppression prevailed. The church had early become all-powerful, but unhappily for the Mexicans, the church and state were locked arm in arm, both fattening off of the miseries of the multitude, and all revolts were not only frowned upon by the high church authorities, but the power of the Clericals was ever exerted to uphold foreign authority or reactionary and despotic ideals. Thus when Hidalgo, a Creole and one of the noblest of the Mexican priests, rebelled and with an army that flocked to his standard, swept forward with almost irresistible power, it was the magic of the church's authority more than aught else that wrought his ruin. It is not strange, therefore, that when the burdens became too ter-

rible to be borne, when load had been laid upon load on the backs of the people, until despair looked forth from the faces of the gaunt-visaged multitude and, mingled with the hunted stare, flashed deadly hate, the Clerical party as well as Spain became an object of aversion to millions of Catholic citizens; while after the triumph of Iturbide in 1821, when Mexico threw off the Spanish yoke, the Clericals were ever with the party of reaction and unrepudiated ideals. Iturbide, it will be remembered, demanded the independence of Mexico from Spanish rule; the recognition of the equality of Mexicans with Spaniards; and finally, the exclusion of all religions but that of Roman Catholicism from the state.

Iturbide was soon deposed in a revolt led by Santa Anna, one of the strongest and most malign characters in Mexico during a period of sixty years. Then came a time of disorder in which several men pronounced themselves presidents or rulers,—a period marked by ever-present revolutions in which despotism and anarchy went hand in hand. At length Santa Anna deemed himself strong enough to seize the reins of power. "He was all-powerful at the time when Diaz first entered politics as a rebel against his authority." Of Santa Anna our author well observes: "He violated every oath that he took, and was disloyal to every government which employed him."

He was clever, rapacious, unscrupulous, crafty and cruel. He had long been a strong figure in Mexican life, sometimes appearing as the people's champion, again as their oppressor; sometimes hailed as a Liberal, at others anathematized as a tyrant.

Mexico, as may well be imagined, presented a pitiful picture at this time. Her people were like blind men who had lost their way and were vainly seeking the smooth highway, blindly groping their way to the light of true freedom based on justice and orderly government. But as yet the goal was far off. Still, hopeless as seemed the outlook, there were at that moment two men, born and reared in Oaxaca—one a full-blooded Indian, the other part Indian—destined to win and wear large honors and to carve for themselves high niches in the temple of statesmanship, who were already dreaming great things for the mother-land,—Benito Juárez, the real emancipator and the foundation builder of modern Mexico, and Porfirio Diaz, the master-builder of the present Republic.

IV. BENITO JUAREZ, WHO LAID THE FOUNDATION OF THE MODERN MEXICAN REPUBLIC.

Juárez was one of the most remarkable men that the New World of the nineteenth century produced. He was a direct descendant from the once powerful and advanced Zapotec Indians. In his veins there coursed no European blood. When nine years of age he was left an orphan in the care of an uncle, also a full-blooded Indian. They lived in a wretched little village forty-five miles from the city of Oaxaca. The uncle treated the boy very brutally and one day he ran away and joined a band of provision venders who were on their way to Oaxaca. He remained in the city, but as he only knew the Indian language he almost starved before a fellow-Zapotec youth, who was a student, found him and secured for him a place in a family in the city. The head of the family in which he was engaged became greatly attached to him and through his generosity he was enabled to obtain an excellent schooling. It was the expectation of his benefactor that he would enter the church, but like Diaz, Juárez felt a strong distaste for the calling of the priesthood and on the death of his benefactor he became a student in the Law Institute. After graduating from it he became a judge, the governor of Oaxaca, and later Minister of Justice. He was several times elected President of the Republic of Mexico. Juárez was the most fundamental and far-seeing statesman in the Mexico of his day. He was the master-spirit in securing the great measures known as the Laws of Reform, which provided for:

"1. Equality of all men before the law, and the abolition of the privileged courts for priests and military men.

"2. Sequestration of the property of the Church, the dissolution of the Religious Orders, and eventually civil marriages, civil registration of births, deaths, etc.

"3. Religious toleration, with certain privileges for Catholic worship, and full separation of Church and State."

He was also a master-spirit in advocating and later in securing the adoption and enforcement of the great Liberal Constitution of 1857. During some of the darkest days in Mexico's history he was the great overpowering spirit representing democracy or the

spirit of liberal Republicanism, and by his resolute determination, his far-seeing statesmanship and his natural ability he was able to lay the foundations of the modern Republic and make it possible for his great successor to carry forward the work of national liberation.

V. DIAZ BECOMES A SOLDIER.

In 1854 Santa Anna's persecution of the Liberals, his retrograde programme and his exhibitions of despotism in his effort to become supreme dictator, led to general opposition on the part of those who had the courage of their convictions among the Liberals, and finally Don Juan Alvarez, a full-blooded Indian and a man of commanding intellectual ability, promulgated a Liberal programme known as the "Plan of Ayutla." It demanded freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of association, the abolition of the ecclesiastic and military privileges, and the establishment and extension of popular education. This programme or "plan," as all such manifestoes of that day were called, aroused great enthusiasm among the Liberals, and Santa Anna, finding his hold on the people waning, ordered an election to indicate his right to be the supreme dictator. The election of course was a farce, as wherever there was any fear of Liberal sentiment finding expression, soldiers were placed to awe the voters. Thus in the Law Institute at Oaxaca soldiers were stationed all around the building and the faculty were ordered to vote. Diaz was then a professor of law in the Institute. He braved the wrath of Santa Anna's men and voted for Alvarez. Orders were immediately given for his arrest, but he fled with a companion, and, obtaining guns and horses, the two succeeded in making their escape from the town before the officers effected any arrest. From this hour until the end of the long and bloody struggle that finally witnessed the triumph of Juárez, the expulsion of the French and the establishment of the modern Mexican Republic on the broad and liberal foundations of the Constitution of 1857, Diaz was a tireless soldier in the cause of Liberal government. He rose through his superior military genius, his dauntless courage, and skill, to the supreme command, and at every step he evinced military genius of a very high order, never appearing at such splendid advantage as when in a crisis or a desperate situation where only

a combination of intellectual acuteness and dauntless courage could wring victory from impending defeat. To but briefly summarize his military career would require a volume. A glance at two or three of his early engagements, however, will help us to understand Diaz as a soldier while illustrating many characteristics that have contributed largely to his success in the rôle of nation-builder.

The first noteworthy engagement in which he distinguished himself after allying himself with the Republican forces was at Ixcapa. He was then but twenty-seven years of age, a captain serving under Colonel Salado. The Liberal forces in this engagement numbered but 330 men; they were opposed by 700 well-armed soldiers. When Salado found the enemy so greatly superior to his own forces he foolishly expressed his belief in the hopelessness of the situation in the hearing of the soldiers and was preparing to beat a hasty retreat, when it was found that the enemy had flanked his forces and were pressing for an engagement. The Liberal soldiers were terrified and on the brink of a panic, when Diaz turned to his men and in a brief but thrilling speech instilled into them something of his own courage and mental exaltation. Then he cried, "Fix bayonets and follow me!" And he led them forth against a detachment greatly superior in numbers to his own with such vigor and enthusiasm that the enemy soon broke and ran. He then immediately attacked another column that was advancing from a different direction. Waving his cap, he shouted to the men to follow him, and the men, flushed with their first triumph, were quick to obey. Unhappily, before the enemy was reached, a ball struck Diaz, broke a rib and passed almost through his body. He fell to the ground and for a moment all was black before him. Then with an almost superhuman effort he sprang to his feet, pressed his cap over the wound to staunch the flow of blood, and rushed forward encouraging his men. Again the fury of the onslaught on the part of Diaz's command resulted in the rout of the foe. Now other detachments of Colonel Salado's force came up and the enemy was chased into a stream near by where boats had been in waiting. The early comers, however, leaped into the boats, leaving their comrades to swim the river, which was literally swarming with man-eating alligators. So, what with the shots of the triumphant Republicans and the industry of the hungry

hordes of alligators, few of the soldiers who reached the river effected a crossing.

There was no surgeon with the forces of Salado, and it was several months before the bullet could be extracted. Before the wound had healed the great cause called so imperatively that the wounded man felt compelled to actively engage in a strenuous fight when he should have been resting under skilful surgical care.

"Oaxaca was besieged by the Reactionary General José Maria Cobos. In a desperate attempt to seize provisions from the enemy, of which his men were badly in need, he [Diaz] opened his old wound, which had not thoroughly healed. In spite of this he maintained a gallant defense of the quadrants of the city entrusted to his command, and finally won a victory. General Rosas Landa, in command, impressed by the superiority of the besiegers in men and material, had talked of abandoning the town and cutting a way through the enemy's lines to the mountains.

"Diaz and other younger officers obtained consent to a final assault on Cobos' troops, which was delivered with such force and effect that after several hours' fighting they were obliged to retire in the direction of Tehuantepec, and the siege was raised.

"Rarely has a young officer at the outset of his military career chanced upon such a school of training in actual warfare as fell to the lot of Porfirio Diaz.

"It is quite impossible to enter in detail into all the numerous battles in which he participated; the victory against Cobos at Jalapa in February, 1858, when Diaz was for the first time entrusted with the supreme command of an expeditionary force; the night march and daybreak assault upon Las Jicaras a few months later, when José Conchado, the Reactionary General, was killed, and Captain Diaz, for his distinguished services on that day, was promoted major of the National Guard; the fight at Mixtequilla, in June, 1859, when the Clerical leader, Colonel Espinosa, was killed; the actions at Marquésado, Mitla, and Ixtepeji."

In August, 1860, a fierce conflict took place at Oaxaca, lasting two days. Early in the first day Diaz was badly wounded in the leg. He remained in the fight, however, all day, though the loss of blood and the inflammation

that set in rendered it almost impossible for him to remain on his horse long before the tide of battle turned. His conspicuous bravery secured for him "the rank of colonel in the permanent army, which was sent to him from Vera Cruz by President Juárez."

He was now thirty years of age and had reached what was the summit of his boyhood's ambition, but the vista had greatly broadened. Life had come to mean infinitely more to him and the duty he owed his country in her hour of need rose before him as a sacred trust. He determined to become a patriot priest of liberty and one of the fathers of the Republic. In reward for a brilliant military feat at a critical time in the battle of Jalatlaco, he was in July, 1861, made general of a brigade.

We have now come to the close of the great War of Reform, with the triumph of Juárez and the Constitution of the Liberal Republicans; but just at the moment when the dawn seemed about to break over the exhausted, prostrated and distracted country, a new calamity befell the land of the ancient Aztecs.

Napoleon III., not content with betraying his Republic and enslaving her people, plotted to seize Mexico as the first important move in carrying forward a dream for foreign conquest which he entertained. The United States was in the midst of her terrible Civil war, else he would have not have attempted his bold scheme, even though masked by false pretenses. Maximilian was forced on the Mexicans, to the great joy of the Clericals and reactionaries; but the friends of freedom were nothing if not Spartans in bravery and loyalty to the ideals of freedom, and among the great champions of freedom Juárez the President and Diaz the intrepid and brilliant general, kept the fires of liberty brightly burning in the North and South, long after the usurpers were enthroned in the ancient capital of Montezuma.

VI. THE FRENCH INVASION AND THE ENTHRONEMENT OF MAXIMILIAN.

Craftily and with the deceit in which he gloried and which was his chief element of success, Napoleon succeeded in masking his purposes from the European powers interested in Mexican bonds and claims, until he gained the acquiescence necessary for his immediate acts. Then the plot slowly unfolded itself, and in the end Maximilian of Austria,

a puppet of Napoleon, was declared Emperor of Mexico, and his position it was the purpose of Napoleon to uphold by French bayonets for French interests.

It was a despicable plot, worthy of its author, but the Mexican Republicans, though poor, exhausted and in ill condition to defend themselves, stubbornly contested the steady advance of the French from Vera Cruz. Finally, however, in May, 1863, Puebla, the chief citadel of the Republican forces that lay between the enemy and the capital city, was compelled to surrender after heroic resistance on the part of the Republicans under General Ortega. Diaz, together with the other officers, became a prisoner. The French commander offered to parole them all if they would sign a pledge not to take up arms against Maximilian. This the patriots refused to do, and they were thereupon informed that upon the following day they would be marched to fever-laden Vera Cruz. That night, however, Diaz, who the Indians had long declared held a charmed life, effected his escape. He was pursued but not retaken, and in a short time was in his own loved Southland, ready to again raise the Republican standard.

With the fall of Puebla, Juárez found it necessary to quit Mexico City. He therefore removed the seat of constitutional government farther north, making his first stop in a series of flights that were to follow after leaving Mexico City, at San Luis Potosi. Juárez now tendered Diaz the supreme military command, but the latter refused this on the ground that there were so many older generals who might resent his promotion and abandon the cause of the Republicans. He did, however, accept at Juárez's earnest solicitation the position of general-in-chief of the army of the East.

Maximilian strove to bribe Diaz by an offer of station and honor if he would come over to the imperial cause, but the patriot indignantly spurned this. Then Marshal Bazaine, the great military prop of Maximilian, was sent to crush the dangerous foe. With an immensely superior force Bazaine laid siege to Oaxaca, and after forty days Diaz was compelled to surrender, owing to the fact that his supplies and ammunition were exhausted. He was removed to Puebla, where he was imprisoned for many weary months. At length, however, he effected his escape in spite of the vigilance of the French.

In September, 1865, Diaz commenced a

memorable one-hundred-days' campaign marked by four victories, many deeds of daring, and the organization of a great Brigade. Two events of 1865 were big with fate for Mexico and the forlorn hope that was keeping the fires of liberty burning throughout the land. One was the close of our Civil war and the other the decree of October 3d,—the bloody and infamous decree issued by Maximilian but said to have been instigated by Bazaine. It, after alleging that the Republic had ceased to exist, declared that thereafter all persons, wherever found, who resisted the authority of Maximilian, would be shot within twenty-four hours of their capture. Had the ill-starred Maximilian possessed the vision of a seer he might have seen that when he placed his signature to that savage and infamous decree he sealed his own fate. After the promulgation of the bloody order the wholesale slaughter of the patriots commenced. Brave and honorable officers, aged patriots and noble-minded youths, all who were captured were remorselessly shot. A thrill of horror ran through Mexico and the civilized world. Our government, now that the Civil war was over, was free to act, and to her honor be it said, she acted promptly. She sent a firm but diplomatic protest to France, clearly giving Napoleon to understand that he must withdraw his troops from Mexican soil, while an army of observation was sent by the United States to the Mexican frontiers. Napoleon acted on the hint and slowly began to withdraw his troops. But this action resulted in increased activity among the warring forces. The followers of Maximilian fought with the fury of despair. They felt that after the bloody decree and its ruthless execution, unless the Republican forces could be utterly destroyed, their own destruction awaited them; while the Republicans continued to gain accessions and fought with new spirit and courage. Stronghold after stronghold yielded. Juárez, with an army augmented to 15,000, advanced from the North. Diaz captured Oaxaca and marched on Puebla, which he carried by storm. Next he moved on the City of Mexico and laid siege to that capital. In the meantime Juárez's forces, under the command of General Escobedo, met and defeated Maximilian's leading general, Miramon, in a decisive engagement. The ill-starred Emperor retired to Querétaro, where the fall of the empire was sealed by the capture of Maximilian. He was shot. He

could not have expected other fate, in view of his merciless decree which had been the means of the shooting down in cold blood of hosts of the noblest sons of the Republic. It was not until after the execution of Maximilian that the City of Mexico surrendered to Diaz, but on June 21, 1867, the Republican forces entered the ancient capital in triumph.

Juárez now became the unchallenged ruler of the Republic. At the election which was held Diaz's friends urged him to announce himself as a candidate, but he positively refused and supported Juárez, who was unanimously chosen. Juárez, however, was not so successful in the work of reconstructing the state as he had been in promulgating vital principles, attacking hoary wrongs and laying the foundation for a great nation. He was sixty-two years of age at this time, very set and opinionated, and he had also come somewhat under the conservative influence that is characteristic of age. But few men, even among the great of the earth, remain young in spirit after they have passed the meridian period of life, and Juárez was no exception to this rule. He seemed to distrust his own principles and therefore delayed executing some of the most radical provisions of the new Constitution, to the amazement and indignation of many of his staunchest followers, among whom was Diaz. The latter was also further estranged from Juárez owing to the President's removing some of Diaz's most trusted friends and refusing to listen to the great general's earnest entreaties. Diaz, however, loved Mexico too much to attempt to paralyze Juárez in his work at so critical a time as that through which the young Republic was now passing. He completely reorganized the army, at the earnest solicitation of Juárez, after which he declined all offices under the new government and retired to his farm near Oaxaca. There he dwelt in peace and happiness with his family, cultivating the soil and studying the best methods for developing the agricultural resources of his region.

As time passed the breach between the Liberal and the Conservative Republicans widened, and Diaz became the recognized head of the Liberal party. Thus when in 1871 it became evident that the old statesman proposed to have himself reelected, contrary to the Constitution, Diaz announced himself as a candidate. Juárez was declared elected, but under circumstances that Diaz refused to accept as representing an honestly expressed

verdict on the part of the people. He took the field, but the sudden death of the aged statesman through heart-failure prevented the country from undergoing the horrors of another civil war, and the President of the Supreme Court, Lerdo de Tejada, became President.

Diaz then retired to his home and resumed his agrarian occupations. Lerdo was later elected President and served four years, but when he proposed to have himself declared President for a succeeding term, Diaz again headed an armed revolt which was finally successful, and in 1876 he became President of the Republic; not, however, until after he had had some thrilling and hairbreadth escapes.

He now set to work to create a great nation and to transform as rapidly as possible the distracted and poverty-stricken land into a peaceful and prosperous state. But at the outset his acts were often marked by great severity and not unfrequently seemed ruthless in the extreme. He was determined to stamp out disorder, lawlessness and the wholesale brigandage and murder that had become so marked a feature of Mexico during its alternate periods of despotism and anarchy. It would be unjust to judge all of Diaz's acts during the early days when he was seeking to lift Mexico out of the mire of lawlessness, violence, and corruption, by standards such as we should apply to an Anglo-Saxon ruler in an English-speaking land; for the conditions were so manifestly dissimilar. Then again, for three centuries Mexico had been the victim of a crushing and merciless despotism. When she had thrown off the foreign yoke, adventurer after adventurer rose, seizing the reins of government and beginning to play the despot. The people had been alternately the sport of tyranny and of anarchy so long that only a strong, resolute and masterful hand could have successfully established peace, order and security based on justice. Men in positions like that of Diaz must be judged largely by their master-motives. Had Diaz possessed personal ambition, greed for power or lust for gold, his fate would in all probability have been similar to that of all the self-seekers who had preceded him and who are to-day all but forgotten in the annals of Mexico. But Diaz was swayed by no base motive, passion or desire. His master or dominating thoughts were the creation of a great, free and prosperous state and the conservation of the best in-

terests of the people which should foster the happiness and aid the development of every Mexican, from the lowest to the highest. This is the secret of his wonderful success. It was this master-note in his rigid administration, together with his obvious desire to be strictly just at all times, that made the masses throughout the land clamor for Diaz to continue his rule when his term of office was drawing to a close. This, however, he refused to do, for at that time the law forbade a president becoming his own successor.

At the succeeding election Manuel González, a friend of Diaz, was elected President, but in 1884 there was a general demand for Diaz to return to power. Instinctively the nation seemed to feel that he was the one man who could bring order out of chaos, put down lawlessness, restore credit, and, in a word, take the infant nation by the hand and teach it to walk as wisely and well as its sister Republic on the North.

VII. THE STATESMAN AND HIS WORK.

Diaz accepted the charge not without some misgivings, but with the determination to consecrate his life to the nation. When he had first been elected his life had been frequently attempted, both by bullet and poison, and for some time his stern and rigorous rule, especially while stamping out brigandage, made him the object of personal hate. But he had ever been a stranger to fear, and now that he had consecrated his life to the work of making Mexico a great nation whose people should be law-abiding, prosperous and happy, he went resolutely forward.

At that time Mexico literally thronged with brigands and cut-throats. The mountains swarmed with bands of outlaws who rendezvoused in almost inaccessible fastnesses; and these were in league with confederates in the cities who kept them posted as to the movements of people of means and travelers who might carry valuables. Diaz knew that the great resources of Mexico could not be developed until brigandage was stamped out, and he went to work. The orders were to execute all brigands, and the President displayed his usual aggressive determination in the work, evincing much of the spirit of Wentworth and Cromwell. He overawed to a great extent the lawless population, but for a long time he did not succeed in stamping out brigandage, as the mountains were still fast-

nesses for multitudinous bands. Then a bright idea came to him. Many, perhaps most, of these men had lost all they possessed during the fierce wars. They had become outlaws—starving outlaws—largely through the force of untoward circumstances. Might it not be a wise thing to offer these Ishmaels of civilization the opportunity to regain their foothold among law-abiding citizens? Why not give them a chance? Accordingly, when the brigands were caught they were questioned. "How much money do you obtain a week on the average in your lawless and criminal life?" The prisoners answered. Diaz pondered. At last he decided on a daring programme. He then announced that he would pay the bandits double the amount which they claimed was the average of their acquisitions obtained by thieving. He would enroll them as members of the Mexican Constabulary or Rurals, an arm of her army, and they were to extend this offer to all the members of the various bands they knew; but each man must needs swear to faithfully obey all orders given and serve the state with the utmost fidelity, and if any bandits refused to accept this offer they were to be hunted down and killed wherever found. And he warned these one-time brigands against any laxity or failure in faithfully serving the State. The idea was an inspiration of statesmanlike genius. It worked admirably. Soon Mexico was like another land and the Rurals became the strongest military and police arm of the Republic.

But while Diaz was giving much attention to restoring law and order, he was also deeply engaged in other things, one of the chief of which was popular education. No subject has more engaged the attention of this statesman than that of free secular education for his people. He also has ever greatly interested himself in the agrarian and mineral development of Mexico, has interested foreign capital, and has entered heart and soul into every sane and reasonable proposition that promised to increase the prosperity and happiness of or develop and educate his people. Furthermore, he has been equally watchful to guard them against the spoilers. One striking example of this character will clearly illustrate this fact, as it is thoroughly typical.

The poor people of Mexico live almost entirely on Indian corn or maize and beans. What potatoes are to the Irish and rice to the Japanese, these two articles are to the masses

of the poor of Mexico. A few years ago the corn crop of the Republic was a partial failure, and a number of sharpers, seeing how the millions of the United States were being victimized by various trusts, by corners and by the remorseless exercise of monopoly power in such a way that untold millions of dollars were being wrung from the misery of the people by a privileged few, decided to practice the same thing on the poor of Mexico. They accordingly bought up all the corn they could obtain and when they had a monopoly they arbitrarily raised the price to an almost prohibitive figure, claiming, after the manner of the American trust-magnates and their agents and apologists, that the advance in price was due to the failure of the corn crop. Now there was a high tariff wall between Mexico and the United States, so the new Mexican trust felt secure. But the people cried to their President for relief, and Diaz promptly summoned Congress and asked that the tariff on corn be suspended during the scarcity. This was done, but still the price was so controlled by the trust as to remain at an exorbitant figure. The President next asked Congress to empower the government to buy corn and sell it to the people, even if at a loss to the government, so that the starving might obtain food at or near the ordinary figure. This was done. Next he sent to the officers of the Mexican Central Railway, which was charging an extortionate price for hauling the corn from the borders of the United States, and the President hinted that in this exigency, when the government was striving to relieve the distress of the people, it would be wise for the road to handle the grain at cost. Moreover, he had previously ascertained what that cost would be. The railroad officials knew the character of the President too well to adopt the tactics which the plutocracy has for years employed in the United States. Hence they promptly complied with his request, and the machinations of the corn-trust, whose master-spirits had planned, like our oil, coal and beef-trusts, to fatten off of the misery of the multitude, quickly came to naught. This is a typical example of how Diaz has ever made the interests of the people his first care. It would have been fortunate for the United States if her statesmen had been equally solicitous for the rights and interests of all our people.

When Diaz took the helm of state Mexico was in the depths. The nation was not only absolutely exhausted, but it seemed hopelessly

demoralized by the long reign of despotism and anarchy. The treasury was empty, the Republic had no foreign credit, and on the whole it is difficult to conceive of a more deplorable outlook for a nation than that which confronted the resolute President. But he has in the less than thirty years that he has been the master-spirit of the nation recreated Mexico. No greater transformation is to be found in any nation. As our author well observes in summing up the results of Diaz's rule:

"That terrible poverty which sapped the life's blood from the country during three-fourths of the last century has turned to affluence. Peace is the outcome of Revolution. The land, jibed and jeered at abroad, now holds a position among the leading nations. Lawlessness has given place to wise jurisdiction. The Mexicans are better governed, they can afford to pay the taxes imposed for the benefits they receive, and are yet more wealthy. Instead of money pouring out to repay old debts, foreign capital is pouring into the country, so secure has Mexican credit become in the world's markets. Manufactures are building up new sources of internal revenue, and agriculture, particularly the growth of tropical products, is so admirably encouraged by the State, that agriculture alone must ensure the nation's prosperity, even should mining be destined at some future day to fail.

"These are the material results. More important still in the life of a nation, Diaz has taught the Mexicans the benefit of lasting peace, and has set before them an ideal of honest public life consistently maintained, which has made a return to the old corrupt traditions almost impossible. Diaz some day will die, but his example and his system will survive him."

A few years ago, when we chanced to be in Mexico, we took great pains to ascertain the general feeling of the people toward Diaz, and on every hand, among both poor and wealthy, all—all, without a single exception, expressed a love and admiration for the President that often strongly partook of the nature of hero-worship.

"He has made Mexico peaceful, happy and prosperous," said one very thoughtful gentleman, "and he has done it by being just and showing the people that he cared more for

Mexico and her people's good than for anything else in the world."

"There was a time," said another, "when Diaz was the object of hatred by many. To-day he is more generally and more ardently loved, I think, than any other statesman or ruler in the world."

For a period of over a quarter of a century

Porfirio Diaz has steadily grown in the affection and love of his people. There is but one explanation of this. He has ever striven to be wise and just; he has placed the weal of Mexico and the happiness of her children above all other considerations; he has exalted her State and her people, and in turn they have exalted their master-statesman and perpetual President.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

The Economy of Happiness. By James Mackaye. Cloth. Pp. 533. Price, \$2.50 net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

A NEW political economy, corresponding somewhat to the social consciousness and human, as well as industrial, need of our times, is one of our greatest needs, and has long been hoped for and expected. Such a political economy, however, could not be created on demand, but is necessarily a matter of growth and broad collaboration. The most recent, and certainly one of the most important, contributions to this work is a book which deals with the ethical foundations of the subject in a way that is both novel and profound. In fact the book is a revolution in philosophy and aims at one in economics. The author says:

"It is the duty, and it should be the delight, of the economists of our time to purge their science of the archaic dogmas of Adam Smith, and to found it directly upon the foundations of ethics itself—namely, utility—the only sound foundation for any applied science. In so doing they will have accomplished for economics what Copernicus accomplished for astronomy—they will have replaced the geocentric system of commercialism with the heliocentric system of utilitarianism—they will have fixed the center around which revolves the stupendous system of human effort and human interest—not in the dead world of wealth, but in the living sun of happiness."

It is probably true that neither the solid groundwork upon which utilitarianism rests,

nor the broad implications that grow out of it, are adequately comprehended by even its pronounced friends, but this at least cannot be said of the writer of this book. Here is a utilitarian philosophy that is not only thoroughly profound and consistent with itself, but that is far more than a challenge to that vapid intuitional dogmatism which, though exposed by Bentham more than a century ago, still holds the political and philosophical as well as the ecclesiastical mind in thrall.

Mr. Mackaye lays broad the foundations of his argument upon the nether springs of logic. Nothing is taken for granted. And his logic is not merely infallible, like all the systems of logic ever writ, it is scientific and philosophical logic. To once get one's mind into the grasp of it means never to escape its inexorable conclusions.

"Logic is the science of sciences. Ethics is the art of arts. The art of arts is founded upon the science of sciences. Ethics is founded upon logic." And it is worth a whole volume of intensely close, as well as equally clear, thinking to really discover and know forever that "a right act is an act of maximum utility—that act among those at any moment possible whose presumption of happiness is a maximum," and that "a wrong act is any alternative of a right act."

Happiness is the great ethical criterion. This, of course, is maximum happiness, quality, extensiveness, duration, and everything else considered. The maximum output of happiness is the end of endeavor. The only use of wealth is to augment pleasure or to diminish pain.

The great end and aim of the world, then, is happiness-production. This is the justification and explanation of the universe. Man-

* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

kind itself is to be judged by the happiness-production standard.

There are three factors of happiness. The first of these is sentient being, the happiness-producing agent-mankind. What kind of human beings are best adapted to convert the potentialities of happiness into happiness itself? These must have health, intelligence, etc. We must produce the best happiness-producing agent. The human stock must be improved with this in view. Of the two methods of improvement, inheritance or selection, and education or experience, the former is of greatest value to a race and the latter to an individual. The opinion that acquired characters are inheritable in individuals is entirely fallacious. President Jordan truly says that, "while it is true that the blood of a nation determines its history, it is equally true that the history of a nation determines its blood." Because acquired characters are not inheritable, the author feels himself entitled to predict concerning the negro race, for instance, that unless some other means than mere changed environment, including education, is adopted, that race will permanently remain congenitally deficient in intelligence and character. A race can be degenerated by inheritance most effectively. Its improvement is a slower process.

"The fearful mortality of the American Civil war left the Americans a poorer race; for the best of both sections were sacrificed, and for such a loss no amount of advancement in the arts and education can compensate. It means a permanent loss of efficiency in the race which peoples North America and in their posterity forever." And so inheritance is to a nation or society the most potent for good or for evil of all the determinants of happiness; while education, the most powerful method of altering the individual, is powerless as a means of altering a race. Useful education is simply a means of increasing the efficiency of individuals as agents for the conversion of potential into actual happiness.

The study of dead languages in secondary schools and as a part of the regular curriculum in colleges is severely criticised, as also is the dominance of dogma in our educational methods. Scientific and technical education should be given the greater attention because it is of greater value in the production of happiness. As theological dogma kept the ancient world in intellectual bondage, so political dogma keeps the modern world in indus-

trial bondage. Both dogma and intuitionism are cast aside. They have given us a system of morals which is both unscientific and unreasonable. Utilitarianism is the common-sense system of morals. The morals of the dogmatist are based upon history. They are habit. The dogmatist looks with horror on a bull-fight, in which a few animals are made to suffer for an hour or two, while he contemplates with complacency and resignation a system, and a preventable system, in which millions of human beings pass their lives in toil and misery and want in order that the few, in spending what the many have earned, may add novelty to their indulgence and variety to their vice. The dogmatic moralist can do this because his morals are merely a matter of custom. It is customary to condemn the bull-fight and condone the system. "This is enough for the dogmatist. The bull-fight is wrong. The preventable perpetuation of poverty is not."

Intuitionists have taught us that what we approve is right and what we disapprove is wrong, that conscience is our guide; and yet this conscience is the product of dogma and habit, conditions of life, and personal inclination. With such a foundation of ethics, it is little wonder that industrial and civic immorality and even personal vice go hand in hand with religion, civilization and culture. Let us not make conscience our guide to right and wrong. Let us make right and wrong our guide to conscience. We shall find among right acts some of which we disapprove and among wrong acts some of which we approve. Their rightness and wrongness are fixed entirely independent of our intuitional processes or the ethical traditions of the community in which we live. "Such gains as have been made in morals since the Reformation, and they have by no means been inconsiderable, have been due to the steady encroachment of the utilitarian or common-sense code of morals upon the dogmatic; as is evidenced by the fact that whenever men point to the moral advances which have taken place since the Dark Ages, they always point to the advancement of those agencies whose tendency is to increase the happiness and decrease the unhappiness of the world. Were happiness not the end of morality such advancement, of course, would be no evidence of morality."

"The old method has given us the politics of commerce—the new one will give us the politics of utility."

"The educative effect of a clear comprehension of the dilemma of intuitionism is greater and more broadening than that of a college education, since at one stroke it abolishes preteromania, pathomania, and much of logomania. The mind which once *masters* it is emancipated."

The second factor of happiness is the adaptation of a man to his environment. The voluntary acts of a man with reference to his environment, so far as they are useful, are consumptive or productive. Consumptive acts are positive when they are designed to result in a surplus of happiness and negative when they result in a surplus of unhappiness. Productive acts are pleasant or unpleasant according to their immediate effect. Happiness is the immediate purpose in consumption and the indirect or ultimate purpose in production. There can be a surplus of happiness in an individual only when he is engaged in positive consumption or pleasant production. The realm of pleasant production is comparatively small. Labor is unpleasant. The function of production produces a great balance of unhappiness. "No one who clearly understands the difference between right and wrong can indorse the morality of those who make of toil a fetish and deem it an end in itself."

The law of fatigue is expressed graphically in mathematical diagrams representing duration and intensity of labor. The surplus of pain involved in labor makes labor literally immoral. The only thing which makes productive labor a duty is the moral demand in the happiness involved in consumption. Production is moral only because it leads to consumption. A purely productive existence cannot be justified because it involves an output of more pain than pleasure. Unless the intensity of consumption is considerable, it is impossible in a world in which men devote the majority of their waking hours to production, to make their lives worth while. As happiness is the end of existence and as the immediate purpose of consumptive acts is to produce happiness, the adjustment and regulation of consumption so that it shall result in the highest and greatest possible happiness becomes a question of supreme importance.

Consumption may be monotonous—produce satiation. It is not pleasure that palls, but the consumptive act that fails after a while to reproduce the pleasure. Even in positive consumption—that which is designed

to produce a surplus of happiness—the law of fatigue soon operates, and the high points in happiness-production are not easily or long maintained. There is infinite variation in consumptive efficiency and also in consumptive capacity. \$10 may be said to have a certain amount of happiness-producing potentiality, but given to a man who has been living on \$50 a year, it will unquestionably produce a greater amount of happiness than when spent by the man whose expenses run up into the tens of thousands. Even a second \$10 will give less happiness than the first to the \$50 man.

Our industrial world has gone production-mad. Its passion is to *make* things and too little thought is given as to the *use* of the things that are made. The function of consumption needs closer attention. The goal to be aimed at is the attainment of a maximum standard of consumption-efficiency at a minimum expense in labor cost. And the equation is a social, not an individual one. Justice requires some sort of equality in the distribution of happiness, and nature, with its law of fatigue and its law of diminishing returns of happiness, seeks to support this demand of justice. The consumption of \$1,000,000 worth of wealth in a year will produce more happiness if it be distributed among 100 persons than if it be all consumed by one person. But the consumption of \$1,000,000 worth of wealth in one year distributed among 10,000 persons would force the whole community into the zone of under-consumption, and since the output of such a community would be negative—misery instead of happiness—it would be worse than no community at all.

This brings us to the third factor of happiness which is the number of sentient beings in relation to their environment and capacity for happiness.

In the application of this utilitarian philosophy which he terms the "technology of happiness" (and no one will question its technical quality) to the affairs of life, we are brought rapidly and with syllogistic exactness, to some very startling if not revolutionary conclusions.

Competition is seen at once to be unutilitarian, and the competitive system of industry both unscientific and immoral, violating the principles of common-sense and producing more misery than happiness. Our entire competitive civilization comes under this indictment, and if the indictment holds, the

social and economic world must be a failure. A test is proposed. The United States is the best product of the capitalistic system. New York City is the best product of the system in the United States. Now, is New York City producing more happiness or unhappiness? The reader is invited to apply two tests to this inquiry.

"First, I invite him in imagination to walk the streets and visit the inhabitants of the great metropolis by day and by night, and carefully to note the evidences of pleasure and pain with an impartial eye. Let him visit the houses of the rich, the well-to-do, and the middle classes, and observe their habits and their means of happiness. Are they ever unhappy—if so, how many hours a day and what is the intensity of their unhappiness—he may be sure that during their hours of production they are, on the average, not happy, though the intensity of pain during those hours may be but slight—and certainly half of their waking life is spent in production. Are they ever happy—if so, it is generally during the hours of consumption, while eating, attending entertainments, driving, reading, playing some game, or sitting quietly at home with family or friends. How many hours a day are they doing these things, and what is the average intensity during these hours? Is it one, three, six, ten hedons—it must be of *some* average intensity—we cannot determine what, but let the reader estimate from his own experience. Let him repeat these observations among the much greater multitude who live by the labor of their hands, ranging from the moderately poor to the destitute—what is their average duration of consumption, and what the intensity thereof? Let him go through the magnificent palace of the millionaire, but let him also visit the squalid tenement of the victim of poverty, outnumbering the first, five hundred to one. Let him not ignore the happiness to be found in the homes of the well-to-do, the healthy, the morally wholesome—but neither let him ignore the unhappiness to be found in the tenement houses, the hospitals, the alms-houses, the gutters, the jails, and the dives. Taking a bird's-eye-view of these things, let him candidly ask himself this question: Would you, or would you not, be willing to experience all the pain felt in New York in a year, for all the pleasure felt there in the same time? This is but inquiring whether the totality of life in

New York is self-supporting. An affirmative answer means that the total product of the city is, at least, better than nothing. A negative answer means that it is worse than nothing. How many men who knew that they would be taken literally at their word, would dare to answer in the affirmative?

"A second test is suggestible which may perhaps be more readily put into practice than this one. If, as we have contended, the test of equivalence of pleasure and pain is preference, as determined by memory rather than anticipation, then the test of whether a given period has resulted in a surplus of pain or pleasure to an individual is best ascertained by determining whether that individual would prefer living over again that period, or one containing exactly the same quantities of pleasure and pain, to not living it over again. Let this test be applied to the average citizen of New York for an average day or an average year—not to an exceptional citizen for an exceptional day or an exceptional year. The average man in New York is a laborer; he can avail himself of no more, and generally of less, labor than that which he himself supplies. The average woman in New York is a laborer also, though not necessarily a wage laborer. Let inquiry be made of the average adult dweller in New York at the close of an average day whether he or she is glad or sorry that the day is done—whether he or she would prefer living it over again to not living it over again, just as it was. Can there be any doubt of the result of such inquiry?"

From such premises the conclusion is "that the City of New York, the crowning achievement of the modern competitive system in the western world, yields a less output of happiness per acre per day or year than when Hendrick Hudson discovered its site—that it was more useful as an undiscovered wilderness than it is to-day, and contributed more to that output which it is the only useful object of society to produce—happiness. What then shall we think of all the lucubration about prosperity and national greatness so frequently heard? What relation, if any, have these things to utility? It would seem to be the height of presumption for any nation, or any representative of a nation, to boast of its success when universal annihilation would result in still greater success—at least a greater success in the production of anything which it is worth while to produce."

As natural competition is a failure, so also are the efforts to induce artificial competition or to regulate it. When the stage of pseudo-socialism is reached our author finds it but a vain attempt to patch up the system of capitalism; still he accepts the movement toward government-ownership as a step in industrial evolution and preferable to private monopoly.

His democracy is radical and consistent. There are no real democracies in existence. But there are means and devices already developed making democracy possible.

"Among the most important of them are the *initiative* and *referendum*, constituting means whereby an approximation to direct legislation may be secured. These devices are, in reality, extensions of the town-meeting principle, whereby the people vote directly for measures, instead of for men, and thus legislate for themselves instead of trusting to the readily deranged and corrupted representative system. The details of the initiative and referendum I shall not discuss here—they are capable of much variation and have stood the test of long trial—notably in Switzerland. Every democracy should adopt them as the most efficient means yet proposed of preventing lapse into oligarchy. The referendum has been occasionally employed in this country by states and municipalities, and it is one of the means prescribed in the Federal Constitution for securing amendments to that instrument. No evils have thus far developed in its employment. The fact that in many instances of the use of the referendum a majority of the voters have not troubled themselves to record their preferences has often been cited as a reason why the opportunity to record them should be denied the people altogether. Such a criticism is shallow. Because a majority does not care to express its preferences on some matter in which it is not interested affords no reason for believing that it does not care to express them on matters in which it is interested. Whenever the measures on which the people are called upon to directly decide have an essential relation to their happiness they will take sufficient interest to vote upon them, and the state in which the opportunity to do so is denied them has but an inferior claim to the name of a democracy. As a supplement to direct-legislation, an indirect system is essential in all large communities, but as the sole means of transcribing the will of the people into law it

is imperfect and unsafe. The present party system in the United States, for example, is but a bungling affair, and self-seekers have not usually encountered much difficulty in using it to defeat the people's will. Despite its defects, the democratic theory is the only reasonable one thus far proposed, since no other creates even a moderate presumption that the control of the conduct of society will be in the interests of Justice."

It is only in socialism, however, that democracy can ever find its realization. "Pseudo-socialism has all the disadvantages of socialism, and most of those of competition, without the advantage of socialism in promoting the efficiency of consumption, nor that of competition in promoting the efficiency of production." The promotion of efficiency in consumption is the great need of the world. We have gone production-mad. We must learn how to consume. At present we waste. Socialism is the way to make consumption most effective—to produce happiness in the world.

But our author has examined his socialism very carefully and pruned it somewhat. What he offers us is "a modification of socialism which will presumably combine all the advantages of public monopoly with the single advantage of competition" (efficiency of production). This system which he proposes he calls "Pantocracy." It is expounded in eight sections as follows:

"1. Public ownership of the means of production. Retention of the wage system and abolition of profit.

"2. Organization of a system of distribution, whereby supply of, and demand for, products may be adjusted.

"3. Organization of a national labor exchange, whereby supply of, and demand for, labor may be adjusted.

"4. Organization of an inspection system, whereby the quality of products may be maintained at a definite standard.

"5. Application of labor to production.

"6. Organization of invention.

"7. Old-age insurance.

"8. Reform of education."

These propositions are discussed in detail and then the author applies the tests of his utilitarian philosophy to them. The competitive system, of course, can stand no such test, but "pantocracy" can. It would im-

prove the quality of the "happiness-producing agent"; it would permit more happiness in work, it would conserve natural resources; it would promote the use of machinery in the arts; it would solve the labor problem; it would provide substantial equality in the distribution of wealth; it would increase leisure and wages at the same time; it would restrict both the propagation of the race and the death-rate and produce a better numerical adjustment of the population to its surroundings. It would thus fulfil all the main conditions of happiness-producing efficiency.

Any restricted attempt to summarize Mr. Mackaye's argument cannot but fail to do it justice. He lays a deeper and safer foundation for his socialism than Marx laid, and he undermines most thoroughly the system of ethics upon which the political and economic dogmas of competition and *laissez faire* have been based. Many of his most sympathetic readers, I imagine, will be unable to agree with his conclusions as to the inefficacy and futility of what he calls pseudo-socialism, or the inevitableness of full-fledged socialism, but these conclusions are not so important nor so secure as the premises, or at least the main premises, from which they are drawn. While the suggestions made as to the *modus operandi* of installing the new social system have their interest and value and may be nearer to the realm of actual probabilities than anything of the kind in Bellamy or Marx, they may still be easily forgotten by many a reader upon whom the book itself makes an indelible impression.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

Industrial America. By J. Laurence Laughlin, Ph.D., Professor and Head of the Department of Political Economy in the University of Chicago. Cloth. Price, \$1.25 net. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

THE SCOPE of this volume is well indicated by the six subjects treated, namely: "American Competition With Europe," "Protectionism and Reciprocity," "The Labor Problem," "The Railway Question," "The Banking Problem," and "The Present Status of Economic Thinking in the United States."

On all such topics the head of a department of the great Chicago University is supposed to speak with authority, and he has given us much of value. For example there are maps

showing the different railway systems, and diagrams showing the liabilities of banks and the relative amount of different kinds of money in circulation in the United States. In this way important knowledge is conveyed at a glance.

The book also contains some strong statements concerning the political situation. In discussing protectionism the author takes the most radical position, and shows up the baneful political effects of the ultra-protection policy. In fact he admits the "treason of the Senate" and states it in strong general terms as forcibly as David Graham Phillips himself. He says:

"As a lover of my country, it is a painful duty to explain the operation of some forces now at work in our political life; and only because, as a scientific student, I am expected to make a truthful report, could I be obliged to mention them here.

"Never has the upper house of Congress been held so cheaply by the citizen as it is to-day. The traditional and honorable title of senator now covers the mountebank, the unscrupulous lumber or mining king, or the successful manipulator of State legislators through the use of corporation interests within the States. The demagogue who burns red lights before the masses to cheat them into the idea that he is a tribune of the people, and who is thereby voted into the Senate, is a clean person compared to the man who takes his seat in that august body knowing that he would not be there were he not willing to vote and act—not as the representative of all the people, but—as the attorney for large private interests. There are senators, it is true, of eloquence, ability, astute statesmanship, commanding learning in the law, and high personal integrity; but it is also true at this very hour that a bill touching the interests of the sugar-trust, or of many another great interest protected by the tariff, could not possibly pass the Senate. This is an unmistakable consequence of embarking on a policy by which industries are directly affected in their profit and loss by legislation. The concerns of the State as a whole become thus inextricably entangled with the pecuniary gains of special interests or of private persons. This situation would be black indeed if it were supposed that all who vote in favor of special interests do so because they are personally corrupt. This is not true. Very many

senators, no doubt, vote according to the declared policy of their party, whether it is right or wrong; and others may honestly believe that protectionism or favors to the 'trusts' are of advantage to the country.

"This explanation gives us the clew as to the reason why enormous sums of money are spent in our political campaigns. The American electorate is not more venal than that of other countries—such, for example, as that of England; but a system under which the rise or fall of great industries depends upon a vote of Congress, puts an enormous premium on the corrupt use of money in elections. When industries owe their existence, not to exceptional skill, situation, climate, or natural resources, but to a slender majority in a vote of Congress, the industrial situation must always be highly artificial and unstable. The questionable morals by which such an artificial situation is perpetuated from decade to decade cannot but leave its baleful influence on our politics and on the character of many of our public men. But mark this: it could not in reason be otherwise when, in every national election—or in any election of State legislators—the prizes at stake are not merely the spoils of office (which, Heaven knows, are bad enough!), but the multitudinous interests of billions of invested capital. It may be that the material gains to industry from the protective system are so great and so highly valued that they vastly overbalance the moral degradation of our political life; but, if so, we ought to know the price we are paying, and fully realize it.

"So acute a politician as Mr. Chamberlain in England, has taken a leaf out of the experience of the United States. Once establish protective duties, even at a low level—no matter on what grounds, imperial or local—and heavy campaign funds will inevitably be drawn to support the candidates of the party pledged to maintain the new duties. A new motive is introduced; it is not whether you approve this or that foreign policy, this or that position on the army, this or that educational scheme—but whether your personal pecuniary interests will be secured by the election of a certain man. There comes in the damaging confusion between political principles and self-interest—which is the very essence of bribery. As a consequence there arises a kind of candidate for office, not because he has convictions on public questions, but because he is expected to vote for iron, or

for ale. There are thus created conditions which lower both the moral tone of the electors and the character of the public officials. What is the end in view? A group of party managers, once in power, can command unlimited money and active support in every test of power on the hustings; and as time goes on it can practically intrench itself in office behind the self-interest of industrial establishments. With the example of America before her, it is inconceivable that Great Britain should be willing to exchange the present high level of morals among her members of Parliament for a class of men who place private interests above the true life of the state.

"The leaders of protectionism are in the Senate, and control that body. Thereby they are able to make their policy a continuing one, without any interruptions due to the election of a hostile majority in the lower house, or to a change in the Executive. Moreover, the control of the press by *force majeure* is an instrument of great influence with the public. An extended chain of newspapers supports all the policies of the Republican Party; and for the furtherance of these policies, the party leaders easily determine not only what should be said loudly, but also what should not be said. In fact, these men are astute in purveying to the press-agents, either a tentative scheme with which to sound the public, or the constant iteration of a necessary idea—such as that protection protects the working-man, or a careful suppression of discussion on a critical question."

These words were spoken to the students of a German university, for the book is made up of lectures given in Europe, and express the deliberate convictions, painfully uttered, of the man who holds a very high position in the field of political science. What more can be said to convince the American people that "times are ripe and rotten ripe for change," in the upper house of Congress and also in the System that creates and fosters the villainous condition of things?

But while we believe Professor Laughlin has not over-stated the facts concerning the Senate, we wonder at his inability to reason consistently when he attempts to discuss some other important problems. We note again that, according to Laughlin, the kind of men who go to Congress is determined by financial interests. "As a consequence," he says, "there arises a kind of candidate for office,

not because he has convictions on public questions, but because he is expected to vote for iron or for ale. There are thus created conditions that lower both the moral tone of the electors, and the character of the public officials."

Truer words than these were never uttered, but when he comes to discuss municipal-ownership the learned professor is incapable of applying the same course of reasoning. In an attempt to explain American Socialism he utters the following crudities:

"Apart from the common desire to abolish private property, and the general acceptance of some form of organization, it would be difficult to describe the tenets of American Socialism. They vary with the conditions of business, with the personal influence of some leader, and with geographical situation. The panacea of Socialism is urged as a means of escape from the ills of society. Poverty, lack of employment, and the lack of opportunity are charged upon the existing forms of society, rather than upon the usual characteristics of human nature. Since crime is in the main an offense against property, since the desire to obtain property is the cause of unprincipled treatment of others, and since the possession of wealth gives enormous power which is sure to be abused, the Socialist holds that the abolition of property would remove the main incentive to wrongdoing which now degrades society.

"More recently this doctrine has lain behind the movement for municipal ownership of various public, or quasi-public, utilities. It is in essence an attempt to fly from ills we know to those we know not. The abuses in methods of granting franchises for gas, street railways, and the like, are not denied; but it is denied that municipalities, which have proved themselves unfit to protect the public in making deals with private companies, are likely to be fit to carry on a large business corporation successfully. Until the spoils of office are eliminated from municipal politics, as they are in Germany—and as sometime they will be in America—it is folly to propose municipal ownership. To settle the question fairly, the results of municipal ownership under honest and competent guidance should be compared only with the results of private management under an intelligent and honest city government."

Why cannot this Chicago University pro-

fessor see that the same influences that corrupt the United States Senate, corrupt also the city government, so that an honest city government is a practical impossibility under the present System? Why should an honest Senate, requiring only two men from a state, be practically impossible because of a protective tariff, and a city board of aldermen with equally sinister influences at work, not be impossible also?

The reader will also note that this learned, conscientious and scientific professor, who is so pained to expose the Senate, and does it simply as a scientific duty, speaks of a common desire on the part of socialists "to abolish private property." This expression occurs several times. It is used first in the following connection:

"While each individual has a more or less developed code of ethics, sufficient unto himself, sometimes there arises a cult whose beliefs, while differing widely in themselves, have some common basis of agreement. A loose union of ethical, political, and economic tenets, more or less vaguely reasoned out, but animated by a common feeling of discontent with the existing economic conditions, seems to lie behind the thinking of the American Socialists. Their point of contact with scientific economics is not easy to define. Socialism with us is not necessarily opposed to individualism; in fact, extreme individualism is the mother of Anarchism, and Anarchists are very often only embryo Socialists. As a rule, our Socialists retain a belief in some organization of society, thereby differing from the Anarchists; but the common socialistic tenet is the abolition of private property."

As a majority of the learned professors of political economy have a set of hair-splitting definitions of their own, we do not know in what sense Mr. Laughlin intends to use the word *property*, but in the common sense used by socialists known to the reviewer, the aim is not to abolish private *property*, at all, but private *capital*, and that only so far as said capital is used to develop monopoly. Is Professor Laughlin a blunderer, or is he artfully trying to prejudice the public against a doctrine as truly scientific as anything likely to emanate from the Rockefeller University?

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Advanced Civics. By S. E. Forman, Ph.D.

Cloth. Pp. 441. New York: The Century Company.

THIS book is a timely and valuable contribution to the educational literature of the day. In the contest sure to be upon us, between the forces of privilege and reaction on the one side and of progress and democracy on the other, the imparting of sound notions of the origin and the nature of our institutions, the diffusing of correct information as to the functions of government, national, state and local, and the inculcation of a just sense of the benefits and obligations of citizenship, present a task of the highest importance. A work, such as Dr. Forman has given us, which will make easy the instruction of intelligent youth and which can be very profitably studied by the average adult is, therefore, to be welcomed as one of the forces which are conspiring to bring about a better civic life. The demand implied in the production of the book is a hopeful sign.

The book is divided into three parts dealing respectively with the principles which underlie our governmental system, the origin and nature of the governmental machine and the practical working of that machine with some of the practical problems connected with that work. The arrangement of chapters and their subdivision are such that it is well adapted to use as a text-book in high schools and the higher institutions of learning. In fact, the author states that the plan adopted is the outgrowth of classroom experience. The subjects are, as becomes a work of this character, treated concisely, yet not obscurely. Each paragraph embraces matter which could without prolixity, be lengthened to a chapter, and each chapter could be extended to an essay, and yet one who will thoughtfully read the text just as it is, will obtain what might, perhaps, be called a bird's-eye view of constitutional government. It does not detract from the merits of the work if one feels that one can detect a few inaccuracies of statement or errors in conclusion. Upon the whole, the views expressed are "safe and sane," and fair and just as well.

The average citizen of mature years, would be much enlightened as to the nature of our state and national constitutions and the relations between them, by a perusal of this work. Much that is vague in his ideas as to the relative powers of the dual governments under which he lives would be clarified. In treat-

ing of the "spirit of federal expansion," the author says: "The federal government has not gone forth as a conqueror to bring states into the Union by force" and that "Expansion has always meant an extension of popular and constitutional government and an increased enjoyment of civil liberty." In a qualified sense this is true, but to accept it as literally exact one must first forget certain facts of the last decade, and must ignore certain "dependencies" now.

In treating of political parties Dr. Forman says the "Republican party is descended from the Federalists, and is the party of loose construction." That the Republican party under its present leadership is inclined to a free-and-easy interpretation of the Federal Constitution may well be conceded, but that it was in the beginning a descendant of the old Federalist party, Mr. Lincoln would have stoutly denied, as would multitudes of "Jeffersonian Democrats" like Trumbull, Hamlin and Chase, who shared in its creation. The author pronounces a healthy doctrine, however, when he declares that when party loyalty leads a man into voting for dangerous measures and for dishonest men "he is not a free citizen but is the victim of a despotism." It is this willing submission to this "despotism" that makes possible that degree of corruption in our cities in which consists the chief menace to our institutions. It is on this self-imposed "despotism" that the "boss" counts, and on the almost certainty of its continued force he bases his plans.

The chapter on "Civil Liberty" condenses much mighty history into trifling space. In referring to the guarantees of the Federal Constitution the author briefly but clearly points out what a surprisingly large number of intelligent people fail to comprehend, that it is to our State and not to our National Constitution that we must look for the chief safeguarding of our personal liberty. The rights declared in the first eight amendments to the Federal Constitution, do not, the author makes clear, belong to the American citizen unless his State Constitution likewise guarantees them to him. "The Federal Government cannot deprive a citizen of any of these rights, but the state can. For example, Congress cannot abridge the freedom of speech, but a state legislature can do so if the State Constitution does not forbid. The federal government cannot guarantee the rights which the Constitution forbids it to infringe. It is

to the State Constitution that we must look for most of the positive guarantees of our civil liberty." At a time when the National government is being looked to for aid in so many directions it is well that the dignity and importance of the states in our governmental order be held boldly before the public eye. The author well observes: "The Constitutions, however, do not create civil liberty. Liberty is not an artificial creation of a convention. It is a divine gift bestowed only upon those who make themselves worthy of it. . . . All the Constitution can do is to give liberty a voice."

In the discussion of the powers of the President, the author, unfortunately (and, no doubt, unwittingly) falls into what appears to be a recognition as legitimate exercise of power, what can, in the nature of things, be only executive bribery of the people's representatives. He states, concerning the President, that "through his influence as a party leader and as a distributor of patronage, he can often cause Congress to follow the suggestions contained in his messages." It is hard to see the moral distinction between a President as "a distributor of patronage" for the votes of Congressmen and the state or municipal "boss" as "a distributor of jobs" or other desirable things, for votes of legislators or councilmen. A severe blow at the moral integrity of the nation will have been struck when the people come to regard as a proper exercise of executive power the bestowal of patronage by the President to secure votes of representatives for his pet measures, however wise and beneficial they may be.

One inaccuracy to be noted, lest the student be misled, is the statement that the governor of a state "fills vacancies occurring among the state's representatives in Congress." Another error of statement is under the head of the judiciary where the author says that if the case before the court is novel, and there is no law, "either customary or written, which will fit the case, the judge may nevertheless render a decision," and that thus grow up "case laws" as distinguished from legislative enactments. It is true that courts sometimes do act as the author suggests, but such action is always a usurpation known as "judicial legislation." If it were permissible under our system the judiciary would not be a coördinate branch of the government, but would be a legislative power with no constitutional restraint. The author doubtless

was led into this obvious fallacy by a misapprehension of the term "case law." The sole function of the court in a given case is to interpret the statute, if any, or if not, to apply the "customary" or common law as it finds it, to the case in hand.

The importance of local government is wisely emphasized and the habit of so many citizens of attaching importance to the affairs of the state and nation while overlooking small local politics is well described as "one of the most dangerous errors of citizenship." The questions of taxation and public debts are treated in an intelligent manner. The importance, locally, of these matters is shown by the fact that "the combined municipal debt in our country is three times as large as the combined debts of the states."

An interesting chapter is devoted to the consideration of money, but when the statement is made that "the paper-money issued by the colonies invariably depreciated in value," there should be correction in the interest of historical truth and in justice to the memory of the early rulers of Pennsylvania, which colony had the honorable distinction of having managed the issue of its paper currency so conservatively and honestly that it never fell below par.

Transportation is recognized as the most important factor in domestic commerce, and it is stated that this transportation begins, for the most part, upon a "common highway," but the author might with advantage at this time have pointed out the fact that the railroads, of which he treats, are in their relations to that commerce but the continuation of common highways.

The labor problem is treated sympathetically, and the proper aims and ambitions of labor organizations are fully set forth, but the ugly fact is faced that the labor organization may raise for the government the identical problem presented by the so-called "trusts," viz., how to maintain the right of men to unite for their common benefit, and at the same time preserve the rights of the individual. "There is no freedom if any organization outside of Government itself can go to the individual and enforce its rules upon him; Government, and Government only, can coerce an American citizen."

An appendix containing the Constitution of the United States, the Ordinance of 1787, the early Connecticut Charter, suggested provisions for home-rule of cities and laws for

the prevention of bribery, with an index, makes a fitting ending of the book.

The book is admirable in conception and treatment and its tone is highly patriotic. Its inaccuracies are few, its excellencies many. If the civic lessons it teaches could become a part of the character of our citizens, the result would be a national transformation.

LINTON SATTERTHWAITE.

The Spirit of Democracy. By Charles F. Dole. Cloth. Pp. 435. Price, \$1.25 net. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

THIS book is an important contribution to the rapidly growing literature of democratic progress. It is very judicial in spirit and for the most part broad-visioned, just and true to the spirit of democracy. Occasionally the author disappoints us by a partial and very inadequate presentation of an important question. This is well illustrated in his treatment of the subject of Majority-Rule. Here we naturally expected to find a cogent exposition of legislation by which the will of the majority would be expressed, in contrast to the present legislation by bosses and party machines for the interests of the privileged few. At the present time when the words Majority-Rule are employed one naturally thinks of Direct-Legislation through the Initiative and Referendum, which has been so successfully introduced in Switzerland, Oregon and elsewhere; but the chapter deals with the peril of Majority-Rule, by citing cases of religious intolerance and racial discrimination. Such exhibitions we think Mr. Dole would admit are very rare and would not stand before a systematic appeal to the sense of right addressed to all the people, provided the fundamental demands of democracy—a free press and free speech—were guarded; for nothing is clearer than that the heart of the people is just and sound. It may yield temporarily to appeals of prejudice, but it is astonishing how prejudice gives way in the public mind before well-considered and wisely carried forward campaigns of education in which the appeal is made directly to reason and the sense of right. On the other hand, the practical defeat of the fundamental principles of free government by the present reactionary and corporation-ruled party politics is imposing heavy burdens on the people while systematically undermining and seeking to destroy the ideals and vital principles of the

Declaration of Independence. Such superficial handling of important questions as is found in the chapter on Majority-Rule is extremely unfortunate in a time like the present and in a work which on the whole is so admirable as is this volume. As a rule, however, the author is conspicuously broad and judicial. This is very marked in his chapter on "Anarchy and Socialism," a discussion that deserves to be widely read, especially by newspaper men who so systematically misrepresent and confuse these great opposing political philosophies.

The work is divided into thirty-two chapters, in which the following subjects are treated: "The Teaching of History," "New Ideas in Politics," "Democracy as a Social Force," "Good Will: A Motive Principle," "Idealism and the Facts," "Democracy and Sovereignty: New Meanings," "What is Government?" "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," "The Extension of Democracy," "Practical Problems: The Suffrage," "The Laws: The Legitimate Use of Force," "The Treatment of Crime," "The Problem of Pauperism," "Majority-Rule," "Representative Government," "Democracy and the Executive," "The Party System," "The Rule of the Cities," "The Problem of War," "Democracy and Imperialism," "The Monroe Doctrine and the Golden Rule," "The United States as a World Power," "Popular Taxation," "Democratic Forms of Taxation," "Local Democracy," "The New Immigration," "The Labor Unions," "Democracy and the Family," "The Education for a Democracy," "Anarchy and Socialism," "The Religion in Democracy," and "The Prospects of Democracy."

Though the book is full of suggestive and helpful thoughts and on the whole is a valuable contribution to social progress, it is far inferior, we think, to Mr. Henry George's latest work, *The Menace of Privilege*, in which democracy is treated in a far more fundamental and able manner.

The Confessions of a Monopolist. By Fred-eric C. Howe, Ph.D. Cloth. Pp. 170. Price, \$1.00 net, postage 8 cents. Chicago: The Public Publishing Company.

THIS story of the life of a typical modern monopolist is written in the form of an autobiography. It is a frank confession that might be made by any one of a score or more of American politico-commercial magnates.

It is written in so simple, frank and entertaining a manner that it will instantly arrest the reader's attention and hold his interest to the end; and all the while it will be revealing to him the secrets that have so puzzled the honest-minded and slow-thinking millions, as to how some men suddenly acquire great wealth, how in business and in politics certain ones march forward with uninterrupted tread doubling wealth at every turn and augmenting political power at every step.

Never before has a work appeared in which the methods of the high financiers and political bosses have been more clearly exposed. Here the reader is made to see how certain feats that appear from before the footlights as little short of miraculous are performed. Here he sees how by learning the rules of the game a modern high financier is able to divert the wealth of thousands into the till of the crafty monopolists; how, in short, the thousands are made to labor for the few just as actually as in the days of the feudal lords the serfs slaved for the barons. And here he sees how politics are made the handmaid of the modern plutocracy in its attempt to enslave labor while destroying the soul of democracy.

While the author is very explicit in explaining that he does not write of any single monopolist, no reader can, we think, escape the conclusion that the life and deeds of the late Senator Hanna formed very much of the material that enters into the web and woof of the *Confessions*. Nor is this strange. Mr. Howe is one of the strongest, ablest and clearest-visioned among the younger statesmen of Ohio. He has long lived in Cleveland and was necessarily perfectly cognizant of Mr. Hanna's life. Moreover, the late United States Senator was a thoroughly typical character. He was the modern politico-commercial magnate *par excellence* and admirably represented the present-day plutocracy; while his onward march illustrates in a startling manner how the feudalism of privilege is destroying democratic government in the interests of predatory wealth. This book is perhaps the most compelling picture of the life-and-death struggle now in progress between plutocracy and democracy that has been written in recent years.

Beginning with early boyhood, the hero explains how through a special privilege he obtained a monopoly of the newspaper trade of his town; how through this he soon found that he could set others to work while he lived

off the earnings of his poorly-paid dependents. Next he enters college, where he further develops ways and means for enjoying life at the expense of others' toil and gains an income by securing monopoly rights. He enters the practice of law, but from that he finds short cuts to affluence and power. In politics he discovers great possibilities for personal enrichment. Gold mines, as it were, await him under his feet. Politics becomes his business and a city is the first object of his cupidity, and he describes the methods by which a mayor is dethroned and a franchise obtained. Next he reaches out for greater things. Coal and iron mines and railways come under his power. Flushed with victory he enters Wall street, to his sorrow; but after he has learned his lesson and discovered the secrets of the confidence game being carried forward on so colossal a scale in Wall street, he returns to this great American gambling-hell to aid in robbing the dupes. He becomes a state boss and has himself elected to the United States Senate.

At every step the reader is shown exactly how the great fortunes of the age are acquired in America. He is taken behind the scenes where he becomes a spectator of the most amazing and extensive exhibition of moral turpitude known to civilization. Here he sees the men who pose as the representatives of the great business interests of America—as the "safe and sane" leaders of the business world—prating in print and in public about national honor and purity in government, while they control representatives in general and own bosses in particular and through their hired attorneys of the lobby are ceaselessly at work filching from the people their rights, exploiting the millions for the privileged few, and securing class legislation and special laws that will protect the favored and rapacious ones in their efforts to amass millions of wealth earned by others or which is the gift of the great Mother to society or to all her children.

The Confessions of a Monopolist holds the mirror up before political and business conditions as they actually exist and reveals the picture so clearly and convincingly that the slowest-thinking patriot cannot fail to see and feel the truth of the portrayal. It is romance that is truer than history, for history concerns itself with the doings of certain units. Here is a composite or typical picture that embodies the dominant political influence of the hour. It is far and away the finest political satire on

present-day American politics,—a book that every thinking patriotic citizen should read.

Ring in the New. By Richard Whiteing.
Cloth. Pp. 348. Price \$1.50. New York:
The Century Company.

THIS is the most important romance of recent months dealing with social progress. It is another strong, vital message from the awakened conscience of the nobler manhood of our time and addressed to the great multitude of Anglo-Saxons who are beginning to awaken from the soul-destroying lethargy into which greed, selfishness and self-absorption have thrown them.

To us nothing is more astounding than the persistent blindness of the great daily press to the trend and sweep of social forces at the present time. The democratic epoch that sounded the marching orders for civilized government in America over a century and a quarter ago, when the embattled farmers at Concord fired the shot heard around the world, promulgated certain great basic truths that implied radical changes in the social and political organisms, and until they are realized the mission of democracy will not be fulfilled. Equality of opportunities and of rights, liberty, justice and fraternity,—these things demand social and political adjustments that are the essentials of a truly democratic state. They render necessary a new realization and recognition on the part of the state or the public consciousness—the recognition of the solidarity of life, and they call for the translation of the Golden Rule into the organic life of society. And it is interesting indeed to note how the literature of protest and progress, the message of social advance and civic righteousness, has steadily sounded with increasing clearness the ideal of solidarity or social unity since the dawn of the democratic era. Victor Hugo, Giuseppe Mazzini, Charles Kingsley and Frederick D. Maurice in the meridian period of the last century gave the marching orders for civilization, under the banner of democracy—marching orders which Massey well epitomized in the words: "Humanity is one. The Eternal intends to show us that humanity is one. And the family is more than the individual member, the Nation is more than the family, and the human race is more than the nation. And if we do not accept the revelation lovingly, do not take to the fact kindly, why then 't is flashed upon us

terribly, by lightning of hell, if we will not have it by light of heaven."

Edward Bellamy, William Morris, Alfred Russel Wallace and scores of other representatives of the new conscience among our leading writers have voiced the same message in story, song and essay; and in his new novel, *Ring in the New*, the scholarly author Richard Whiteing has made an important contribution to the cause of social progress.

In this romance, Prudence Meryon, a young orphan girl, unskilled in any practical trade or work and wholly ignorant of the ways of the great Christian world of our day, suddenly finds herself thrown into the seething, struggling sea of human bread-winners in London. She must work or starve. But how can she obtain work without any skill in any direction? The struggle of this fine-natured, pure-minded English girl in the various works she essays; how she schools herself in shorthand at night while working in a show-window during the day for a pittance barely sufficient to prevent her from starving; how she steadily passes down the dark stairway which leads to despair; how the gospel of hope, a message from the New World, becomes a rainbow arch spanning the slough of despond; how the protecting hand of a high-minded worker in the under-world of London life, who is also the editor of a Socialist paper, is stretched out to her at a moment of extreme peril; how, unknown to the girl, the same man secures her a position with steady work; how other girls all around Prudence are struggling, each living her little narrow life as best she may and striving to get a little sunshine, a little happiness, out of the fleeting hours, while all the time there floats before her during waking hours the awful specter of a portentous future in which, shelterless and companioned by starvation, the unfortunate may find herself one of the mighty army of London's flotsam and jetsam,—these things—all these things—the author pictures with a vividness and power that cannot fail to take hold of the heart-strings of those who are not spiritually dead. And with equal power, yet with no offensive preaching or moralizing, he makes the reader see and feel that the great moral crime, the sin of our civilization,—of, indeed, everyone in Christendom,—is the attempt to detach one's self from the great body of life, the attempt to close the eyes to the fact that no one lives unto himself, that we can rise only as we lift others. The spirit of this book embodies

the spirit of the life and ethical teachings of Jesus. The moral responsibility of each one to help all, the oneness of life, and the duties that this great law imposes are luminously emphasized.

The author is a finished writer, a scholar skilful with the use of words and endowed with the imaginative power that enables him to place himself in the position of the multitudinous struggling bread-winners whose cause he is pleading. The recent Socialist and Labor triumph in England is taken by the author to mean the dawn of a new day—a day that shall usher in a juster government and a truer civilization than this old world has yet enjoyed.

This is a work that we can heartily recommend to all lovers of human progress and social advance.

In the Days of the Comet. By H. G. Wells. Cloth. Pp. 378. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Century Company.

In the Days of the Comet is far more than an interesting romance written in the fine literary style that marks the works of this popular imaginative novelist. Indeed, perhaps its chief value lies in its suggestiveness as a social vision, while many readers will be especially interested in the fine psychological study of a phase of life which is frequently found at the present time when grinding poverty produces chronic discontent that is finally rendered acute by crushing disappointment.

As a story the volume fails in convincing quality at the outset by its manifest impossibility. For many readers the element of probability, or at least of possibility, must be present if a story as a romance is to hold their interest. For such persons this novel will prove disappointing, but for the less exacting readers and for those who are deeply interested in social and economic changes that will insure the well-being of all who faithfully labor and strive to succeed, *In the Days of the Comet* will be a novel of real interest and value.

The story opens before the great comet came in contact with the atmosphere of earth and asphyxiated for the time being the inhabitants. It describes England to-day and the struggles, the discontent and the bitterness of the very poor with great vividness and power. The hero has worked himself into that unhappy state of mind where everything arouses feelings of bitterness and hate. He is against society; his thoughts are bitter; and when his

sweetheart jilts him and runs off with the son of a wealthy woman, his reason becomes upset. He purchases a revolver and sets out to slay the seducer of his one-time sweetheart. As he is in the act of shooting, the comet strikes the atmosphere of earth and everyone is rendered unconscious for a time; and, wonderful to relate, when they awaken the divine elements of their natures have been quickened and the baser passions and desires have been subordinated. Instincts of greed, avarice, rapacity, selfishness, envy and hate have given place to good will and the spirit of altruism. This naturally leads to a transformation of society, and with this transformation and how it was brought about the last half of the volume is concerned.

The Charlatans. By Bert Leston Taylor. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 392. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is a bright, entertaining novel that will appeal to the general reader as a pleasing story of present-day life. There is something whimsical at times in the author's mood, though the romance for the most part is conventional in treatment and pleasingly natural in its portrayal of life among musical students in a modern city.

The story opens with the heroine, Hope Winston, lost in day-dreams. Her little sister Alice, a lover of fairy tales, has heard of the beautiful Princess and the coming of the Prince. To her Hope is that Princess, and she confidently looks forward to the coming some day of the glorious Prince. Hope meanwhile is longing for a musical education. She has learned what the local teachers could impart, and by accident she has become acquainted with a woman of true culture and fine musical education from the city, and this lady has shown her that the little music she has learned is of small value. She has also played from the masters herself and has so overpowered the sensitive girl with the splendor of the great composers' works that she has completely broken down after hearing some of the grand productions well rendered by the visitor. Later, after the musical friend has returned to the city, Hope receives a number of pieces of great music with instructions as to how to practice. In the course of time opportunities are opened by which the heroine can go to the city, and having received a catalogue from a very pretentious musical institution she matriculates. The Colossus, as

the school is called is a typical quack institution, which through grossly misleading advertisements and a liberal amount of self-pushing, attracts numbers of pupils from the country districts. The principal is not only wanting in musical knowledge, but is also a moral leper,—one of those men who are at once the greatest peril and the greatest curse of society. The experiences of Hope in this large school and among the many friends she meets in and out of the school, are described in a series of bright, well-worded chapters. Among her friends is a strong fine man of broad and ripe culture, a musical critic and a writer of distinction. He becomes the Prince Charming of the story; but long before the happy conclusion of the romance many incidents occur in which light and shadow, tragedy and comedy, are interwoven as threads of gold and sable, and in which the human quality is so strong that the reader will find his interest growing as the story rapidly moves to its climax.

Stories and Pictures. By Isaac Loeb Perez. Translated from the Yiddish by Helena Frank. Cloth. Pp. 460. Price, \$1.50. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America.

THIS is the first translation into English of the stories of Perez, the gifted Russian Jew, who through the medium of the Yiddish language has given the world some of the most faithful and telling pictures of Jewish life that have appeared.

Inevitably, perhaps, dealing as they do with the lives of the poor and the down-trodden, all these sketches are depressing, and some of them are tragic to the point of grimness. The author, however, possesses the master-power which enables him to impart to commonplace and even sordid happenings that deep human interest which lifts his work above the plane of mediocrity to that of genius. The stories give realistic pictures of Jewish life and customs in the Old World, but at the same time the reader is made to feel and understand the obscure psychological influences at work among these persecuted and devoted adherents of the orthodox Jewish faith.

Among the more notable tales in these *Stories and Pictures* are "The Seven Candles of Blessing," "What is the Soul?" "In the Dead Town," and "The Messenger."

AMY C. RICH.

The Incubator Baby. By Ellis Parker Butler. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 112. Price, 75 cents. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THIS little book is one of the finest satires of the year. Satire that is free from all suggestion of grossness and the poisoned sting of bitterness is rare in literature, and perhaps never so rare as at the present time; but here we have gentle satire at its best. Certain present-day extremes in the scientific theories of rearing infants, and the popular idea that motherhood does not call for the exercise of the tenderest and most sacred functions—does not, indeed, demand that the mother be a real mother to her offspring, are here charmingly taken off in a manner so droll and amusing as to delight all readers who enjoy that which is truly humorous; while the book does not contain a particle of wormwood nor any evidence of the biting satire that arouses antagonism.

The Incubator Baby deals with the life of a wee little mite that is turned over to the tender mercies of an incubator and that later becomes the victim of a scientific committee that seeks to rear it according to theoretically perfect scientific rules. The rebellion of the child and its final victory, which is achieved when the old family-doctor tears up the rules and demands that the baby be turned over to its grandmother, brings the tale to a happy and sensible ending. It is a delightful story and will be enjoyed by old as well as young, though it will be especially pleasing to the little people.

The Story of Scraggles. By George Wharton James. Illustrated from drawings and photographs. Cloth. Pp. 88. Price, \$1.00. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

THIS is an exquisite little story written about the little song-sparrow, Scraggles, to which Mr. James dedicated *In and Out of the Old Missions of California*. Scraggles was a little crippled bird that Mr. James rescued and cared for in a tender and loving manner. The little creature returned the affection and showed in a thousand ways how dear were her benefactor, his wife and daughter. The tale appears as if written by the little bird herself in autobiographical form, until near the conclusion of the work, when Mr. James describes her untimely death, her burial and the grief which all the family felt for little Scraggles.

The book is written in the fascinating style of this wizard with words. It is deeply interesting and at the same time it possesses special value in teaching the reader to love his feathered friends and to remember that all life proceeds from the same great Fountain of being and possesses something of Divinity. It will tend to check the wanton taking of the lives of birds, especially by the young and thoughtless ones. This little work would make an ideal holiday or birthday gift for a boy or girl who loves animal life.

Tannhäuser. Wagner's Music-Drama re-told in English, by Oliver Huckel. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 80. Price, 75 cents net, postage 8 cents. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

WE KNOW of no writer who has better succeeded in interpreting the spiritual message of Richard Wagner as found in his great music-dramas of "Parsifal," "Lohengrin" and "Tannhäuser," than has Mr. Huckel. The present work is a companion to the preceding works in which "Lohengrin" and "Parsifal" were retold in English, preceded by luminous spiritual interpretations; and like these works, this volume also contains a similar foreword which is a thoughtful essay on the music-drama, in which the author while treating of the poem in a critical and informing manner points out its great ethical lesson. This essay alone is worth more than the price of the work to lovers of the greatest musical genius of the nineteenth century. The story of *Tannhäuser* as told by Wagner is here retold in noble, smoothly-flowing verse. Some lines possess rare beauty and will linger in the memory as the sweet strains of a fine instrument.

The volume is handsomely gotten up, being tastefully bound in lavender cloth stamped in white and gold.

Swinburne's Poems. Selected and edited by Arthur Beatty, Ph.D. Cloth. Pp. 272. Price, 35 cents. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

THIS admirable little volume brings the cream of Swinburne's poems within easy reach of all lovers of poetry, and in a handy-sized volume. The work contains about four-score poems, odes, sonnets, metrical imitations and parodies. The selections are most admirable, embracing a large number of Mr. Swinburne's

best lines. We are glad to find here his noble tribute to Victor Hugo; also his lines on the monument of Giuseppe Mazzini and other of his fine personal tributes. The poems are prefaced by an excellent introductory chapter in which we have a brief but critical discussion of Swinburne's poems.

The Nature of Capital and Income. By Irving Fisher, Ph.D., of Yale University. Cloth. Pp. 427. New York: The Macmillan Company.

THIS large octavo of 427 pages has value for students, accountants and promoters, but is of little interest to the average citizen. It enters into the details of questions concerning the nature and source of capital and income, touches upon insurance problems, and deals in a supposedly scientific way with terms used in political economy. We take space for a single illustration of the author's method. He defines capital as a stock of wealth existing at an instant of time. In other words, in the mind of this author, all wealth is capital. This differs from the definition of Henry George, who affirms that capital is wealth in course of exchange,—that is, capital is that portion of wealth which is used to produce more wealth. For example, according to Fisher, the house in which a manufacturer himself lives, is capital; according to George, it is not.

Now these questions of themselves are of little importance. Provided an author uses his terms consistently with his own definition we care little about what that definition is, but when he is not careful to do this, and when in addition we have a variety of definitions by many different authors, we are led in our discussions into endless confusion. For ourselves, we prefer the simple and exact definition of Henry George and his division of the factors of production into labor, land and capital. We believe this work of Professor Fisher's will tend only to add to the general confusion in political science.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

The Modern Pulpit. By Lewis O. Brastow, D.D., Professor of Practical Theology, Yale University. Cloth. Price, \$1.50 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

DR. BRASTOW, always calm, rational, deep-sighted and analytical, is especially so in this

volume. No one can read it without recognizing the influence of the pulpit and coming into a warmer appreciation of the difficulties, duties and greatness of the protestant preaching of the day. With all its shortcomings, its silence on vital issues, its toadyism to power, its failures at times to grasp fundamentals, its tenacious clings to worn-out creeds, the pulpit has nevertheless brought life, hope and peace to many millions, raised the standard of morals, quickened the conscience, and paved the way for many reforms. It has kindled the fire which has consumed many of its own sins.

In *The Modern Pulpit* Dr. Brastow takes a very broad and comprehensive view. He takes up the preparative influences of the eighteenth century, discusses also the prominent influences of the nineteenth century, then brings into view the German, Anglican, Scottish and American pulpits with many concrete examples selected from different denominations.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Misère. By Mabel Wagnalls. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 80. Price, 40 cents. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THIS is a charming little story of music and music-lovers, written by one who evidently has a deep appreciation of and love for the art. The story is unique in theme and is delightfully told, with many delicate touches; but it is pitched in a minor key throughout. It is one of the popular Hour-Glass Series of tales with which to while away an idle half hour, issued by Messrs. Funk and Wagnalls.

AMY C. RICH.

The Dragon Painter. By Mary McNeil Fenollosa. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 262. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

WITH the publication of *The Dragon Painter* the identity of Sidney McCall becomes known, the author being Mrs. Mary McNeil Fenollosa, a Southern lady who has spent much time in Japan and has for years resided in Boston.

Truth Dexter, Mrs. Fenollosa's first romance, revealed intimate knowledge of Southern life and of society life in Boston to-day; and the author's second work, *The Breath of the Gods*, showed equally intimate knowledge

of Washington society life and thorough familiarity with the thought, habits, customs and mental outlook of Japanese civilization.

The present volume is a further study of Japanese life. In our judgment *The Dragon Painter* is far inferior as a novel to either *Truth Dexter* or *The Breath of the Gods*. *Truth Dexter* was unquestionably one of the finest romances of American life of recent decades, — a beautiful love-story charmingly depicting the true outlook on life of two entirely different worlds: that of the old aristocratic Southern families, and that of modern society-life in Boston. The heroine of this work is one of the finest creations by a modern American novelist. *The Breath of the Gods* is a powerful novel, far greater in dramatic intensity than *Truth Dexter*. It gives vivid pen-pictures of present-day diplomatic life in Washington and Tokyo, and equally accurate pictures of high life in Japan; but it is so tragic, so gloomy and almost gruesome in its outcome, in so far as the heroine is concerned, that it is not likely to prove as popular as *Truth Dexter*.

The Dragon Painter is a finished piece of writing. Indeed, we think it is the author's most artistic literary creation; yet it is not a particularly pleasing story, in spite of the fact that the two central figures are reunited in the end. And, what is a more serious fault, the book lacks the convincing element, at least for Occidental minds. One cannot feel that the characters are real flesh and blood personalities or that the adventures described actually took place. This is not necessarily saying that such things never occurred or that such characters never lived or acted as did those here described; but the element of unreality, for Western minds at least, is so strong that the reader feels throughout much as he feels in reading *The Arabian Nights* or *Alice in Wonderland*. The hero, it seems to us, is a thoroughly impossible character in which the thin partition between genius and insanity seems to be completely broken down most of the time, and it is difficult to enthuse over such a hero; while the other characters are fantastic and unreal in much that they do. The story may be true to certain phases of Japanese life. It may have been on the whole a romance that was actually woven into reality, and yet it is not handled in such a manner as to be convincing. There is much in the life of the Japanese, and especially in the high life of those who cling to the ideals of old Japan, that is very difficult for Americans to

understand and appreciate. Hence it requires a writer of almost transcendent genius to create characters that shall reflect this strange life and its outlook so vividly and humanly as to make the reader feel he is in the presence of real human beings. This we think Mrs. Fenollosa has failed to do in *The Dragon Painter*.

Jewel Weed. By Alice Ames Winter. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 434. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS novel is far stronger and finer a romance than the author's former work, *The Prize to the Hardy*. The really well-drawn characters are more numerous, truer and more typical, and there is a fine ethical purpose dominating the romance throughout. It also presents an excellent glimpse of the great municipal struggle now going on in many American cities, where the electorate is slowly awakening to a realization of its moral responsibility and is uniting for the overthrow of the corporation-owned bosses. In this story the author shows how the public-service corporations have their feelers and tentacles reaching throughout the city and how in one way or another they are able to bring many intentionally honest men who become popular representatives, into their toils.

But the chief interest of the romance lies in the dual love-story that runs like a cord of gold and a thread of tinsel through the warp and woof of the romance, and in which we have really masterly studies of two typical young women of the day: the high-minded and conscience-guided woman of feeling, and the beautiful but shallow butterfly nature—the body without a soul. Here are the real and the counterfeit coins; the nature dominated by altruism and moral idealism, and the life wrapped up in self or egoism—the sordid, materialistic existence whose self-absorption closes the eye and ear to the divine symphonies and the glories of the moral order and the unalloyed pleasure that comes to those who recognize the obligations, duties and noble responsibilities that life imposes on all her children. Though not a great novel, this is an excellent love-story written in a bright and pleasing style and very rich in human interest. More than this, it is for the most part true to the life it depicts.

The Beloved Vagabond. By William J. Locke.

Cloth. Pp. 303. Price, \$1.50. New York and London: John Lane Company.

IN QUITE a different vein from any of Mr. Locke's former novels is this latest romance from his pen.

The Beloved Vagabond is the story of a brilliant but erratic man of genius, half French and half Irish, who gives up his sweetheart in order to save her father from prison. The girl, knowing nothing of the true reason of his desertion and believing him dead, marries a wealthy French count and drags out a miserable existence, after finding out from her husband that her lover is still alive.

In the meantime Paragot, as her lover calls himself, although his true name is Gaston de Nerac, wanders about the world, mingling with all sorts and conditions of men, working at times, then going off wherever his fancy may lead him, but ever falling lower in the social scale. He is always welcome among a certain class of Bohemians because of his ready wit and keen intellect, but he has allowed his fine native gifts to be choked out by his mode of life.

At the time the story opens he has adopted a little London gutter-snipe whom he whimsically renames Asticot, which means the little grey worms which French fishermen call "gentles." Together they roam over half Europe, and their adventures as related by Asticot make up most of the story.

In time the French count dies, and Paragot is given the opportunity once more to reinstate himself in his former place in society. For a time he and the countess imagine that they still love each other as in the old days, but the time comes when they realize that what they love is their memory of the past. The outcome of the story is quite out of the ordinary.

AMY C. RICH.

Rich Men's Children. By Geraldine Bonner. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 492. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS novel by the gifted author of *To-morrow's Tangle* is one of the strongest romances of the year. It chiefly concerns the fate of the children of two of California's multimillionaires. The parents of the hero and heroine were poor day-workers in the old mining days, but they discovered some of nature's hoarded wealth imprisoned in the Sierras, which made them millionaires.

Dominick Ryan, the hero and son of one of these rich men, falls a victim to the wiles of an adventuress, but not suspecting the early history of his wife, remains true to her, though exiled from his family and while his wife makes a hell on earth for the husband. Finally in despair he runs away from home, goes up the mountains and is snow-bound in a hotel with several other travelers, among whom are Bill Cannon the bonanza king and his beautiful daughter, Rose. The young people are necessarily thrown together, till each falls in love with the other; but the girl, though under the spell of love, has too much of the old Puritan spirit to be willing for Dominick to seek to gain a divorce, seeming to think it better for him and his wife to spend a life of hate and discord together than for them to be separated, even though Dominick's mother is ready to pay the adventuress wife a quarter of a million dollars if she will acquiesce in a divorce. At the moment when all seems darkest for Rose Cannon and Dominick Ryan, the former husband of Dominick's wife appears on the scene and thus the barriers are swept away that separated the young lovers.

In Clive's Command. By Herbert Strang. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 460. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is the best boys' story we have read in months. The publishers announce in sending out the book, that Mr. Strang is a successor to G. A. Henty. This we think is a gross injustice to the author of *In Clive's Command*, as Mr. Strang's book is as far superior to Henty's as are the novels of Dickens, Scott and Bulwer superior to the stories of Mary J. Holmes or Laura Jean Libbey. Mr. Strang has imagination of a high order, which was singularly absent in Henty's stories. He has been true to the historic demands while writing a story that palpitates with action and whose characters are real, live personalities, and not manikins, such as were

Henty's. The latter author seemed to us to take some great historic passage and then introduce one or two boys. The history was told in a fairly accurate manner, but without that imaginative power that invests history with realism. Not so with Mr. Strang. In the present book he has given us a vivid picture of real life that cannot fail to delight boys, while their interest will be so quickened in the history of Clive and his wonderful achievements that the more thoughtful ones will not rest content until they have learned of the great campaigns from the histories. A pretty love romance runs through the tale, adding to its interest, while it abounds in exciting and dramatic situations.

Romance Island. By Zona Gale. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 394. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

Romance Island is well named. Those who have enjoyed Miss Gale's quaint and thoroughly delightful stories of Pelleas and Ettarre which have appeared in *The Outlook* and other magazines during the past year, will, I fear, be disappointed in the present volume, which is as wildly improbable a tale of mystery and adventure as even Mr. Max Pemberton could produce. It deals with the adventures of some New York newspaper men who become involved in the search for the missing American king of a mysterious island located somewhere in the Southern Pacific,—an island which lies in the fourth dimension and whose people possess all the lost knowledge of the ancient Phoenicians and have solved the vexed problems of aerial navigation and eternal youth. The story is thrillingly exciting from cover to cover and there is a delightful love romance running through it which terminates most happily. Those readers who do not demand the element of probability, or even of possibility, in their novels, will enjoy *Romance Island*.

AMY C. RICH.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE RAILROAD QUESTION IN "THE ARENA": Next to Direct-Legislation there is no great vital question before the American people more important to pure government and popular rule, that is pressing for immediate solution, than the railroad question. For the past thirty years the railways have been the most sinister influence in our national life, the chief source of governmental corruption and the strong arm of the robber trusts and monopolies. *THE ARENA* for the ensuing year will make this overshadowing question the subject of special examination. The series of papers on the railways in foreign lands, prepared expressly for this journal by Professor FRANK PARSONS, will, we believe, be the most important discussions of this character that will appear in any review. Those who wish a fuller and more exhaustive treatment of the same subject should not fail to procure Dr. PARSONS' latest and greatest work, *The Railways, the Trusts and the People*, published by Dr. C. F. TAYLOR, of 1520 Chestnut street, Philadelphia. The paper which we present this month epitomizes the facts amplified in this work and treats them in a popular manner suitable to a magazine article. This paper also embraces the observations of Professor PARSONS on the railways of Switzerland as he found them from his personal investigations made in Switzerland during the past summer. Besides this discussion of the railways of Switzerland, the present issue of *THE ARENA* contains an extremely valuable contribution by Messrs. GRUHL and ROBINSON, entitled *Is Railroad Rate-Regulation a Step to Government-Ownership?* It embraces the opinions of a number of our leading statesmen, educators, lawyers and railway managers on the question, among whom are Mr. BRYAN, President ROOSEVELT, Senator LA FOLLETTE, Governor CUMMINS, RICHARD OLNEY, President HADLEY and Professor ELY. This contribution represents a vast amount of careful labor and painstaking research and is one of the papers that thinking men after reading will wish to file away for future reference.

Governor Folk of Missouri: In our series of papers on leading representative statesmen of progressive democracy we this month present an admirable paper by the gifted writer and able statesman and lawyer, Hon. THOMAS SPEED MOSBY, Pardon-Attorney for the State of Missouri. Mr. MOSBY knows Governor FOLK intimately and has presented a fine pen-picture of the man and his ideals and purposes.

Child-Labor: This contribution by ELINOR H. STOR is of special excellence and should be carefully read by every parent in the land. A great sin is being committed, a crime against democracy, against the state of to-day and the nation of to-mor-

row, and the victims of this crime are the helpless little ones that it is the sacred function of the Republic to guard, protect and in every way possible help to educate and to develop, body, brain and soul, in order that they may live the life the Creator intended they should live and that the state may be great in the coming days through her wealth of robust, clean-souled, strong-minded men and women. Our author treats the subject with great ability and the paper is a mine of information lighted up with that moral idealism that vitalizes the really strong work of civilization and progress.

The Emerson Society of Boston: We take pleasure in calling the attention of our readers who dwell in New England to the announcements of the Emerson Society of Boston for the coming winter. The meetings will be held in the lecture-room of the Public Library, Copley Square, Boston, on Wednesday afternoons at three o'clock, beginning with the first Wednesday in December, 1906. The interpretations of Emerson will usually be made by Mr. CHARLES MALLOY of Waltham, so well known to readers of *THE ARENA* on account of his extremely able interpretations of EMERSON'S poetry that have appeared in this review. Other speakers will occasionally be heard. Mr. FRANK B. SANBORN of Concord will give several papers during the winter, one on *Emerson and Whitman*, another on *Thoreau and Emerson*, based on the recent publication of the journals of THOREAU, and a third on *Emerson and His Concord Neighbors*. Members are at liberty to join the society at any time and can do so by giving their names to the secretary, Miss E. L. NICKERSON, Riverbank Court, Cambridge, Massachusetts. The membership-fee is one dollar a year and there is no admission-fee to the lectures at the Library.

Our Vanishing Liberty of the Press: We doubt whether there is any more important paper in this issue of *THE ARENA* than the deeply thoughtful contribution from the pen of Mr. THEODORE SCHROEDER, one of our associate editors, on *Our Vanishing Liberty of the Press*. Never in the history of our nation has free government more urgently called for strong, clear-visioned thinkers who possess the power to reason closely and logically; who are endowed with that clarity of intellectual vision that enables one to distinguish between the fundamental principles involved and the superficial aspects of the issue, and with that supreme courage which unhesitatingly takes a stand with right against, if needs be, the whole world. And perhaps the most inspiring sign of the hour is the increasing number of strong, virile and fundamental thinkers in our midst who are awakening the nation from the Stygian slumber into which reaction, prejudice and privilege have lulled it. In THEODORE SCHROEDER

America has a fine type of this new school of thinkers who are calling the nation back to the old highway of freedom marked out by the fathers of the Republic.

Broad Aspects of Race-Suicide: Not since the recent general discussion of race-suicide was inaugurated, largely by virtue of President ROOSEVELT's stand on the question, has so deeply thoughtful or broadly philosophic and statesmanlike a paper appeared on this question as that which we present in this issue of *THE ARENA* from the pen of FRANK T. CARLTON. This discussion is so deeply thoughtful, so rich in suggestive facts and so instinct with truths that every thoughtful man and woman should ponder over, that it merits the widest possible circulation.

Professor Noa on William Wheelwright: The life of Mr. WHEELWRIGHT more than that of any other of the great master-builders of South America, holds interest for American readers, as WHEELWRIGHT was a Massachusetts lad who went to South America and by his genius, pluck and perseverance became the father of the commercial and industrial prosperity of the Latin Republics with which he was associated. Our readers who have for months enjoyed Professor Noa's pleasing and instructive papers on the great men and historical events of Latin America will be pleased to learn that this talented writer and scholar has just accepted an important editorial position on the staff of the two important and beautifully gotten-up illustrated magazines, *Latin America* and *Las Repùblicas Americanas*. These periodicals, one of which is published in English and the other in Spanish, deal with Latin America in a most instructive and interesting manner. They are handsomely illustrated and published at two dollars a year net for either magazine.

Our Stories: This month we publish two delightful short stories. One entitled *The Bishop's Ordination*, by GISELA DITTRICK BRITT, will, we are sure, appeal to all our readers; while *Nude Lips* is one of Mr. CARMAN's most clever little stories, mildly satirical in character and hitting off in an admirable manner the exaggerated prudery of Mr.

COMSTOCK and like would-be censors of public morals, who seem to find evil where most persons see only beauty.

William Morris and Esthetic Socialism: In Mr. DICKINSON's paper on *William Morris and Esthetic Socialism* we have one of the most interesting, thoughtful and unhackneyed views of the Socialistic ideals that has appeared in recent magazine literature. To the student of social and economic advance nothing is more striking than the number of noble minds, from before the days of Sir THOMAS MORE, that have been strongly drawn to the ideals of a Socialistic state,—a state in which the master-ideal should be brotherhood and in which the interests of each should be the master-concern of all. As MARX and LIEBKNECHT approached the subject as philosophers and scientists, we find KINGSLY, FREDERICK MAURICE and other noble Christian scholars advocating the Socialistic ideals from the view-point of the great Prophet of Galilee. They appealed to VICTOR HUGO's sense of justice no less than to his esthetic and idealistic impulses; while to WILLIAM MORRIS the artistic ideal seemed to exert the master-spell. Mr. DICKINSON's paper will appeal to all thoughtful men and women who are sufficiently broad to desire to understand all view-points of the great living issues of the hour.

Church and State in France: In Mr. ROMIEUX's paper on *Church and State in France* we have a timely historical survey of this question which at the present time is, and doubtless for some months if not years to come will be, a leading issue in French political life.

Note: Because of the miscarriage of a package sent from our publication office to an engraving house in New York City, by the Adams Express Company, we are prevented this month from giving our usual department "Politics, The People and The Trusts as Seen by Cartoonists." We are unable to ascertain just why this miscarriage should have happened, because the Adams Express Company has not seen fit, up to this writing—sixteen days after shipment was made—to pay the slightest attention to our vigorous complaints—except to tell us orally that they "would look into it" and that "no trace of the package could be found."

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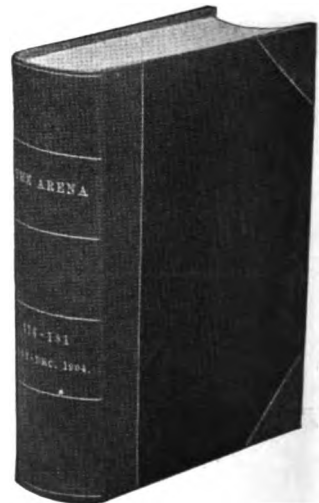
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THE ARENA
MAGAZINE

"The Arena"

THE JANUARY "ARENA" WILL BE RENDERED NOTABLE by a number of strong and highly-interesting papers which cannot fail to appeal to men and women who think. The following are a few of the contributions that we expect to present in this issue and which will help to make the January number one of the strongest issues of THE ARENA that has appeared:

The Railways of The Nation and How The People Can Obtain Possession of Them

BY

ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE

D.C.L., LL.D.

In place of Professor Frank Parsons' second paper on the railways of Europe, the January ARENA will contain a notable contribution prepared expressly for this review by the eminent scientist and social philosopher, Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, dealing with how the people can gain possession of the railways in America in accordance with Herbert Spencer's law of social justice. The civilized nations are rapidly taking over their railway systems. Democratic Switzerland and New Zealand's autocratic and imperialistic Germany and monarchal Italy have so demonstrated the practicality and advantages of popular ownership that other nations are rapidly following in their lead. But it is important that when this is done in America, we shall not be loaded down with a debt represented by water that has been injected into the railway securities by the criminal rich who have so debauched our government and plundered our people. Dr. Wallace's paper will command general notice, not only because it is from the pen of the last of the group of great nineteenth-century philosophers who discovered and elucidated the theory of evolution, and because Dr. Wallace has long been one of the ablest and most progressive and fundamental social and economic philosophers of the English-speaking world, but also because of the radical manner in which he advocates the people taking possession of the great natural utilities. This writer is nothing if not fundamental in his reasoning. This is a paper that all thinking Americans should read.

for January

II. THE TRUTH AT THE HEART OF CAPITALISM AND OF SOCIALISM.

By Professor Frank Parsons, Ph.D.

This is a paper of special interest which will be widely read and discussed. The author is one of the most fundamental and discriminating authors among our leading economists and his discussion of this very important theme is marked by a breadth of vision and a fine intellectual grasp of the subject worthy of a twentieth-century philosopher.

III. THE RECENT SENSATIONAL ATTACK ON THE FOUNDER OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE, WITH A SURVEY OF THE CHRISTIAN-SCIENCE MOVEMENT, ITS IDEALS AND ACHIEVEMENTS. By the Editor of "The Arena." Superbly illustrated with a number of half-tone views of the leading churches of the denomination.

In this paper Mr. Flower explains that, though he is not a Christian Scientist, in the interests of justice and fair play he opposes the sensational and baseless attacks which have recently been made on the founder of Christian Science. He also believes that the new religious theory, which already numbers a large constituency of earnest, intelligent and sincere people, should receive just and fair treatment; that it is entitled to have its aims, ideals and achievements presented in a serious and dignified manner, to the end that intelligent people may form a just conception of the view-point of those who believe that in Christian Science there is a helpful religious message for the twentieth century.

IV. OUR INSULT TO JAPAN AND THE SERIOUS QUESTIONS IT INVOLVES.

By C. Vey Holman, Lecturer in the University of Maine.

In this paper Mr. Holman shows very clearly how the recent insult offered to Japan by the citizens of San Francisco promises to form one of the most serious diplomatic questions of the hour. The paper embraces a clear setting forth of the critical situation and an earnest appeal to our statesmen and people to exercise that true statesmanship that is based on wisdom and justice.

V. MUNICIPAL ART IN AMERICAN CITIES. I.—SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS. By George Wharton James.

This issue will also contain the opening article of a very important series of contributions being prepared expressly for THE ARENA by the distinguished author, George Wharton James, on "Municipal Art in American Cities." The first paper deals with Springfield, Massachusetts, and will be magnificently illustrated.

VI. OUR VAMPIRE MILLIONAIRES. By Henry Frank.

A graphic and thought-stimulating criticism of disgraceful present-day conditions in our metropolitan centers.

VII. HENRY GEORGE, JR., AND HIS POWERFUL ROMANCE OF PRESENT-DAY METROPOLITAN LIFE. A Book Study by the Editor of "The Arena."

In this paper, Mr. Flower gives an extended and critical notice of Mr. George's new and brilliant novel of love and politics, entitled *The Romance of John Bainbridge*.

IMPORTANT DISCUSSIONS

For the benefit of our many new readers, we have compiled the following list of the more important articles that have appeared in recent issues of THE ARENA. Quite a few (marked ♦) are illustrated, while most of the others have portraits of the authors or of the subjects (marked †).

Always order by the number. When the same number appears before the titles of several articles, all will be found in the issue indicated. Duplication of numbers is, therefore, unnecessary, unless duplicates are wanted.

The price is 25 cents each copy, postpaid, in the United States. If mention is made of this advertisement and cash accompanies the order we will send any six for one dollar or fifteen for two dollars. They may go to one or more addresses.

Of many of these issues we have but few copies left. It would, therefore, be well to order promptly.

THE ARENA MAGAZINE, Trenton, New Jersey.

Literature.

170 Poe and His Misunderstood Personality. William Lee Howard, M.D.

171 The Poems of Emerson. Charles Malloy. "The Sphinx." I.

172 "The Sphinx." II.

173 "The Sphinx." III.

174 "The Sphinx." IV.

175 "Days." I.

176 "The Problem." I.

177 "The Problem." II.

178 "Uriel."

180 "Bacchus."

182 "Hermione." I.

183 "Hermione." II.

184 "Hermione." III.

172 A Poet of Freedom (James Russell Lowell). Thomas E. Will, A.M., Ph.D.

177 The Poetry of Poe. Edwin Markham.

183 Matthew Arnold as a Poet. H. W. Peck.

183 A Defense of Walt. Whitman's "Leaves of Grass." Clarence Cunningham.

184 Gerhart Hauptmann: Social Idealist. Archibald Henderson, Ph.D.

185 Emerson's "Brahma"; or, The Poet-Philosopher in the Presence of Deity. Harvey Whitefield Peck.

185 Stephen Phillips: Poet and Dramatist. Archibald Henderson, Ph.D.

188 The Charm of Emerson. J. R. Mosley, Ph.D.

196 Main Currents of Thought in the Nineteenth Century. I. Prof. Robert T. Kerlin, A.M.

197 Main Currents of Thought in the Nineteenth Century. II.

198 What Our Universities Are Doing for American Literature. Edwin Davies Schoonmaker.

200 Aspects of Contemporary Fiction. Archibald Henderson, Ph.D.

201 The Spirit of American Literature. Winifred Webb.

201 Byron: A Study in Heredity. Charles Kassel.

202 Our National Library. Frank Vrooman.

The Drama.

169 The Parsifal of Richard Wagner and Its Spiritual Significance. B. O. Flower.

176 A National Art-Theater for America. F. F. Mackay, F. Edwin Elwell and Edwin Markham.

175 Church and Stage After Five Years. Rev. George Wolfe Shinn, D.D.

180 How the Stage Can Help the Church. Gertrude Andrews.

180 Arnold Daly and Bernard Shaw: A Bit of Dramatic History. Archibald Henderson, Ph.D.

183 Henrik Ibsen and Social Progress. Archibald Henderson, Ph.D.

187 Beauty and Light. Kenyon West.

190 The Theater of Edmond Rostand. Archibald Henderson, Ph.D.

194 Richard Mansfield. Kenyon West. ♦

195 Maurice Maeterlinck: Symbolist and Mystic. Archibald Henderson, Ph.D. †

The Fine Arts.

165 The Demands of Art in This New Republic. William Ordway Partridge.

168 Art and American Students. L. Scott Dabo.

169 Florentine Days. Lillian Whiting.

178 New York as an Art Center. F. Edwin Elwell. ♦

179 American Art and the New Society of American Sculptors. William Ordway Partridge. †

180 Frank F. Stone: California's Most Gifted Sculptor. † B. O. Flower. ♦

181 Uses and Abuses of Italian Travel. Carl S. Vrooman. ♦

184 The Principles of the Decorative Art-Spirit of Japan in Comparison With Those of Western Countries. Mrs. F. Edwin Elwell. ♦

192 The Vital Issue in the Present Battle for a Great American Art. An Editorial Sketch and a Conversation with Frank Edwin Elwell. †

193 Charles H. Grant: Marine Painter. George Wharton James. ♦

200 Edward W. Redfield: An Artist of Winter-Locked Nature. B. O. Flower. ♦

201 An Australian Artist Who Believes in Art for Moral Progress (George Taylor). B. O. Flower. ♦

202 An Artist's Message of Christ and Conventional Christianity. B. O. Flower. ♦

Cartoonists.

(By B. O. Flower.)

176 Dan. Beard: The Man and His Art. †

183 A Pioneer Newspaper Cartoonist: C. L. Bartholomew. †

183 Garnet Warren: Cartoonist. †

185 Ryan Walker: A Cartoonist of Social Protest. †

187 Frederick Oppen: A Cartoonist of Democracy. †

188 Homer Davenport: A Cartoonist Dominated by Moral Ideals. †

191 Floyd Campbell: A Knight of Municipal Honor. †

193 John L. DeMar: A Cartoonist of Contemporaneous History. †

194 J. Campbell Cory: Cartoonist. †

195 Ray D. Handy: One of the Youngest of Our Newspaper Cartoonists. †

197 W. A. Rogers: The Cartoonist of Civic Integrity. †

202 W. Gordon Nye: A Cartoonist of Jeffersonian Democracy. †

203 G. R. Spencer: A Cartoonist of Progressive Democracy and Aggressive Honesty. †

Characterizations and Biographical Sketches.

167 Emerson the Man. R. Heber Newton, D.D.

168 Henry Thoreau—an Estimate. Walter Leighton, A.M.

170 Ingersoll: His Genius, Philosophy, Humanity and Influence. Herman E. Kittredge, M.D.

172 Ingersoll as an Idealist. Herman E. Kittredge, M.D.

177 A Golden Day in Boston's History [Alcott, † Thoreau, † Lucretia Mott, Lydia Maria Child, Mary A. Livermore, † Lucy Stone, Julia Ward Howe, † Dorothy Dix, Motley, † Phillips, † Charlotte Cushman, Hawthorne, † Prescott, Agassiz, † Gray, Emerson, † Channing, Lowell, † Garrison, † Parker, † Whittier, † Longfellow, † Sumner, Holmes, † Mann, Howe, Hale, etc., etc.]. B. O. Flower. ♦

179 Matthew Arnold: "A Healing and Reconciling Influence." Professor Robert T. Kerlin, M.A.

180 Saint Simon: The First American. Herbert N. Casson.

181 Joaquin Miller: A Nature-Loving Poet of Progress. B. O. Flower. ♦

183 George Friable Hoar: An Appreciation. Prof. Edwin Maxey, M.Dip., LL.D.

189 Sam. Walter Foss: A New England Poet of the Common Life. Rev. R. E. Bisbee, A.M.

189 John D. Rockefeller: A Study of Character, Motive and Duty. W. G. Joerns.

193 Mayor Johnson: One of the Strongest Leaders in Municipal Progress in America. A Characterization. Edward W. Bemis, Ph.D.

195 Samuel Milton Jones: The Golden-Rule Mayor. By One Who Knew Him. †

195 Wilson L. Gill: The Apostle of Democracy in Education. B. O. Flower. †

195 Edwin Markham: The Poet-Prophet of Democracy. B. O. Flower.

196 David Graham Phillips: A Twentieth-Century Novelist of Democracy. B. O. Flower.

197 Judge Lindsey: A Typical Builder of a Nobler State. B. O. Flower. †

197 Helen M. Gougar: A Noble Type of Twentieth-Century American Womanhood. B. O. Flower. †

193 General San Martin: The Washington of South America. Prof. Frederic M. Noa. ♦

193 General Simon Bolivar: The Liberator of Northern South America. Prof. Frederic M. Noa. ♦

199 J. N. Adam: A Municipal Leader of the New Time. B. O. Flower. †

199 Robert M. La Follette: A Statesman After the Order of Lincoln. William Kittie.

200 Judge William Jefferson Pollard: A Practical Idealist Who is Achieving a Great Work in Redeeming Drunkards. B. O. Flower. †

200 Governor Albert B. Cummins: A Statesman Who Places the Interests of the People Above the Demands of Privileged Classes. Lewis Worthington Smith.

201 G. H. Wells: The Prophet of the New Order. Rev. Chauncey J. Hawkins.

201 Byron: A Study in Heredity. Charles Kassel.

201 Alfred Russel Wallace: Scientist, Philosopher and Humanitarian. B. O. Flower. †

202 Sarmiento: The Great South American Statesman and Educator. Prof. Frederic M. Noa.

204 Richard Seldon: Democratic Statesman and Master-Building of a Liberal Commonwealth. B. O. Flower. †

204 N. O. Nelson, Practical Coöperator, and the Great Work He is Accomplishing for Human Upliftment. George W. Eads. ♦

Corruption in Our Cities and States.

164 Philadelphia—A Study in Political Psychology. Theophilus Baker.

164 The Corruption of Government by the Corporations. B. O. Flower.

183 The Reign of Boodle and the Rape of the Ballot in St. Louis. Hon. Lee Meriwether.

184 How Four Men Rescued a City From Entrenched Corruption; or, The Rise, Dominance and Downfall of the Tweed Ring. B. O. Flower. ♦

NEWS OF THE ARENA CLUBS AND OTHER MOVEMENTS FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF FUNDAMENTAL DEMOCRACY



DIRECTORY OF ARENA CLUBS.

The New Orleans Arena Club.

President, Mrs. J. M. FERGUSON.
Vice-President, Mrs. HERMAN J. SKIVERTH.
Secretary, Miss MARGARET C. HANSON.
Treasurer, Mrs. WALTER W. JANIN.

This Club was formed in June, 1892.
 The club meets every Monday evening, except during the three summer months, at its rooms, 1836 Clio street, New Orleans, La.

First Arena Club of Denver.

President, Hon. J. WARNER MILLIS.
Vice-President, Dr. S. T. McDERMITH.
Secretary, Mrs. V. D. HYDE-VOGL.

The Club meets the first and third Monday of each month, at 712 Kirtledge Building, Denver, Col.

The Arena Club of Olathe, Colorado.

President, TABOR G. HERSUM.
Secretary, F. E. ASHBURN.

The Club meets the first, third and fifth Monday evenings of each month.

The Arena Club of Oswego, Kansas.

President, JOHN E. COOK.
Secretary, JOHN S. CLARK.
Treasurer, C. D. CARRELL.

The Club meets the first and third Wednesday evenings of each month in the City Library Building.

The Arena Club of The State Normal School, Valley City, N. D.

President, SENNEY NERTROST.
Secretary, FRIDA CHRISTIANSON.

The Club meets once a month during the school-year.

The Arena Club of Medina, Ohio.

President, Hon. A. MUNSON.
Vice-President, O. K. HEWER.
Secretary, R. CALVERT.
Treasurer, H. W. ADAMS.

The Arena Club of Dubois, Pa.

President, J. E. BROWN.
Vice-President, FRED. D. THOMAS.
Secretary, WILLIAM LOCKYER, 518 Maple avenue.
Treasurer, THOMAS HEPBURN.

The Club meets at Sparks Hall, West Long avenue.

The Arena Club of Pond Creek, Oklahoma.

President, F. G. WALLING.
Vice-President, P. W. ZIGLER.
Secretary and Treasurer, J. A. ALDERSON.

The Club meets second Tuesday of each month until September, and then the second and fourth Tuesday of each month.

Place of meeting, Court Room of Court House.

The Arena Club of Chicago, Illinois.

President, LARNED E. MEACHAM.
Vice-President, Miss L. L. KILBURN.
Secretary, EMIL W. RITTER.
Treasurer, JAS. P. CADMAN.

THE NEW ORLEANS ARENA CLUB.

THE NEW Orleans Arena Club is doing a splendid work this autumn in discussing not only live problems relating to civic righteousness and general progress, but also in considering vital and strong literary works. It would be difficult to overestimate the value to individuals and to the community at large of such a club as this organization, composed as it is of earnest, high-minded and public-spirited members.

We regret to state that owing to illness Mrs. L. C. Ferrell was compelled to resign as treasurer of the club, but her place has been taken by Mrs. Walter W. Janin, who will doubtless prove equally efficient.

Something of the character and value of the work being carried forward by this club may be gained from the following account of a recent meeting, taken from the New Orleans *Times-Democrat*:

"The papers submitted to and discussed by the Arena Club at the meeting held Monday were particularly interesting. The study of the evening was a chapter from Louis F. Post's *Ethics of Democracy* on 'Public Debts,' and the discussion on this was made very interesting by the views submitted by a clever young lawyer, who was the guest of the club. The second paper, read by Mr. J. M. Beath, was a clear presentation by a resident of Mexico of the attempt by the commercial American interests seeking a foothold therein to stir up disturbances there, and thus bring on a war between the United States and Mexico for the purpose of diverting the attention of the American people from the course to be pursued by the privileged interests of America in the coming presidential campaign. The third paper, read by Mrs. E. M. Cahn, was an admirable statement of the causes of fatigue, and the reason that constant, proper use of one's body gives it greater resisting power and equal power for speedy rest and recuperation. An evening spent with the Arena Club always proves interesting and beneficial."

In referring to another recent meeting the *Times-Democrat*, after commenting on the club's work and the general programme for autumn, said:

"Monday night the educational exercises consisted of written views of, and animated discussion by, the members on Edith Wharton's book, *The House of Mirth*. It was the consensus of opinion that the criticism and interpretation submitted by the Arena's secretary, Miss M. C. Hanson, was the 'gem of the evening.' Among others that were pronounced 'good,' was the one by Miss Finette Lichtenstein."

THE OLATHE, COLORADO, ARENA CLUB.

The Arena Club of Olathe, Colorado, opened its meetings early in October and mapped out a comprehensive campaign of education and entertainment for the winter which will necessarily greatly broaden the culture and general education of the members while quickening their interest in civic life. The club will doubtless prove a most helpful influence to the community. The president for the ensuing year is Mr. Tabor G. Hersum, the secretary and treasurer, F. E. Ashburn.

THE CHICAGO ARENA CLUB'S PROPAGANDA WORK.

The Chicago Arena Club is doing an excellent work of positive educational value in publishing and circulating an abstract of Mr. John Z. White's most admirable address on Direct-Legislation. So clear and simple is the presentation of this all-important issue as found in this address, and so important is it that all members of the Arena Clubs should have the question clearly before their minds in order that they may intelligently present it to their friends, that this month we give practically the whole of the abstract of this address by Mr. White as published in leaflet form by the Chicago Arena Club, and we would urge that each of the clubs have this address read at some evening's gathering:

"DIRECT-LEGISLATION.

"BY JOHN Z. WHITE.

"The referendum seems to be generally misunderstood. People apparently believe it to be something strange—a new device, whose merits and demerits are vague and uncertain. In truth it is a plan universally followed in all parliamentary bodies. Without it parliamentary law is impossible. Its absence from legislative assemblies is possible only through the substitution of that meanest and most irritating of all tyrannies, the rule of the gavel.

"The referendum, together with the initiative and recall, are the means by which self-government is secured by any group of men, under any conditions whatsoever. Interference with these is just so much subtracted from the fact of self-government.

"In deliberative bodies a chairman is selected to preside. His duty is to enforce the rules that may be adopted. If any decision rendered by him is thought to be in violation of these rules any member so believing may appeal from such decision to the whole body. This is the referendum. In the absence of this right of appeal, the presiding officer practically can do what he pleases.

"If a member wishes action on any matter, he makes a motion to that effect, and this, on receiving the support of a second member, is placed before the body for consideration and adoption or rejection. This is the initiative. In the absence of this right to 'move,' members are without power to act.

"If an officer refuses to perform the duties of his office, or commits acts in violation of those duties, the body may remove him from office. This is the recall. In the absence of this power, the officers may wholly defeat the will of the body, or may even carry out an opposing policy.

"If the people of a city, state or the nation, are to be in truth self-governing it seems inevitably to follow that they must have at hand the means of making the government do their bidding. The people of the city of Chicago, for instance, voted in favor of public ownership of their street-car system, but their board of aldermen were long able to thwart the popular desire. The people of Philadelphia, and many other places, have repeatedly found themselves unable to achieve their wish. To many, self-government has come to be looked upon as an iridescent dream.

"This pessimistic view arises from the fact that we are possessed of but part of the necessary machinery of self-government. We are like an engineer who has all essentials save the governor. His engine will 'go,' but its action is beyond orderly control.

"The initiative, referendum and recall, taken together, are called direct-legislation. That is, just as

in any deliberative body, if the usual machinery not produce desired results, the body may. So, if our city, or other government, does the body of the people, when possessed of direct-legislation, may act, or let. Without this power they are not really

"It is proposed, therefore, to give to a centage of the qualified voters in any political power to prepare and present a petition under which there shall be submitted to the whole body of voters the proposal that may be indicated by the petition. This is the exact equivalent of a motion in any club or society, save that a considerable number of 'seconds' are required. That is, each signer of the petition really 'seconds' the motion to adopt the matter proposed in the petition. Such action, as I have stated, is the initiative.

"It is sometimes said that the people need only to elect officials favorable to such action, and that thereby all need for the device known as the initiative will vanish. The fallacy in this position comes from the fact that our officials have many duties. An officer may be highly esteemed and very satisfactory in nearly all relations, but at the same time be quite at variance with the people on some question held by them to be important. At an election one candidate may be personally desirable, yet not in accord with the popular will on a given matter. Why shall we maintain a system by which we are either deprived of the efficient officer, or of a measure that we believe to be expedient?

"In one of the elections in Chicago a man was elected by a majority of two to one, although he declared himself opposed to a policy which at the same election the same constituency favored by a vote of three to one. The opposing candidate, meanwhile, had declared in favor of this policy. The explanation is simple. Other issues were, in the opinion of the voters, sufficiently important to force this matter into the background. If possessed of the power to initiate legislation, the voters could have enjoyed the services of the officer they desired, and also secured the adoption of the policy they preferred. They were, in fact, but partly self-governing.

"It is also proposed that the people shall have power, expressed by petition, as explained in the above reference to the initiative, to promptly propose the defeat of acts of legislation deemed by them to be unwise. If a measure has been enacted by the legislature, or other legislative body, a petition may be prepared within a stated time (perhaps 60 or 90 days) and signed by the given percentage of qualified voters in the territory affected by the legislation, whereupon it shall be submitted to the people for adoption or rejection. This is exactly equivalent to 'an appeal from the chair.' The matter may be placed before the people at a special election or at the next regular election.

"It is sometimes urged that under such a plan the people would be voting all the time and on all manner of questions. In fact, the referendum, where adopted, is seldom resorted to. Legislators are careful when they know the people can easily reverse their doings; and, very much more important, lobbyists are not inclined to use their peculiar powers of persuasion on members of legislative bodies when they know there are watchful citizens intent upon the defeat of their nefarious schemes, and with full power to defeat them if the people so will. The referendum will not only cure legislative rascality, but in even greater degree operates as a preventive. Would a railroad corporation bribe a legislative body to enact injurious monopoly laws if it knew the people would in all probability rescind such act within a few weeks or months? It would not pay. They would merely lose the money spent to secure legislative privileges.

The News of The Arena Clubs and Other Movements.

also proposed that, upon proper petition as
ted, public officers may be removed from
the recall. We have recently been
accounts of many groups of citizens
visiting their representatives and urging
the side of the people and to oppose the
favorable to official corruption. Do business
men—large their representatives, or do they 'order'
them?

"Direct-legislation is merely the application to our
public affairs of those methods that experience has
shown best suited to attain the end desired. That
end is self-government. Do we want self-government?
It sometimes seems problematical. Capable men who
oppose direct-legislation can explain their attitude only
on the ground that the people, in their judgment, are
not capable of managing their own affairs. Such men
are Tories. They have no proper place in the American
scheme of government.

"If it be held that we have in fact conducted this
government for above a century without direct-legis-
lation and that we may safely continue 'in the path
our fathers trod,' we would call attention to the fact
that in nothing else are we satisfied with the ways of
our fathers. They used the ox-cart—we do n't. Just
as we have improved on our father's mechanical ap-
pliances, without violence to the principles of mechanics,
so it may be possible to improve on governmental ma-
chinery without in any way altering the correct prin-
ciples of government with which we were dowered.

"The principle of the first locomotive is identical
with that of the last. The changes have all been in
the elimination of defective methods in detail, to the
end that the essential principle involved might be more
fully realized. Why is it not the part of wisdom to
eliminate like defective details in the machinery of our
government?

"Again, when we remember that for the first time in
history self-government on a large scale is attempted
in America, is it at all surprising that the machinery
first installed is defective in detail? Would it not be
profoundly astonishing if that machinery were not
defective?

"In theory we possess popular self-government.
But in fact the hindrances to its realization are so many
as to cause a considerable percentage of our voters to
despair. Capable men, who are earnest in their studies
and in their efforts to improve existing conditions, are
heard to declare that representative government has
proved a failure. That these men are hasty in so de-
claring is no doubt true; but, on the other hand, the
evidence of seemingly almost fatal defects in our gov-
ernmental machinery is overwhelming.

"Why was it necessary to battle so many years in
the political arena in order to secure the Interstate
Commerce Commission? Why is it now necessary to
delay the enlargement of that commission's powers?
Is it not because the people have no means by which
they can directly express themselves on that one question?
The people must express themselves through repre-
sentatives, and these have many duties, other than the
matter of interstate commerce, to engage their attention.

"The resulting situation is that the representatives
are not under positive command to do any one par-
ticular thing—are not even certain as to the desires of
their respective constituencies. These conditions in-
evitably give to the different political machines a con-

trolling power, that, among a truly self-governing peo-
ple, should reside with the voters alone. We have no
reason whatever to despair of popular self-government
until it shall first have had full and adequate trial under
the most favorable circumstances, or in conditions
giving the people every opportunity, when in their
judgment the need arises, to completely control gov-
ernmental action.

"The intent of our governmental structure is right.
Its theory is sound. Its defects are wholly in the de-
tails of administration. These are not of uncertain
or indefinite character, but easily perceived, and as
easily understood. So long as city or state legislative
bodies may grant a privilege in highways—commonly
known as a right-of-way—and the courts continue to
call such grant a contract, thus placing it beyond the
reach of sovereign states, the people are helpless, unless
we secure possession of the machinery for direct-leg-
islation.

"Why should any man who believes in popular self-
government hesitate to claim the right to review legis-
lative action? Does he not know what he desires the
legislature or the city council to do? If he does not,
why does he vote?

"Let us then recognize the very evident fact that
the machinery originally installed for the realization
of popular self-government is in some respects insuffi-
cient for the intended purpose. Let us observe that
this insufficiency has been fully overcome by the com-
monly known and plainly correct methods of customary
parliamentary law.

"Having arrived at a clear knowledge of the par-
alyzing difficulty and its simple remedy, let us demand
that it be applied—and at once. We demand the in-
itiative, that we may carry our will into effect when
legislative bodies fail or refuse to act. We demand
the referendum, that we may resist legislative action
when contrary to the popular will. We demand the
recall, that we may remove public servants who violate
the trust reposed in them by those whom they represent
—or, more correctly, misrepresent.

"In other words, we demand the continuance of
representative government with optional direct-legis-
lation. We want representative government as a
mere matter of convenience—but demand direct-legis-
lation as our natural and inalienable right.

"Again, such a step is in accord with previous action.
The electoral college was originally designed as a rep-
resentative body, whose duty was the naming of a chief
executive from among certain selected citizens. This
body was soon reduced to a merely clerical position,
with the result that, in the matter of selecting their
chief executive, the people now possess the initiative.
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man to act as president, no one may say them nay.
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curtailing popular power in this direction? On the
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the election of United States senators by popular vote?

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people. The claim is set up that they are incompetent.
So said Charles I., so said Louis XVI. So say all Tories
to-day. And yet the world's history bluntly tells the
story of meanness, misery and fraud wherever power
has been placed with the few, while peace, good will
and joy have ever attended those peoples whose gov-
ernments were equally participated in by all."

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"THE ARENA" FOR 1907



EARLY in the nineties THE ARENA, then under its present editorial management, pointed out the fact that the Republic was in a life-or-death struggle; that privileged wealth and corporation interests were banding together in a systematic attempt to gain complete control of government, so that, precisely as the di Medici family secured domination over the so-called Republic of Florence until it ruled with absolute power for its own enrichment, though without disturbing in any particular the republican machinery of the government, the great commercial and monetary interests were uniting for a similar rule, under which the millions would be exploited for the enrichment of the few; and that to attain this end government and the public opinion-forming agencies were being necessarily debauched and corrupted. At that time our position was savagely assailed, some critics regarding it as absurd, but to-day few thoughtful citizens longer deny the facts which were clearly discerned by reformers fifteen years ago. Moreover, to-day the opposing forces have advanced to such a stage that it is impossible to ignore the facts involved, for all thinking men and women must now range themselves on the side of democracy or plutocracy, under the banner of free institutions or that of reaction and privileged wealth. In this great struggle THE ARENA will ever be found among the foremost educational influences that appeal to the brain and conscience of the nation. As it has battled in the past, so will it be found faithful to the ideals of pure and true democracy,—the principles of justice, freedom and fraternity.

But the supremely important world-struggle for political and economic emancipation is but one aspect of the general moral and intellectual awakening of civilization. In religion, in education, in physical science, in psychology, in sociology and in ethics there is to-day a struggle between the growing, virile, progressive new thought and the old which is bulwarked by conventionalism, conservatism and the prejudice of generations. This many-sided moral and intellectual renaissance will be splendidly voiced in the pages of THE ARENA; while at the same time it will be our purpose to also give the older ideals and thoughts a hearing, believing it is right that each side should be heard. We recognize, however, that there are multitudinous agencies on every hand ready to present fully the old thought, while comparatively few avenues are open to the really vital new messages. Hence we shall give more space to the new progressive and advanced thought than to the old ideals, and it will be our purpose at all times to see that the papers presented are the ablest, strongest and most convincing that can be procured.

OUR PROGRAMME OF PROGRESS.

From every quarter we are receiving enthusiastic letters from our readers, saying that never before has **THE ARENA** been so fine, so inspiring and so helpful as during the past year. "I have read **THE ARENA** from its earliest days," says one friend, "and it was very fine in the old time, but it is more virile and instinct with the true spirit of progress than ever." And scores upon scores of letters received in recent months express similar views.

From our arrangements already perfected we believe we are warranted in promising that during 1907 **THE ARENA** will be stronger and more absolutely indispensable to progressive, thoughtful and high-minded patriots who believe in the Declaration of Independence and the ideal of justice for all the people than ever before in its history. In the nature of the case a magazine dealing with vital problems of the hour cannot announce its programme a year in advance, and even if that were possible, for obvious reasons it would not be wise to do so. We shall, therefore, only hint at a few of the good things which are in store for our readers.

THE ARENA has arranged for the preparation of some papers and series of papers that will be bound, we believe, to create a sensation and prove no small factor in further awakening the nation to the peril of the present domination of privilege and the indefensible drifting policy that shoves aside moral considerations at the call of material commercialism. And we also have some papers of a fundamental and constructive character that will be of inestimable value to students in the domains of economics, ethics, education, literature, sociology and religion.

DISTINGUISHED AND AUTHORITATIVE FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS.

Several very notable papers in **THE ARENA** for 1907 will be prepared expressly for this review by foremost thinkers of other lands. Among these we mention at the present time:

- I. **THE TELEGRAPH CABLES OF THE WORLD.** This series will open with a paper by Mr. Heaton, Member of Parliament. Sierras.

Two papers in which this greatest of all postal authorities of Great Britain and the most successful champion of popular or cheap postal service, will vigorously attack the cable companies as enemies of the people. "The cables are now," writes Mr. Heaton, to the Editor of **THE ARENA**, "for the millionaires instead of for the millions." These papers will doubtless call forth wide notice, as Mr. Heaton's former papers in **THE ARENA** were among the most widely-copied contributions of the past year, both on this side of the Atlantic and in Europe.

- II. **NOTABLE PAPERS BY EDWARD TREGEAR, Secretary for Labor for the Commonwealth of New Zealand.**

Other important contributions to **THE ARENA** for 1907 will be by Edward Tregear, whose former paper in this magazine was very widely copied. Mr. Tregear is one of the ripest scholars and one of the most influential of the great humanitarian statesmen of Australasia, and his papers in **THE ARENA** will be very timely contributions to the vital literature of progressive democracy. The first of these papers, which will appear in an early issue, is entitled "The Progressive Attitude of New Zealand."

III. OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS IN FOREIGN LANDS.

Another feature of **THE ARENA** for the ensuing year will be our special correspondence from foreign lands, which will discuss great social, economic and educational subjects that are attracting the attention of other peoples. Maynard Butler, **THE ARENA**'s special Berlin correspondent, who contributed the opening papers of a very important series to the October and November **ARENAS**, will furnish a number of papers in this series that will be highly instructive and valuable.

THE GREAT BATTLE OF THE PEOPLE AGAINST PRIVILEGED CLASSES.

Several series of papers will appear in **THE ARENA** during the ensuing year from the most authoritative thinkers, on various phases of the great struggle for the restoration of government to the people, the purification of American politics, the reinstatement of the ideals of the Declaration of Independence, and the furtherance of a progressive democratic programme that will insure to all the people the rights and blessings contemplated by pure democracy or a truly popular government.

I. PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS ON THE RAILWAYS OF EUROPE.

Since Mr. Bryan came out for popular ownership and operation of the railways this great question has become an overshadowing issue. The alarm which Mr. Bryan's utterances have caused the great Wall-street gamblers and the law-defying and government-corrupting railway magnates is strikingly reflected in the almost hysterical assaults made on Mr. Bryan and his proposals by the great corporation-owned and controlled journals and the United States Senators and Representatives who hold briefs for the railways. The people, however, are not only with Mr. Bryan, but they are now so aroused to the importance of this question that they eagerly call for the latest and most authoritative facts relating to government ownership and operation. To meet this demand we have arranged with Professor Frank Parsons, undoubtedly the ablest railway authority in the English-speaking world and the author of *The Railways, the Trusts and the People* and *The Heart of the Railroad Problem*, the two most important railway works of the present year, to prepare for **THE ARENA** in a compact yet pleasing and readable form papers giving authoritative accounts of the actual facts in regard to the railways of foreign lands. Professor Parsons visited Europe two years ago and spent several months collecting data from all authoritative sources for his great railway works. He also recently revisited Europe as a member of the investigating committee appointed by the Civic Federation to investigate public ownership of municipal monopolies in Great Britain. While on the other side of the Atlantic he determined to make further investigations of the railways, so as to find out exactly their present status. After conducting such examinations as he desired in England, he crossed the Channel, visited Switzerland, Germany, France and other lands. The present series of papers will embody an epitome of the fruits of both his visits touching the point in which the people are most concerned. The opening paper of the series will be entitled "The Nationalization of the Railways of Switzerland" and will appear as one of the strongest features of our December issue. It will be followed by papers on the railways of Germany, France, England, Italy, New Zealand, etc.

II. DR. ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE ON THE RAILWAYS AND HOW THE PEOPLE LIKE THE THING.

A paper on public ownership of natural monopolies will be prepared by many of the leading writers of the world. The opening paper of this series appears in the January number and is this "The Railways of the Nation." It has been prepared expressly for **THE ARENA** by the eminent evolutionary scientist and social philosopher, Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace and deals in an exhaustive manner with how the people can take over the railways in accordance with Herbert Spencer's law of social justice.

III. OTHER SERIES OF PAPERS DEALING WITH FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES

Other series of papers dealing with fundamental issues in the battle of the people against plutocracy, by able and authoritative writers will be strong features of **THE ARENA** during the coming year. Some of these will uncover the traitor influences that are sapping the foundations of popular rule for the advancement of privileged or class-interests. Others will deal with great practical and constructive work being carried forward in the interests of social and economic progress. This series of papers opened in the November **ARENA** with the handsomely illustrated paper by Mr. George W. Eads entitled "N. O. Nelson, Practical Coöperator, and The Great Work He Is Accomplishing for Human Upliftment," and dealing with the splendid coöperative work being carried forward by the great St. Louis manufacturer. Other papers, equally interesting and valuable, on the constructive work being carried forward at the present time will mark many issues of **THE ARENA**.

Another series of papers of interest to friends of democracy will contain personal studies and biographical sketches of various leaders and upholders of genuine democratic government. **THE ARENA** has already published a sketch of Senator La Follette who has so splendidly fought for the fundamental rights of the people and against the encroachments of corporations and class-interests. In this number another paper in this series is devoted to Governor Folk of Missouri. It has been prepared for **THE ARENA** by the Hon. Thomas Speed Mosby, Pardon Attorney for the State of Missouri.

Social, economic and political problems that vitally concern good citizenship will be discussed by special writers,—such questions, for example, as child labor, the rights of labor, and the world-movement for international peace.

LITERATURE AND ART.

A number of very important papers under these general headings will be striking features of **THE ARENA** for the ensuing year. Among these we mention a series of critical contributions being prepared for **THE ARENA** by Professor Archibald Henderson whose popular papers have been so widely copied and commented on on both sides of the Atlantic. During the ensuing year we shall publish four papers from the pen of Professor Henderson, which will consist of critical studies and estimates of the work of the great living dramatists. The opening paper of this series will be entitled "The Philosophical Aspect of Bernard Shaw's Plays."

Another series of papers of special interest will deal with "Municipal Art in America" and will be magnificently illustrated. These papers will be prepared for **THE ARENA** by the brilliant and gifted writer, George Wharton James and will deal with the work that has already been achieved and that is in process of construction in a number of prominent American cities that are taking the lead in this important and civilizing labor. The opening paper will deal with Springfield, Massachusetts.

Another interesting feature of **THE ARENA** will be a series of conversations with eminent men and women of the day. This series will open with a conversation with Joaquin Miller, the Poet of the Sierras.

STORIES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Finely-executed illustrations printed on smooth paper will be an attractive feature of **THE ARENA** for this year and will add greatly to its popularity. It is our purpose to print two forms of smooth paper in each issue, thus enabling us to publish a number of pictures in addition to the full-page portraits that have given such general satisfaction during the past year.

In recent months we have given considerable space to well-written short stories of American life, and this feature will be a marked characteristic of **THE ARENA** during the coming year, as we desire to give such variety

and interest to the content-matter of the magazine as to make its monthly visits eagerly anticipated by all members of the home circle.

Another popular feature will be fascinating biographical sketches, handsomely illustrated, dealing with the lives, thought and work of the really great men and women of the past and present. One of the first papers of this series will be Professor Noa's contribution on "William Wheelwright: The Yankee Pioneer of Modern Industry in South America," which will be handsomely illustrated and appear in two parts.

CHARACTER-SKETCHES AND BOOK-STUDIES.

Mr. Flower will continue his extremely popular character-sketches of prominent individuals, including artists, sculptors, cartoonists, reformers and others who are conscientiously laboring to forward the interests of all the people. His extended critical Book-Studies will also continue to be one of the strong and popular features of THE ARENA.

THE EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

"In the Mirror of the Present," which has become, judging from the great number of letters which we are constantly receiving, the most popular feature of the magazine, will continue to reflect the vital happenings of the world in a clear-cut, frank, fearless and discriminating manner. Mr. Flower will continue to contribute most of this editorial comment, but by special arrangements he will be reinforced by Professor Frank Parsons, Mr. Allan L. Benson and Rev. R. E. Bisbee, whose work will appear over their own signatures.

The Book-Review department will continue to be a strong feature of the magazine. In this department Mr. Flower will be assisted by Mr. Ralph Albertson, Mr. Eltweed Pomeroy, Miss Amy C. Rich and other writers who possess the rare power of preparing brief descriptive characterizations, notes and reviews of books that are worth the reading.

We are living in a great but critical time. The present demands a magazine like the THE ARENA, bold, fearless, and true to the demands of the higher moral law; and we appeal to all our readers who appreciate the work this review is carrying forward and who realize how much its increased influence means to the cause of popular, free, just and pure government, to use their best efforts in interesting friends and pointing out our special features each month.

THE ARENA is not yet what we propose to make it, and no pains will be spared in our efforts to improve the magazine and make it the leading progressive review of opinion in the English-speaking world, reflecting the best aspirations and ideals of twentieth-century civilization. We shall aim to give our readers a magazine richly worth five dollars while maintaining the present subscription price of \$2.50.

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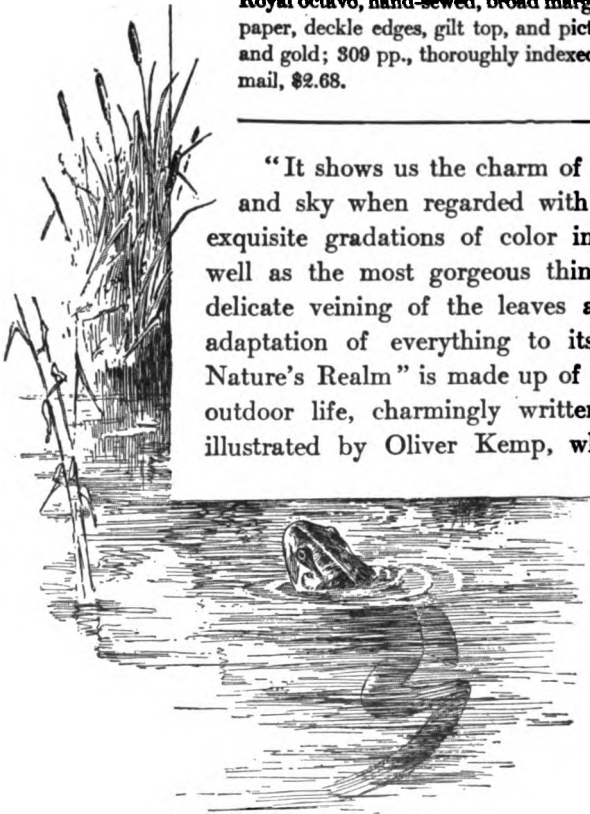
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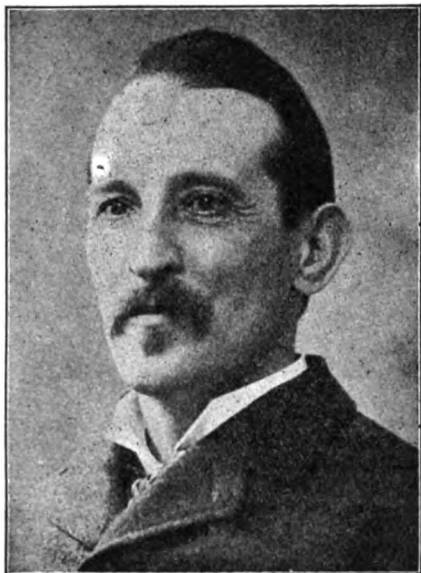
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